GUIDE TO THE SD6 CAYAPA FILE

[This file is concerned with the Cayapa tribe, who live in northwestern Ecuador and speak a Chibchan language. They are primarily agriculturalists, with the staple foods being plantain and sweet manioc. Hunting and fishing are also important. There is not a great deal of concrete data on them available in the literature. The file contains probably all the significant sources on the Cayapa to date.

There are four sources in the Cayapa file, three of them in English and one being a translation from the German (1: Heimann). The basic source is a two-volume monograph by Samuel A. Barrett, a well-known anthropologist (3: Barrett). This source, based on field work done in 1908-1909, is a good, though incomplete description of the group. The sections on material culture and subsistence patterns are quite thorough. The source also contains material on the ceremonies of the group, and some material on the life cycle. 4: Altschuler, also by an anthropologist, is a study of legal behavior, which also provides a good recent ethnographic summary of Cayapa culture and ecology. 2: Murra is essentially a summary of Barrett by an anthropologist, with such other items as could be extracted from the scanty literature on this group, both historical and contemporary. 1: Heimann is a German traveler's account of these people, written in a most impressionistic manner. It adds a little information on the status of the culture in the time period after Barrett's field work. The Cayapa file, while adequate for many comparative purposes, does not really provide much information in depth aside from that on material culture. The file was processed between 1957 and 1966.]

THE CAYAPA INDIANS*

by

Max Heimann

In the far north west of the Ecuadorian Republic there is a river named the Santiago. Near the village of Borbon it is joined by one of its tributaries, the Cayapa River. The Cayapa Indians, a harmless tribe consisting of no more than 2500 persons, live on the upper reaches of the Cayapa River and around its sources.

I have never been able to understand why they are called "uncivilized" and "savage." Would it be because they dress more simply, more comfortably, more suitably and cheaply than we European fashion slaves? Or would it be because they speak their own language, unknown to us, and because they do not know how to read and write and do not stuff their heads with the dead weight taught in schools and called "education"? Or even, would it be because they have other customs and manners as well as different moral concepts?

One thing is certain—the Cayapa are happy people, because they are more satisfied with their lot than we Europeans, who are so demanding and feel so superior with our conceit in our sham civilization, in the clothes prescribed for us by the tyrants of "fashion" and in the "wisdom" acquired in schools.

They frequently come to town in small groups of five to 20 persons. I have seen them many hundreds of times, but again and again I am delighted when I meet these small, but well-built and sturdy [282] figures. The men are not taller than 150-160 cm. (Translator--5 ft. to 5ft. 4 in.), while the women are barely 140 cm. (Translator--4 ft. 8 in.). Their skin is copper brown in color.

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* The author a business man, lived in Tumaco (southwest Colombia) for 35 years (1895-1930) and was German Vice-Consul for the Departamento Nariño from 1907 to 1920. Although he never actually visited Cayapa villages, he did have occasions to see and question groups of them "many hundreds of times," on their frequent visits to Tumaco. Apart from this, several of his employees have been in Cayapa villages and have given him reports. (K. Th. Preuss).

305 might hear a piano or phonograph music from somewhere. That they still must quickly take a look at. The entire crowd rushes busily into the house concerned and up the stairs. Their curiosity is soon satisfied and they come down again and now they must be off quickly so as to be able to make use of the tide current. Their
501 unpainted canoes are 8 to 10 meters (Translator--about 8 to 10 yds.) in length and from 70 to 90 centimeters (Translator--2 1/3 to 3 ft.) in width. They are slim and pleasing in shape and have
[531] black colored decorations around the edges. Each one of them accommodates from 5 to 8 persons, close together, with their meager belongings. They paddle along nimbly with their leaf-shaped oars and, while their canoes glide along silently and swiftly, the entire crowd has soon disappeared in the mouth of the
184 Mira River. It will take them two days to reach their hometowns.
648 During the journey they camp in the open over night, somewhere along the shore, in an empty pasture. But they have to be careful. Occasionally they are attacked and robbed there by Negroes, and if they resist, they are murdered in cold blood. Only recently a whole group of them, men, women and children, 14 persons altogether, were most cruelly murdered on the Mira River by some bestial Negroes.

101 [285] However, our friends will now have arrived home safe
342 and sound on the upper Cayapa River. They are greeted from afar
361 by the friendly smoke of their own hearths. Their villages con-
824 sist of a few, widely dispersed bamboo huts of a most primitive type. A few uncut tree trunks have simply been rammed into the earth in a rectangle. The floor is at a height of 3 to 4 meters (Translator--ca. 3 to 4 yds.) and is made of split bamboo. Above this, at an equal distance, is the roof made of coconut (?) palm (Steinnusspalme) leaves. That is the entire structure. Since these houses have no walls, it is obivous that doors and windows are not
417 required either. The trunk of the Ceiba trees, light as a cork,
824 into which a few steps are hewn, serves as stairs. (The Ceiba tree
512 produces the silk-like balsa wool, called "Kapok" on the European market.) These stairs are obliquely leaned on, without being fastened anywhere. A hen-roost can be climbed more easily than one of these Cayapa ladders. In order to be somewhat safe from surprises by unwanted visitors, the ladders are drawn up to the living quarters overnight, and when a family goes on a trip, the ladder is thrown into the river and left to float away. After
322 all it is so simple and easy to fetch another Ceiba trunk from the nearby forest on returning and quickly hack a few step-like cuts into it with a chopping knife.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

THE CAYAPA AND COLORADO

By JOHN MURRA

INTRODUCTION

The *Cayapa* and the *Colorado* are the last surviving Indian groups in the lush western lowlands of Ecuador (maps 1 and 6). Once an area of extensive Indian occupation, western Ecuador is now inhabited by a Spanish-speaking population of mixed Indian, Negro, and white ancestry, known as montuvios. The *Cayapa* and *Colorado* have precariously managed to hang on to their jungle homes. Speaking closely related if mutually unintelligible languages of the *Barbacoan* division of the *Chibchan* family, they represent the southernmost extension of that major division. Comparative studies with other *Chibchan*-speaking groups in Highland and eastern Colombia, with *Quechua*-speaking Indians in Highland Ecuador, and with various Montaña groups should prove of considerable culture-historical interest.

THE CAYAPA

The *Cayapa* are a riverain people inhabiting the lowlands of northwestern Ecuador. Sprinkled through the jungles of Esmeraldas Province, an area of difficult colonization and control, they managed for centuries to avoid the enslavement suffered by their Highland neighbors or the ethnic annihilation of most Coast aborigines. Only in the past few decades have their settlements been pushed back into the hills by Spanish-speaking montuvio and Negro homesteaders. World War II requirements in balsa wood, rubber, and other tropical commodities have accelerated this process of displacement and acculturation.

The Cayapa River and its affluents, from the mouth of the Anzole to the foot of the Andes, are the main area of *Cayapa* settlement. Barrett (1925) found three concentration spots: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, corresponding to three political, tribal divisions, which might since have shifted or amalgamated. In addition, small groups of *Cayapa*, in various degrees of acculturation, are found in the Santiago Valley and along the coast into Colombia. Estimates of their numbers vary but hover around a mean of 2,000.

The chief source and authority on the *Cayapa* remains S. A. Barrett's monograph (1925). Barrett visited them in 1908–9, long enough to bring

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

THE CAYAPA INDIANS OF ECUADOR

By S. A. Barrett

TERRITORY

Geographical Situation

[31] [101] THE people known as the Cayapa Indians live at present almost wholly on the main and tributary streams of the Rio Cayapas, one of the large rivers of the northwestern part of the Province of Esmeraldas, Ecuador, and about ninety miles in a direct line north of the equator. Their [484] territory is within comparatively easy reach of the ocean, which almost all visit at least once a year.

There are a few, perhaps an aggregate of one hundred individuals, who live in several other localities, namely, on the adjacent Rio Santiago, at Pueblo Viejo, and at points along the immediate coast from the Rio Dabele, a few miles south of the town of Esmeraldas, the capital of the province, northward to the Rio Rosario, about eight miles southeast of Tumaco, in the extreme southern- [161] western part of Colombia. However, practically all the Cayapa, approximating fifteen hundred to two thousand individuals, now live on or in the immediate vicinity of the river which bears their name.

133 The Rio Cayapas heads in the western slope of the coast range of the Andes at a point not far from Mt Cotacachi, which attains an altitude of 16,290 feet (4,966 meters). The western slope of this sierra is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

this section is a form of malarial fever locally called paludismo; but this malady is so mild in comparison with the diseases above mentioned as to be almost negligible in a comparative consideration of the general health conditions of the region. The attacks of paludismo on newcomers are often severe, and now and then result fatally, but a native or an old resident of the region is usually fairly immune from it.

It is said that typhoid is entirely unknown; indeed no signs of it were observed during the author's stay in the region. Dysentery, which is such a serious malady in certain parts of the tropics, is little known here, though sporadic cases occur; in fact, two cases came under the author's observation, but only one of these was fatal, and this largely by reason of a complication of conditions combined with inadequate care.

It may be said, therefore, that the region inhabited by the Cayapa, and in fact the whole Province of Esmeraldas, is very healthful in comparison with other parts of the tropics.

Surrounding Peoples

The only people at present known to have close linguistic affinity with the Cayapa are the Colorados of the upper course of the Rio Esmeraldas. Dr D. G. Brinton[16] places the Cayapa in what he terms the Barbacoas linguistic stock, taking that name from a people formerly living on the upper Rio Patia in south-

[16] Brinton, The American Race, pp. 196–199, New York, 1891.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ern Colombia. Brinton's limits of this linguistic stock are not very clearly defined, but are given roughly as extending from the headwaters of the Rio Daule, which empties into the Gulf of Guayaquil, northward to the vicinity of the Rio Patia, which empties into the ocean north of Tumaco in southern Colombia, thus extending from about one degree south to two and one-half degrees north latitude. The information at Brinton's disposal did not enable him to locate exactly the various peoples which he includes in this stock, but he names the Barbacoas, Cayapas, Colorados or Sacchas, Cuaiqueros, Iscuandes, Manitis, and Telembis. It is not at all unlikely that the peoples whom Brinton calls Barbacoas, Iscuandes, Telembis, and perhaps also the Cuaiqueros, are in reality only small bands of Cayapa who had gone into the localities which still bear these several names, and that the vocabularies and other information on which he based the classification were collected from them at these places, with the result that these people came into literature as four distinct divisions.[1] The same thing has happened in many instances in North America,

[1] It is highly probable that the meager vocabularies on which Brinton based his classification of these several supposedly distinct groups of people under the one family name were recorded by various systems of orthography, used by travelers whose mother tongues were different, and who in most, if not all, cases were not trained in the study of aboriginal languages. This would be sufficient to account for the considerable differences in the vocabularies—differences which, in the absence of further data, would warrant anyone in considering the various peoples as dialectically distinct one from another.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

hence it is now being found that a people speaking a single language appears in literature under several different names. As already pointed out, a few of the Cayapa at the present time are scattered along the coast from a point north of Tumaco to some distance south of Esmeraldas. These small bands near the coast are far more accessible to travelers and naturally would be encountered first by them. Hence it could very easily have happened that the several different peoples reported to Brinton, probably by as many different travelers, as separate groups, but whose languages proved to be closely related, were simply these bands of Cayapa who were then, as they are now, living apart from the main body along the Rio Cayapas. Furthermore, if the above assumption is true, it is probable that these Cayapa of the coast then recognized, as they do now, their identity with the main body of the people.

[103] The fact that almost all the rivers, and especially all the smaler streams, as well as other physiographical features of the whole region, mentioned by Brinton, still bear names that are of Cayapa origin, is strong evidence that the Cayapa at a comparatively early date had spread over this large area and that they were familiar with and probably in possession of, so far as other Indians were concerned, the territory from a point some distance north of Tumaco southward. It therefore seems very probable that what appeared to Brinton as several linguistically related groups are in reality parts of a single group, and that formerly, as now, the only other people so far reported who have any

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6
Colorado SD7

Ca 101 197

close linguistic affinity with the Cayapa were the Colorados.

Ca Co 171

The dialect of the Colorados, however, is so different from that of the Cayapa as to be almost unintelligible to the latter. Their customs, dress, and general culture are also quite distinct, and their territory is of a very different character from that of the Cayapa, being decidedly mountainous, though not far enough inland to be at a great altitude. There is no political or social affinity between the two peoples; in fact, although belonging to the same linguistic stock, the only knowledge one has of the other is that gained from an occasional visit by two or three Cayapa to the Colorado country, or vice versa. It is told as one of the important events of recent times that in returning, several years ago, from a visit to Quito, the chief of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa came by way of the Colorado country and spent several days there, and that he finally brought home with him a member of that tribe who visited on the Rio Cayapas for some days before returning to his own people.

Ca Co 484

Ca 197

That the Cayapa have wider linguistic affiliations has been recently shown by Drs Beuchat and Rivet,[12] who set forth the fact that there is considerable affinity between the Barbacoas, of which the Cayapa is a dialect, and the Coconuco and Paniquita groups, both of which are in Colombia. The interrelations of the latter two

[12] Affinités des Langues du Sud de la Colombie et du Nord de l'Équateur (Groupes Paniquita, Coconuco et Barbacoa), par H. Beuchat et P. Rivet, extrait du *Muséon*, Louvain, 1910.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6
Ch6lo

groups are much closer than are those of either with the Barbacoa, but there seem to be a sufficient number of features in common between these two Colombian stocks on the one hand, and the Cayapa and Colorado dialects on the other, to warrant the inclusion of all these in a larger group or linguistic family.

On the north the nearest Indian neighbors of the Cayapa are those commonly called by the ambiguous term "Cholos," and who live along the Rio Saija, a small stream which empties into the ocean at about 2° 50′ N., at a point nearly opposite the island of Gorgona. These people are entirely different from the Cayapa in language and culture; but there is a certain amount of intermingling between the two, and a marked influence is exerted by the Cholos on some features of Cayapa culture, especially medicine practices.

The only other Indian neighbors of the Cayapa are the Quichua, or Kechua, descendants of the historic Inca peoples, who live in the interior valleys, the nearest being those about Ibarra and Cotacachi. Although they are of an entirely different linguistic stock, there is here also a certain amount of intermingling, small parties of Quichua making occasional trips down to the coast, and small parties of Cayapa making occasional trips into the mountains. At the present time, however, the trails are much neglected and are extremely difficult to travel, so that the intercourse is very slight.

The only other peoples with whom the Cayapa come into contact are the few European or North American whites, and the many negroes, descendants of former

4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[7 1]

CHAPTER I

THE CAYAPA, THEIR TERRITORY AND ECONOMY

101

The Pacific lowlands of the province of Darien in southeastern Panama; Colombia; and the northern part of the province of Esmeraldas Ecuador, may be thought of as a geographical and cultural unit.

> If the area has any physical unity, it is to be found in the hot, humid climate and the vegetation cover of dense tropical rain forest. . . . The Area's position between 1° and 8° north of the equator gives it high year round temperatures and contributes to an almost continuous relative humidity above 90 per cent . . . Culturally the area is one chiefly because of its predominant Negroid population; because of a common way of life based mainly on subsistence agriculture, fishing, and primitive mining . . . Today nearly 80 per cent of the scant population of the lowlands is Negroid, with a large proportion of unmixed African blood. This area, then, may be considered one of the major Negroid areas of Latin America . . . The few Whites and Mestizos of the area are found mainly in the larger trading towns, mining camps, and seaports (West 1957:1).

At the southern limits of the Pacific lowland area, in Ecuador, live the Cayapa Indians. Their lives and culture center about the Río Cayapas and its tributaries. At its lower reaches, the river forms a right

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[131]

[P 4.]

PREFACE

The field work among the Cayapa Indians of Esmeraldas province in Western Ecuador upon which this thesis is based, was carried out from August 19, 1959 to October 25, 1960. The field research was financed by a Doherty Foundation Fellowship and a research grant from the National Institutes of Mental Health, United States Public Health Service.

The main focus of the research was in the area of social control through law and government. A dimension of great significance for the study was supplied by the functional realist approach to law propounded both in text and the lecture-room by Professor E. Adamson Hoebel. Professor Hoebel made it very clear that Law is a living operation, and the product of living beings whose personalities have been shaped by a living culture. Working through the matrix of culture and personality, Law has in some societies reached heights of human magnificence and orderly elegance, and perhaps as often, in some of the ethnographic backwaters,

foothills of the Andes are reached. Thus, for example, Punta Venado, which is approximately 49 kilometers from the mouth of the river; has an altitude of 12 meters as compared to Tolembí, approximately 77.0 kilometers from the river's mouth, which has an altitude of 22 meters (Wolf 1878:30). The volume of the waters carried by the rivers varies considerably. Depending upon the amount of rainfall, I have seen a rise and fall in the level of the Río Cameronas of well over twenty feet within five hours. The rivers of this system cut through heavy clay soil, and the banks are not part of a flood plain but immediately form part of the hilly interior that is characteristic of the hinterland. The soil is predominantly a heavy saturated clay that is mostly reddish brown in color. 133 134

Language. The Cayapa and the Colorado Indians who live in the tropical highlands about seventy miles down the western slopes of the Andes from Quito share the distinction of being the last two aboriginal groups in western Ecuador. Their languages, although not mutually intelligible, are closely related. Recently, B. Moore worked out some phonetic correspondences between 197 [101]

4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD4 Cayapa SD4

Cayapa and Colorado and thereby systematically proved the relationship that had always been assumed on purely impressionist grounds (Moore 1962). The most recent classification proposed by Greenberg places Cayapa-Colorado within the sub family called Paezan, which together with Chibchan proper belongs to the Macro-Chibchan family (Greenberg 1956). This classification is similar to that proposed by Mason (Mason 1950:180). A claim that Cayapa is closely related to Mayan is proposed by Professor Aquiles R. Perez T; however, the documentation is not convincing at present (Perez 1960: 491-494).

History. The first actually reliable information on the Cayapa comes from the pen of W. B. Stevenson, who visited them briefly in 1809. At that time, there was but one group of Cayapa (those who lived in the vicinity of Punta Venado). The chief, or alcalde, as Stevenson called him, carried a "baston, insignia of authority" which he presented to Stevenson. He then ordered the Indians to obey Stevenson ". . . and they advanced one after another to kiss the head of the baston, and accompanied me to the house of the alcalde, which was

Santiago drainage system. The dissident group claimed that the Saints were stronger in the old area and would be of greater help to the Cayapa. The new group settled in Sapalbito, where they have their own ceremonial center, but for reasons unknown they did not return to Pueblo Viejo. Factionalism apparently accounts for some of the tribal fission.

Settlement Patterns. In 1879 the banks of the Río Cayapas almost as far down as Borbon, a town at the confluence of the Río Santiago and the Río Cayapas, were inhabited by Cayapa Indians while Negroes were found mainly along the Río Santiago (Wolf 1879). By 1894 Borbon had become a Negro town, and the lower reaches of Cayapa settlement had retreated up stream toward the area of the Río Onzole. At this time, about twenty-three Negroes were reported by Reseros to be living at Telembí, a "village" of three houses about 77.3 kilometers from the mouth of the Río Cayapas. The Negroes had been given special permission by the Cayapa to live there provided they did not pan for gold which was found occasionally. (Reseros 1894). In 1960 Telembí was a thriving Negro village of several hundred people, and the greater part

of the population of the Río Cayapas up to Napalis Grande was Negro. Isolated Negro enclaves are found today as far up as San Miguel. Negroes tend to live in village settlements, some of which are of political and/or economic importance, while the Cayapa live scattered along the river banks. The town of San José, which lies a few miles below the Río Cayapas, is the administrative center for the area. San Antonio, which is located a few miles above Puerto Macedo, is of considerable commercial importance as it is readily accessible to the small coastal vessels engaged in the banana trade. 101 131 177

The most characteristic feature of the area is its riverine quality, and settlement and economic centers on the rivers for both Indians and Negroes. The large hilly land areas between the rivers are completely uninhabited, and the dense jungle growth makes them travel exceedingly difficult. Enough for short hunting trips or to secure trees for the making of canoes, the jungle or monte is avoided. The river, on the other hand, is open and free. The river stone is seldom a quiet one. People going down stream maneuver their canoes into mid-channel, taking full advantage 361 484 311 487 502 501

[illegible] by marriage and who, for one or another reason, seek to intensify a weak relationship. The important relationship is between the [illegible] and not between the spouse and the child.

[illegible]. Every infant must be baptized as soon as possible by the priest. The god-parents choose for this occasion are always indian. Although some say that it is best to choose them from within the family, others claim that it is best to choose non-relatives. There are no strong feelings one way or another; however, most of my material indicates a bias in favor of having relatives as [illegible] of the baptism. A statistical treatment is not possible as my data center primarily on the [illegible] region and not on the [illegible] group as a whole.

For the baptism the parents, the god-parents, and the infant go to [illegible]. The ceremony which is done in the Catholic manner by the priest costs two [illegible] which is paid by the father of the child. The priest is usually presented with a gift, such as a fan or a basket, made by the Fayaga. At this time as presents are exchanged between the [illegible], although

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[p. v]

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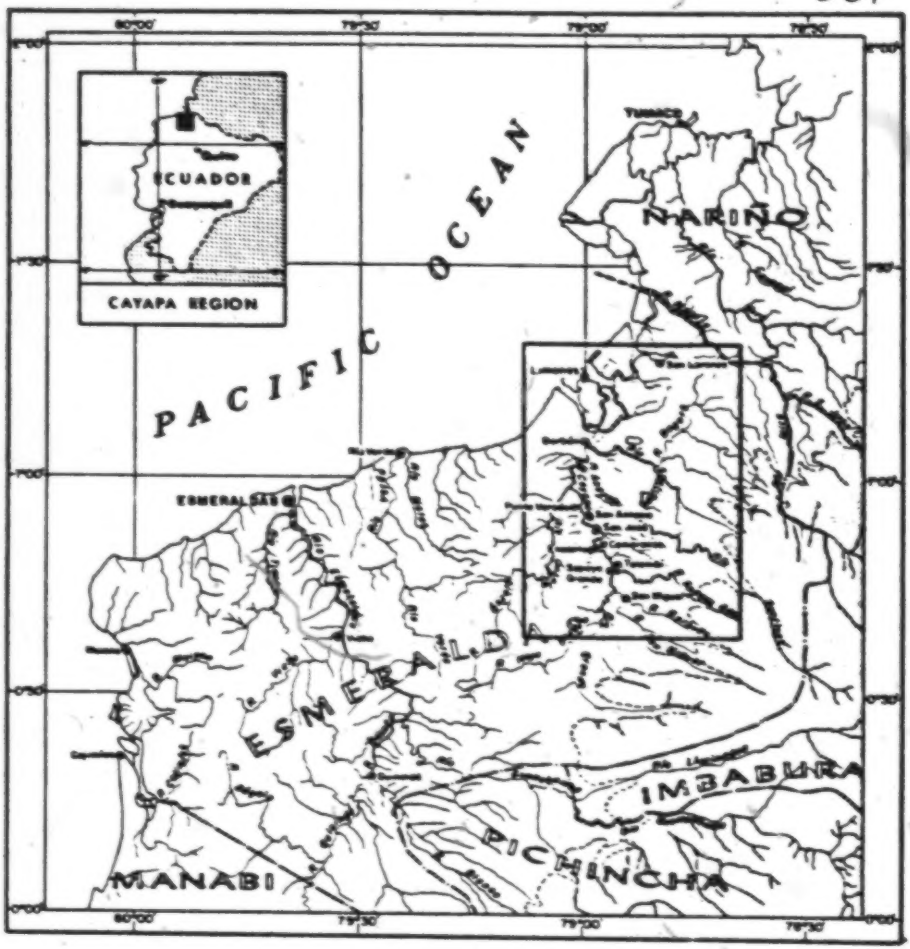
361



INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES
PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES
PROVINCIAL CAPITALS
VILLAGES
SETTLEMENTS
AREA ABOVE 500 METER CONTOUR

ESMERALDAS PROVINCE, ECUADOR

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

hence it is now being found that a people speaking a single language appears in literature under several different names. As already pointed out, a few of the Cayapa at the present time are scattered along the coast from a point north of Tumaco to some distance south of Esmeraldas. These small bands near the coast are far more accessible to travelers and naturally would be encountered first by them. Hence it could very easily have happened that the several different peoples reported to Brinton, probably by as many different travelers, as separate groups, but whose languages proved to be closely related, were simply these bands of Cayapa who were then, as they are now, living apart from the main body along the Rio Cayapas. Furthermore, if the above assumption is true, it is probable that these Cayapa of the coast then recognized, as they do now, their identity with the main body of the people. [103] The fact that almost all the rivers, and especially all the smaller streams, as well as other physiographical features of the whole region, mentioned by Brinton, still bear names that are of Cayapa origin, is strong evidence that the Cayapa at a comparatively early date had spread over this large area and that they were familiar with and probably in possession of, so far as other Indians were concerned, the territory from a point some distance north of Tumaco southward. It therefore seems very probable that what appeared to Brinton as several linguistically related groups are in reality parts of a single group, and that formerly, as now, the only other people so far reported who have any

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

PHONETIC KEY

VOWELS

i	ĭ	ī
e	ē	
a		
o	ŏ	
u	ŭ	û
ai		

CONSONANTS

	Post-palatal	Medio-palatal	Pre-palatal	Dental	Labial-dental	Bi-labial
Stop	k g		t d	*t*	f v	p b
Spirant		c	s			
Nasal	ñ		n			m
Lateral			l			
Inverted			r			

y, h, w, as in English.
tc as *ch* in church.
ts as in sits.
ty, ly, dy, dipthongal combinations.
The apostrophe (') indicates a strong aspiration.
ⁿ nasalization.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Glossary of Manta Design Names

286
531
552
177
104

bait, karna'da. Also said to be the name of a certain crustacean, called in Spanish camaron brava. CXXIV, 55.

balya'lyac (untranslatable). CXXIII, 11; CXXVI, 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 23, 29, 32, 34, 35, 41, 43; CXXVII, 38.

basket. See pū'te.

belt or girdle, tcū'mbī, a term that may be used as part of the name of any design on a belt. CXXV, 44; CXXVI, 16, 17, 21, 28, 42; CXXVII, 21, 38.

bird, pī'tcū. CXXIV, 20, 23, 24, 29, 31, 43; CXXV, 6, 10, 13, 14.

la'pī'tcū. A small black and yellow bird, a good singer, much kept as a pet by the Cayapa. Spanish, pichichu. CXXIV, 44.

tū'mbītcīlilī. A small black bird with red beak. CXXIV, 39.

frigate bird, nyambīwa'tū. CXXIV, 34.

boa constrictor, we'sū. CXXVII, 1.

burro, bū'rū. CXXIV, 11.

buzzard, kū'ndūrūrū, petyū'tyū; Spanish, gallinaso. CXXIV 36, 44.

canoe design, kūm bī'lya: kūm, from kū'lo, canoe. CXXVI, 46.

centipede's hand, se'pīnde tyapa; hand (not leg) = tyapa'pa. CXXIV, 57; CXXVI, 49.

chicken, walya'pa. CXXIV, 26, 37.

color. Frequently an informant gave as the name of a particular design the name of the color of the material from which it was made. Such names, of course, have no significance in the interpretation of designs, but are of interest in that often they were the only ones obtainable. The names particularly used in this connection were:

te'nda, green thread, from a small shrub called te'nda tcī, the leaves of which provide the pigment used in coloring this thread. [386]

ka'kō, lavender thread, this color being obtained from a small periwinkle-like mollusk.

The names for other colors were almost never used in this manner.

cow, waga'ra, from Spanish vaca. CXXIII, 35; CXXIV, 10, 15.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 531 552 177 104

crab, ne'lū, the small red land-crab. CXXIII, 38; CXXIV, 55, 56, 58.

tepuī ne'lū, a certain species from the coast region. CXXIV, 55.

crab eye, ne'kapūka, ne'lū kapūka. This refers to the eye of the small red land-crab called ne'lū. CXXVII, 32, 38.

crab design, ne' pīlya: ne from ne'lū, crab; pī'lya, design. CXXVII, 12, 24, 25, 27, 30, 32, 34, 37.

ne' pīlya tyūndyū tcī lara: ne' pīlya, crab design; the remainder is untranslatable. CXXVII, 24, 25.

crab design technic (literally), ne' pīlya decīma. CXXVII, 37.

crab design white cotton (literally), ne' pīlya fībañ ūtcūa. CXXVII, 37.

cross, karū'sa, from Spanish cruz. CXXVII, 20.

deer, ma'na. CXXIII, 40, 41; CXXV, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13.

delam ba''ta (untranslatable). CXXVII, 29.

design. In many cases informants simply gave the term pī'lya, or bī'lya, which signifies design or pattern. It would appear that it was employed in cases where the design was of unknown signfication, or where it was newly introduced. Such a general term is, of course, applicable to all patterns.

belt design, tcū'mbī pīlya. This term applies to any pattern on a belt or girdle, regardless of its form. CXXVI, 10; CXXVII, 38. See belt.

horizontal design, de''pañ bīlya. CXXVI, 13.

dog, kū'tca. CXXIII, 45; CXXIV, 7, 19; CXXV, 12.

kū'tca petī: pe'tī is untranslatable. The rectangular figures of this pattern are referred to by this name. CXXVII, 42.

dove, Spanish, paloma. CXXIV, 29, 31.

pactū'kū. A reddish species as large as a chicken. CXXIV, 25.

wa'pū'pū. A small reddish species. CXXIV, 24, 42.

duck, Spanish, pato. CXXIV, 38.

dū'lalara kapūka (dū'lalara is untranslatable; kapū'ka, eye). CXXVII, 38.

ear, pū'ñge. CXXVI, 40.

egret, white, ka''tsū; Spanish, garsa. CXXIV, 45, 29.

e hū''la (e, big; hū''la, untranslatable). CXXVI, 5; CXXVII, 7, 10.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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e hū'rūlara (e, big; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 2.

e pala'tcū (e, big; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXV, 36; CXXVII, 1.

eye, kapū'ka. CXXV, 17, 23, 27, 32; CXXVII, 5, 23, 37, 38.

kapūka dalalake"tū (kapū'ka, eye; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 38.

ka' kapūka, "little eye." The small diamond-shape designs on mantas, etc. CXXV, 23, 27.

ka'pūka ya dētcū (kapū'ka, eye; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 5.

ka'pū tcī lara, to turn the eyes in an upward direction, i.e., to look decidedly upward. CXXVII, 28.

feast table, pa'kīgi, a contraction of piñba kīkī. CXXV, 20.

fruit, all classes, pū'ka. CXXVI, 41.

girdle. See belt.

goat, tcī'bū; Spanish, chivo. CXXIII, 26, 27; CXXIV, 9, 36.

guinea pig, a"tse. CXXIV, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11.

handkerchief, te'mbū balya'lya: te'mbū, a contraction of tembū'pū, handkerchief; balya'lya, untranslatable. CXXIV, 21; CXXVI, 47.

handkerchief design, te'mbū pīlya: tembū'pū, handkerchief. CXXIV, 21; CXXV, 39; CXXVI, 8, 9, 14, 30, 31, 38, 40, 44, 46, 47.

hawk, hūya'lyū; Spanish, gabilan. CXXIII, 41.

hō'lara (untranslatable). CXXIII, 28, 43; CXXVII, 10.

horse, kawa'lyū; Spanish, caballo. CXXIII, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37; CXXIV, 7, 14, 21, 28, 36; CXXV, 8, 14.

hū"la (untranslatable). CXXIII, 17, 21; CXXV, 32, 35, 38; CXXVI, 2, 3, 4, 6, 22; CXXVII, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17.

hū'lara (untranslatable). CXXVI, 9.

human being, tca'tcī, CXXIII, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 24, 28, 30, 43; CXXIV, 5, 6, 17; CXXV, 1, 2, 10.

hū'rūla (untranslatable). CXXVII, 5.

hū'rūlara (untranslatable). CXXIII, 17; CXXV, 32, 35, 38; CXXVI, 2, 3, 4, 6, 22; CXXVII, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17.

kūē'bū (untranslatable). CXXIV, 22.

kū'tca pe'tī (kū'tca, dog; pe'tī, untranslatable). The rectangular figures of this pattern are thus referred to. CXXVII, 42

ladder, lya'pī; Spanish, escalera. CXXVI, 23; CXXVII, 24, 25.

lya'tena, i.e. palm-wood steps of a house-ladder, CXXV, 15, 44; CXXVI, 10; CXXVII, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 **lizard.** CXXIV, 13.
531 bīmbū'ka, a large species; Spanish, piande. CXXIV, 58; CXXV, 36.
552 bī'mbū napīpū, i.e., egg of a lizard called bīmbū'ka. CXXVI, 1, 3, 6, 22.
177 bī'mbū nyapa, foot of a lizard called bīmbū'ka. CXXVI, 5.
●104 **monkey,** cu'rī, a small species; Spanish, machin and mīco. CXXIII, 22, 23, 29, 31, 39; CXXIV, 16; CXXV, 3, 4, 5, 6.
wo'cū, wa'cū, a species larger than the machin but smaller than the large black monkey called mongon; Spanish, mono. CXXIII, 22, 38, 45.
ne'lū kapūka. See crab eye.
nim bi'lya (untranslatable). This design is one of those most frequently employed. CXXVII, 12, 27, 32, 37.
pala'cla (untranslatable). CXXVI, 42; CXXVII, 21.
pala'c lara (untranslatable). CXXVI, 11.
pala'la (untranslatable). CXXIII, 9, 10; CXXVII, 14, 42.
pala'lac (untranslatable). CXXVII, 8.
pala'lara (untranslatable). CXXVI, 30; CXXVII, 14.
pala'ra (untranslatable). CXXV, 38.
pala'tcū (untranslatable; the only definition obtainable was the Spanish term garavata). CXXIII, 21; CXXV, 38; CXXVI, 48, 49; CXXVII, 14, 19, 20.
palū'c lara (untranslatable). CXXVI, 48.
pelican, nana''ka; Spanish alcatraz. CXXIII, 38, 42; CXXV, 21, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41.
petyū'tyū. See buzzard.
pilya dē'we: pī'lya, design; dē'we, possibly related to de'tcū, zigzag. CXXV, 31.
pitigua, etcūm bī'ū: probably related to te'tcūmb īlya, from te'tcūa, pitigua, and bī'lya, design. CXXV, 21.
pū'ka ka (untranslatable). CXXVI, 3, 4.
pū'te wilū'cla: pū'te, hamper-shape basket; wīlū'cla, untranslatable. CXXVI, 22.
ray, tongue of sting-ray, tyū'wī nī''ka. CXXV, 34.
scorpion, alaga'ra; Spanish, alacrán. CXXIV, 49, 50.
se'rañ dē'tcū (untranslatable). CXXV, 22.
sheep, bōrrī'gō, usually called bōrrī'gō by the Cayapa, but called also ōī'ca from Spanish oveja. CXXIV, 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 16.
snake, pīnī. CXXV, 21.
spider, mū'tele; Spanish, araña. CXXIII, 12; CXXIV, 46, 47, 49.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

steel, ĭ'clabō'ñ, i.e., iron used with flint in striking fire. CXXVII, 22, 40, 41, 42, 43.

stick, with which achote face-paint is applied, mō'pītcīpapa, mōpī ke'nū tcīpapa, mū'pī kenū tcīpapa. CXXVI, 29; CXXVII, 31.

tapū'lyū (untranslatable) CXXVII, 19.

tcū'mbi delam ba''ta (tcū'mbi, belt or girdle; delam ba''ta, untranslatable). CXXVII, 25.

technic, ba'ndilas, a certain basketry technic. CXXVII, 3, 4, 9, 12, 13.

te'pu balya'lya (untranslatable). CXXVI, 11, 41.

toad, sa'pū, from Spanish sapo. CXXIII, 4, 17, 18, 19, 20, 59.

top, tombē'ta, from Spanish trompo. CXXVII, 20.

turkey, domestic, kaste'lya walyapa, literally Spanish or Castilian chicken. CXXIV, 22.

turtle, pītcī'lī; Spanish, tortuga. CXXIV, 53, 54, 59; CXXVII, 15.

tyūlya'lya (untranslatable). CXXVI, 22, 28, 29, 30, 31, 38, 40, 44, 45.

tyūm bi'lya (tyūm, probably from te'tcūa, pitigua; bi'lya, design). CXXV, 20; CXXVI, 29, 32; CXXVII, 2.

tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable). CXXIV, 17; CXXVI, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 45; CXXVII, 24.

zigzag (generic), dē'tcū. This term is usually preceded by an adjectival term which indicates the particular kind of zigzag; viz., ē' dētcū, se'rañ dētcū, ūyū'mī dētcū, de''pañmī dētcū. CXXV, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 41, 42, 43; CXXVI, 21, 41; CXXVII, 4, 11, 12, 31, 33, 40, 42.

dē'tcū serañ tsūa; (dē'tcū, zigzag; no definite translation for the remainder of the term could be obtained). CXXV, 29.

ē' dētcū; literally, big zigzag; given also as crossed zigzag, though this meaning is doubtful. CXXV, 18, 27, 32, 40; CXXVI, 3, 10; CXXVII, 1, 22.

de''pamī dētcū, de''pañmī dētcū; horizontal zigzag. CXXV, 34.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

622
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and never by way of organized groups. There were no political groups, just individuals who occasionally voiced dissatisfaction.

John Embree in his comparison between Thai and Japanese social systems wrote in terms of close and loose structures:

> Loosely integrated here signifying a culture in which considerable variation of individual behavior is sanctioned (Embree 1950:182) . . . Where social structure is "close"--that is, where the behavior of the people conforms closely to the formal social patterns of human relations . . . it is difficult for an individual to deviate, and reciprocal rights and duties are clearly marked and carried out (Embree 1950:185).

Cayapa social organization is, in these terms, loosely integrated, and Cayapa behavior is marked by individuality but not by individualism. That is, there is no ethic of individualism, rugged or otherwise, held as an ideal, but rather the sociological concomitants of a bi-laterally structured kinship system, lacking corporate kin groupings, coupled with the lack of permanent action groups of any kind, usually preclude social involvements on other than an individual basis. A possible exception to this may be

[592]

571
183
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found in the household consisting of several related nuclear families, but even here, the group is contingent upon circumstances, variable in personnel and unstable in duration. Members of the household are in constant movement, tending their far flung farm plots, visiting kinfolk, traveling to the cities, and visiting curers.

[622]
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The lack of corporate involvements for the Cayapa effectively restricts political behavior to periods of turbulence and uncertainty such as occurred after the death of the late /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio Pianchichi, and the installation of his nephew, Gabriel Añapa, as the new governor. It may be, that whenever the office passes out of the direct line from father to son, political disturbances develop which may be exacerbated by personality factors. This seems to have been the case with Gabriel whose involvement in political events will be discussed shortly.

In terms of being a loosely structured society, the Cayapa differ from the Thai as discussed by Embree in an important manner:

571
183
105
156

> In Siamese society it is relatively easy to achieve a fait acompli by doing something not approved by other members of the group. But in so doing one does not necessarily achieve the acceptance of the others. The "accomplished fact" does not accomplish much (Embree 1950: 185).

It is precisely at this point that the Cayapa offer a dramatic contrast. The strong-minded deviant in Cayapa society can, by his determination, make his accomplished fact a model for emulation and ultimate acceptance by the members of his society. Cayapa society is structurally unable, in the normal course of events, to permit the development of concerted and protracted pressure on an individual deviant. The only approach to this occurred when Gabriel assumed his position as /ún^{y}i/. Gabriel was not a man who commanded respect from either the Negroes or the Indians. He did not speak Spanish well, he drank to excess and was unable to perform his duties, he was not well versed in the law, and he was a poor man. For the Cayapa, the /ún^{y}i/ should be a man of infinite wisdom, who is well spoken both in Cayapa and in Spanish, a man who can stand up to the Negroes for the Cayapa,

[622]
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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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a man who can govern justly with a minimum of friction. People may be born in this mold and others may change aspects of their personality and perceptions through the performance of required role behavior in new status positions. This latter situation is being structured by the Cayapa in terms of a unique kind of political behavior.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

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182

The nexus between the realms of Cayapa law, government, and politics, can be found in the area of personality and social structure. The law derives from a functional complex that is characterized by a deep-rooted anxiety, sexual inadequacy, heavy permissive and dependent drinking, periodic political behavior, and individual deviant behavior that ultimately leads to sweeping socio-cultural changes. The framework of this complex, and its legal derivative, is a society that is bi-laterally organized and lacks corporate bodies; whose only action groups are marked by constant changes in personnel, as individuals and family members move about tending their widespread land holdings. Cayapa fear and anxiety, coupled with a generalized fear of others, effectively blocks the formation of action groups that are more than temporary unions of very short duration. Even non-kin dyadic friendship groups were marked by extreme instability as the bonds of friendship are being constantly tried and probed and usually found wanting.

1: Heimann, Max. Die Cayapa-Indianer [The Cayapa Indians]. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, pp. 281-287. Berlin: Julius Springer for the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1932.

Yale: Nk10 Z37 v. 63-64. [HRAF MS: pp. 1-12]

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Mrs. Ruth Horine.

[This is a short, rather impressionistic and idealized account of the Cayapa Indians and their culture during the first part of the twentieth century. It includes brief sketches of their physical appearance, their manners in visiting a Colombian town, marriage customs, clothing, housing and child care. The author, a business man, lived in southwest Colombia for 35 years and was a German Vice-Consul for part of that time. He never visited a Cayapa village, but observed them in town and received reports from employees who had visited their towns. --Analyst]

Field date: 1895-1930
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Foreign Resident-4, 5
Processed in 1957

2: Murra, John. The Cayapa and Colorado. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin, No. 143, Vol. 6, pp. 277-291. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1948. 6 plates. HRAF copy.

Omitted from the Files: the section on the Colorado, pp. 285-291.

[This article, by a social anthropologist, is taken from the Handbook of South American Indians. It gives very brief accounts of history, subsistence, settlements, clothing, manufactures, transportation, economics, socio-political organization, religion, life cycle and esthetics. The author is now teaching at Vassar College. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Social Anthropologist-6
Processed in 1957

3: Barrett, Samuel Alfred. The Cayapa Indians of Ecuador. Indian Notes and Monographs, No. 40, Parts I and II. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1925.

(First volume) pp. xvi, 1-181; plates 1-90; text figures 1-13; 1 map. (Second volume) pp. viii, 183-476; plates 91-142; text figures 14-29; 25 tables.

Yale: C52.4 II.40 1-2.

[The author, for many years anthropology curator of the Milwaukee Public Museum, did much work in North American archaeology and ethnology, as well as some work in East Africa. The material in the present work was gathered by him on an expedition for the Heye Foundation. The work is primarily a descriptive study of the Cayapa, and contains very detailed material on the economic life and material culture of the people. Descriptions are given of the ceremonial life and beliefs of the Cayapa, as well as sections devoted to kinship, government, etc. The very few bibliographical references will be found in the footnotes. --Analyst]

Field date: 1908-1909
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1957

4: Altschuler, Milton. The Cayapa. A Study in Legal Behavior. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1964. University Microfilms Dissertation No. 65-995. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1965.

Pp. [introductory vi], v, 250; 1 map; case locator; bibliography.

HRAF copy.

[The field work for this study was carried out among the Cayapa Indians of Esmeraldas Province in northwestern Ecuador, particularly those of the Punta Venado tribal group in the Río Camerones region. The author's main focus is on the area of Cayapa social control through law and government. This approach to the analysis of the data was based on the functional-realist approach to law propounded by E. Adamson Hoebel. In setting the stage for the functional interpretations, the author provides a very good summary of Cayapa culture and ecology. Five other chapters are devoted to discussions of social organization, courtship and marriage, deviancy and law in the area of sex relations (i.e., in regard to incest, adultery and polygyny), land, property and inheritance, and the Cayapa psychological dimension. A final chapter presents his conclusions on the interpretation of his data, generally in terms of the adaptation of Cayapa legal norms to changing patterns of social customs and behavior. Information on the Negroes of Esmeraldas Province has been marked for categories 171, 177 or 186 as appropriate.]

Field date: 1959-1960
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966

113, 563

[For information on the Negroes of Esmeraldas Province, Northwestern Ecuador, see 4: Altschuler, SD6 Cayapa, category 116 passim.]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

113

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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THE CAYAPA INDIANS*

by

Max Heimann

101 In the far north west of the Ecuadorian Republic there is a river
131 named the Santiago. Near the village of Borbon it is joined by
133 one of its tributaries, the Cayapa River. The Cayapa Indians, a
161 harmless tribe consisting of no more than 2500 persons, live on the upper reaches of the Cayapa River and around its sources.

000 I have never been able to understand why they are called "uncivilized" and "savage." Would it be because they dress more simply, more comfortably, more suitably and cheaply than we European fashion slaves? Or would it be because they speak their own language, unknown to us, and because they do not know how to read and write and do not stuff their heads with the dead weight taught in schools and called "education"? Or even, would it be because they have other customs and manners as well as different moral concepts?

181 One thing is certain—the Cayapa are happy people, because they are more satisfied with their lot than we Europeans, who are so demanding and feel so superior with our conceit in our sham civilization, in the clothes prescribed for us by the tyrants of "fashion" and in the "wisdom" acquired in schools.

439 They frequently come to town in small groups of five to 20
484 persons. I have seen them many hundreds of times, but again and
142 again I am delighted when I meet these small, but well-built and sturdy [282] figures. The men are not taller than 150-160 cm. (Translator--5 ft. to 5ft. 4 in.), while the women are barely 140 cm. (Translator--4 ft. 8 in.). Their skin is copper brown in color.

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114 * The author a business man, lived in Tumaco (southwest Colombia) for 35 years (1895-1930) and was German Vice-Consul for the Departamento Nariño from 1907 to 1920. Although he never actually visited Cayapa villages, he did have occasions to see and question groups of them "many hundreds of times," on their frequent visits to Tumaco. Apart from this, several of his employees have been in Cayapa villages and have given him reports. (K. Th. Preuss).

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

THE CAYAPA AND COLORADO

By JOHN MURRA

INTRODUCTION

The *Cayapa* and the *Colorado* are the last surviving Indian groups in the lush western lowlands of Ecuador (maps 1 and 6). Once an area of extensive Indian occupation, western Ecuador is now inhabited by a Spanish-speaking population of mixed Indian, Negro, and white ancestry, known as montuvios. The *Cayapa* and *Colorado* have precariously managed to hang on to their jungle homes. Speaking closely related if mutually unintelligible languages of the *Barbacoan* division of the *Chibchan* family, they represent the southernmost extension of that major division. Comparative studies with other *Chibchan*-speaking groups in Highland and eastern Colombia, with *Quechua*-speaking Indians in Highland Ecuador, and with various Montaña groups should prove of considerable culture-historical interest.

THE CAYAPA

The *Cayapa* are a riverain people inhabiting the lowlands of northwestern Ecuador. Sprinkled through the jungles of Esmeraldas Province, an area of difficult colonization and control, they managed for centuries to avoid the enslavement suffered by their Highland neighbors or the ethnic annihilation of most Coast aborigines. Only in the past few decades have their settlements been pushed back into the hills by Spanish-speaking montuvio and Negro homesteaders. World War II requirements in balsa wood, rubber, and other tropical commodities have accelerated this process of displacement and acculturation.

The Cayapa River and its affluents, from the mouth of the Anzole to the foot of the Andes, are the main area of *Cayapa* settlement. Barrett (1925) found three concentration spots: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, corresponding to three political, tribal divisions, which might since have shifted or amalgamated. In addition, small groups of *Cayapa*, in various degrees of acculturation, are found in the Santiago Valley and along the coast into Colombia. Estimates of their numbers vary but hover around a mean of 2,000.

The chief source and authority on the *Cayapa* remains S. A. Barrett's monograph (1925). Barrett visited them in 1908–9, long enough to bring

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

●114 back an exhaustive account of their subsistence pattern and material culture as well as considerable data on religion and ceremonial life. According to modern interests, the report is weak in life-cycle data and economics, and a serious drawback is the almost complete lack of comparative considerations. Moreover, it describes a culture with marked European influences. Nevertheless, at this writing, it remains one of our most complete accounts of an aboriginal South American group. The remaining titles in the bibliography refer to linguistic treatises, hearsay accounts, and phantasies of hurried travelers.

The inaccessibility of their habitat facilitated the *Cayapa's* survival into the 20th century, but it also prevented most chroniclers from visiting their land. Early references to naked and painted Indians living along the Patia River in large houses on tall poles and wearing gold ornaments might refer to the *Cayapa* or to some other *Chibchan* people. Jijón y Caamaño (1940–45, vol. 2) has reproduced fragments from an unpublished Cabello Balboa chronicle discussing the people of Esmeraldas Province during the 16th century. Among the peoples figuring prominently in Cabello Balboa's report are the *Nigua*, an Indian group inhabiting traditional *Cayapa* territory. Jijón y Caamaño's suggestion (1940–45, vol. 2) that the *Nigua* and *Cayapa* are one people seems tentatively acceptable.

Both peoples claimed to have descended from the Andean Highlands, though it is unclear if they were refugees from the *Inca* or Spanish invasions. As reported by Barrett, this tradition is very strong even now, four centuries after the Conquest, permeating various divergent activities of the *Cayapa*, who date many techniques and artifacts in terms of pre- or post-migration practices. In 1907 Beuchat and Rivet had pointed to toponymic and archeological similarities between Esmeraldas Province and the *Cara* country in the Highlands. Later work by Jijón y Caamaño (1912, 1919, 1940–45, vol. 2) has strengthened the case for *Chibchan* affiliation of the *Cara* language and given a measure of confirmation to native tradition.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 [311] Agriculture is the main occupation of the *Cayapa*, although fishing and hunting supply a large percentage of their food. Each house is surrounded by clearings and fields, and additional clearings are customarily made away from the river, in the bush. Most families have fields of plantains, bananas, sugarcane, coca, and sweet manioc (yuca); in addition, cotton, tobacco, maize, yams, and pineapples are frequently cultivated. Many wild plants are encouraged through weeding and other care.

241 [262] [230] Plantains (pl. 60, *bottom, right*) form the staple food of the *Cayapa*, and each family will have several acres planted to this perennially ripening fruit. Bananas are fed to the hogs and cover an acreage almost as large as that of the plantain.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

PREFACE

THE information contained in this volume was obtained during the period from July, 1908, to April, 1909, when the author lived with the Cayapa Indians of northwestern Ecuador. This work was suggested to Mr George G. Heye by Prof. Marshall H. Saville, when he found the rich archeological deposits at La Tolita, near the mouth of Rio Santiago, and was undertaken for the purpose of obtaining information with which to solve certain problems connected with the highly developed prehistoric art in pottery and metalwork shown especially in and about the mounds at La Tolita. The results of the present research have failed to give any clew to the manufacturers of these archeological objects, owing to the great antiquity of the culture represented by them and to the fact that the Cayapa Indians are comparatively recent immigrants into this region. However, many interesting and important observations concerning the ethnology of the region were made, and the results of these are here offered as a contribution to the ethnology of this hitherto little known region of northwestern South America. Forming as they did a part of the field research of the Marie Antoinette Heye Expedition, the studies whose results are the subject of the present work were due to Mrs Heye's interest and generous patronage.

The author left San Francisco in June, 1908, so calculating the time of his journey as to connect, via New Orleans and Colon, with a vessel of the Pacific Naviga-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

tion Company at Panama for Esmeraldas. Owing, however. to the irregularity of schedule along this western coast, it was necessary to remain a fortnight in Panama until the next steamer sailed. The arrival of this vessel from the south brought a welcome visit from Professor Saville, who, returning from a summer's archeological research in Ecuador, was able to give further valued information concerning the region to be visited and the encouraging news that health conditions there were then favorable.

Finally. after a voyage of five days, with the usual stops at Buenaventura and Tumaco, our vessel dropped anchor in the harbor of Esmeraldas, where the author was warmly greeted by Mr George D. Hedian, American consular agent at Esmeraldas. Mr Hedian had known Professor Saville for three years and had participated with him in the archeological expedition of the previous summer. His cordial interest, therefore, was threefold: that of a consul, that of a coworker, and, above all. that interest born of whole-souled friendship, as was amply proved throughout the author's stay in the region, and especially evidenced by his fraternal kindness in times of illness and on many other occasions. Mr Hedian's good advice concerning methods of travel and health precautions. and his kind offices in arranging matters of business concerning the expedition, were a result of long residence in the region and of thorough knowledge of the country and its people. The writer takes this opportunity to express his personal appreciation of Mr Hedian's many courtesies.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

It seemed best for the writer to remain in Esmeraldas for about a week in order to recuperate from a slight fever contracted at Tumaco during a canoe trip of a few hours to inspect the mounds on El Morro island in the bay of Tumaco. During this week he also had an opportunity to meet all the people of importance in Esmeraldas, the capital and chief city of the province of the same name, and to outfit so far as was necessary for the trip up the Rio Cayapas. Among others the author met the Governor of the province, who kindly gave him letters of recommendation to the local teniente politico at La Tola.

Finally, passage was obtained for La Tolita on a balandra, or small sloop. The author was accompanied by Mr Hedian, who had arranged his affairs in order to accompany him among the Indians and to see that he was properly introduced to some of their head-men.

After a journey of two days we disembarked at La Tolita, where we were hospitably received by Señor Don Pablo I. Sánchez, owner of the hacienda, and by Señor Don Calixto Ramírez, his business manager. Both of these estimable Spanish gentlemen facilitated in every way the work of the expedition, and it is a pleasure to acknowledge their many kindnesses. Mention must also be made of the tender care given the author during illness by these two and by Señora Sánchez, Señor Don Maximiliano Sánchez, and Señor Don Manuel. Acknowledgment should also be made to these friends for their interest in obtaining a considerable collection of pottery and stone objects from

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

114 La Tolita mines, which were presented to the author for the collections of what later became the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

This opportunity is taken to acknowledge also our indebtedness to Señor Don Donato Yannuzzelli, of Palma, and to his brother Señor Don Antonio Yannuzzelli, of Esmeraldas, as also to Messrs Dumarest Brothers and others for various favors which contributed to the success of our undertaking.

After several days spent in preparation at La Tolita, we embarked on our canoe trip up the Rio Cayapas, arriving on the second day at the house of Señor Don José Trejo, Secretario de la Gobernación of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa, who, on being assured that we were not connected with some new mining project, cheerfully permitted us to establish camp in his cane-mill on the bank of the river opposite his house.

After remaining two days, Mr Hedian returned down the river, leaving the author to establish further friendly relations which would enable him to prosecute his investigations to advantage. By care and diplomacy the Indians were convinced that the expedition was not secretly prospecting for mining properties, and that there was no danger of interference with their lands and liberties. In due time, therefore, friendly relations were effected, especially with Don José, and with Señor Don Antonio Nupa, head chief, or gobernador, of the Punta Venado division; and ultimately the confidence of the latter particularly, and of various others, was gained to such an extent that it was possible to procure

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the desired information concerning the entire culture of the Cayapa people, given in detail in this volume, as well as notes on the language which will appear later. It is fitting that acknowledgment be made here to the Cayapa Indians for their generous hospitality and assistance, contrary to the rule obtaining in North America, almost wholly without direct compensation other than a little medical aid now and then. Especially should acknowledgment be made to their chief, Don Antonio, who made the author virtually a member of his household, and who, together with the other members of his family, facilitated the investigation in every way.

The plates in this volume were reproduced from negatives made by the author in the field and from photographs of specimens collected while the work was in progress and now in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. A similar collection was gathered at the same time for the Königlicher Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. The drawings of the objects in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, were made by Mr Rudolph Weber and Mr William Rinaker of New York, and Mr George Peter of Milwaukee.

The detail map of the Cayapa region is based on Banares's map, made for the provincial government, bearing the title "Plano Topográfico del Río Cayapas y sus Principales Afluentes Levantado en Diciembre de 1892 por Santiago M. Banares, Ingeniero de la Comisión Exploradora." The Governor of the Province of Esmeraldas courteously permitted the author to make a copy of this map, which proved very useful in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

many ways. Investigation showed, however, that the map is not entirely correct in certain details; but these imperfections were adjusted on the copy, and further additions were made from a map placed at the disposal of the Museum by the courtesy of the American Geographical Society of New York.

The elaboration of the results of the field work into their final form has been accomplished under many difficulties, since in large measure it has been necessary to perform the task at odd moments after the author's regular duties as a museum curator were finished day by day. Furthermore, the absence of an adequate library within easy reach has added to the difficulties. Acknowledgment is made to The Field Museum of Natural History, of Chicago, for the special privilege of consulting, on Sundays, its books dealing with South America, these being the only days it was possible to visit Chicago for the purpose.

The author takes this opportunity to express his appreciation of the hearty cooperation and of the many valuable suggestions of Professor Saville and of the late George H. Pepper in the preparation of this work; and especially does he wish to acknowledge his gratitude to Mr Heye for his constant encouragement and sympathetic interest.

S. A. Barrett

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

General Characteristics

The measurements of seventy individuals which follow were made during the last days of the stay among the Cayapa. On departing from New York for this region no anthropometric instruments were available, and arrangements were made to have a set sent later. However, month after month having passed without the arrival of the instruments, it became necessary, near the latter part of the stay, to make them. Through the kindness of Señor Don Donato Vanonnelli, owner of the Hacienda of Palma, the author was enabled to make a serviceable measuring rod in the shops connected with Señor Vanonnelli's sawmill. For this purpose a thoroughly seasoned piece of hardwood called in Spanish guayacan was procured and sized with exactness. This was then carefully graduated with a metric rule and when provided with a spring-arm made a serviceable instrument.

Care was always taken to keep the rod from getting wet or subject to conditions that would tend to change its length. After the completion of the measurements the rod was proved with metric rules to make sure that no change in length had taken place. This rod, a pair of calipers lent by Señor Vanonnelli, and a small thirty-centimeter rule, provided the instruments necessary for the work, and it was possible with these in a short time to procure the measurements here presented.

In the majority of cases the Indians submitted readily to measurement, and had more time been available it

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

would have been possible to obtain a much more complete series. However, with this series of seventy measurements, of which thirty-six represent males and thirty-four females (including nineteen adult males and twenty-one adult females), it is possible to arrive at a fairly clear conception of the physical characteristics of the Cayapa as a tribe. These measurements and the indices computed from them appear in tabular form in the following pages.

The tables of measurements and indices show that the Cayapa on the whole are short in stature, the men averaging only 155 cm. and the women only 146 cm. The range of individual variation among the men, as also among the women, is 14 cm. Among the men there are at least a few individuals who appeared to be somewhat taller than the maximum here given, but as a tribe the Cayapa must be considered somewhat below the average in stature. The difference in stature between men and women is 11.27 cm.; that is to say, the men are 7.7 percent. taller than the women. Considering the fact that the Cayapa as a tribe are low in stature, this is a high percentage. In fact in most races of low stature this difference usually approaches 5 percent. of the female stature. Larger series would probably alter these results somewhat, but it seems probable that they would remain substantially the same since the individuals measured, of both sexes, were about the average of the tribe as a whole.

According to the averages of the cephalic indices of all four classes, men, boys, women, and girls, the Cayapa are clearly brachycephalic. Further, when the indi-

Cayapa and Colorado and thereby systematically proved the relationship that had always been assumed on purely inspectional grounds (Moore 1962). The most recent classification proposed by Greenberg places Cayapa-Colorado within the sub family called Paezan, which together with Chibchan proper belongs to the Macro-Chibchan family (Greenberg 1956). This classification is similar to that proposed by Mason (Mason 1950:180). A claim that Cayapa is closely related to Mayan is proposed by Professor Aquiles R. Perez T; however, the documentation is not convincing at present (Perez 1960: 491-494).

History. The first actually reliable information on the Cayapa comes from the pen of W. B. Stevenson, who visited them briefly in 1809. At that time, there was but one group of Cayapa (those who lived in the vicinity of Punta Venado). The chief, or alcalde, as Stevenson called him, carried a "baston, insignia of authority" which he presented to Stevenson. He then ordered the Indians to obey Stevenson ". . . and they advanced one after another to kiss the head of the baston, and accompanied me to the house of the alcalde, which was

situated about thirty yards from the river side" (Stevenson 1829:409). Unfortunately, Stevenson's description of Cayapa life was meager, for he was much more interested in the Malába, a group of reputedly wild Indians who lived along the Río San Miguel, a tributary of the Río Cayapas. The Cayapa were as loathe to visit the Malába as Stevenson was eager to do so. After some hesitation, the alcalde, having been promised various gifts, ordered two men to take Stevenson up river. It is of considerable interest to note that the Cayapa chief had sufficient authority to order two of his people to accompany Stevenson into the land of the "savage" Malába. Stevenson reported that the Malába were quite gentle and that they spoke a variant of Quechua, a language spoken throughout the Andes from Ecuador to Peru and Bolivia. The Malába no longer exist as an ethnic group; however, this is the term used by the present day Cayapa to designate a group of evil spirits that dwell somewhere in the monte or bush.

It would appear, given the position of the Cayapa near the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas and the Malába at its upper reaches, that the migration of the Cayapa from their ancient Andean homeland as stated in

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> It is in respect to residence that changes in economy, technology, property, government, or religion first alter the structural relationships of related individuals to one another, giving an impetus to subsequent modifications in forms of the family. . . . and in kinship terminology (Murdock 1949:202).

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Murdock analyzed Barrett's kinship data and concluded that the Cayapa possess a bi-Eskimo system and that there is an incipient transition toward normal Hawaiian reflected in alternative niece and cousin terms. (Murdock 1949:228 table 61). My own data reveal an Iroquois type cousin terminology as defined by Murdock (Murdock 1949:223)! Barrett records /maŋgúku/ (written phonemically by the writer) for both the father's sister and the mother's sister. My own data show /maŋgúku/ to be restricted to the mother's sister, while the term /un^{y}ún^{y}u/ is used for the father's sister. Similarly, in Barrett's material the father's brother is equated with the mother's brother under three alternative terms: /apíku/, /apípi/, /yapípi/, whereas we recorded these terms only for the father's brother, while the mother's brother is called /ahčíyu/. The terms, /un^{y}ún^{y}u/ 'father's sister' and /ahčíyu/ are discussed by Barrett:

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in-laws grandparents. By reversing Barrett's statement in line with this simple observation it can be said that the primary meaning of /ančápa/is 'father-in-law' and secondarily and tenuously, 'grandfather.'

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Descent is today still bi-lateral, and residence is still bi-local with neo-locality as a very common alternate. Murdock in discussing incest taboos and their extensions placed the Cayapa in class B2-M1-P1.

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> B2. Minimal Bilateral Extension.--marriage forbidden or disapproved with all first cousins but permitted with at least some second cousins.
> M1. Matrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend marriage prohibitions further in the female line than in any other.
> P1. Patrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend prohibitions further in the male line than in any other (Murdock 1949: 302-303).

Murdock in this classification went beyond the data presented by Barrett; the Cayapa should have been classified in the category of Normal Bilateral Extension. Kindreds are unreported by Barrett, but are established in our data. There are two terms which may be translated as 'family' or 'kindred,' /pándatála/, /pánda/ 'food, plantain,' /-tála/ 'together,' and /búlutála/. Maximino Mendoza Añapa's father's brother brought him a woman to marry, but Maximino refused, saying that she is /lála búlutalába/ 'we-family-together-with.' The

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of the would-be bridegroom notified Arcilio who, in turn, sent Bardonero Cimarrón who is 'family' to the bridegroom to demand that the girl be delivered. Kalía also remonstrated with his mother. Finally, she stated that as long as the girl seemed to be pregnant, she would agree to the marriage.

Not only did the mother flout the authority of the /ún^{y}i/, it is very likely that if she had been strongly adamant, she would perhaps have been whipped, but she would have kept her daughter. The matter of marriage commissions is most intriguing. Clearly, this sort of match-making could not take place in a society in which there were strong corporate bodies, where family extensions were important. In a society as loosely structured as is the Cayapa, the marriage commissions could rove the countryside with a minimum of interference.

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Widows and Widowers. Max Heiman states that widows and widowers never remarry among the Cayapa (Heiman 1931:287). My studies among the Cayapa fail completely to substantiate Heiman's statement. In point of fact, most widows and widowers remarry, the only

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1: Heimann F-4,5 (1895-1930) 1932 SD6 Cayapa SD6

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The Cayapa Indians
(Die Cayapa-Indianer)

By Max Heimann

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Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie

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Human Relations Area Files
1957

[Title page]

THE CAYAPA INDIANS*

by
Max Heimann

101 In the far north west of the Ecuadorian Republic there is a river
131 named the Santiago. Near the village of Borbon it is joined by
133 one of its tributaries, the Cayapa River. The Cayapa Indians, a
161 harmless tribe consisting of no more than 2500 persons, live on the upper reaches of the Cayapa River and around its sources.

000 I have never been able to understand why they are called "uncivilized" and "savage." Would it be because they dress more simply, more comfortably, more suitably and cheaply than we European fashion slaves? Or would it be because they speak their own language, unknown to us, and because they do not know how to read and write and do not stuff their heads with the dead weight taught in schools and called "education"? Or even, would it be because they have other customs and manners as well as different moral concepts?

181 One thing is certain--the Cayapa are happy people, because they are more satisfied with their lot than we Europeans, who are so demanding and feel so superior with our conceit in our sham civilization, in the clothes prescribed for us by the tyrants of "fashion" and in the "wisdom" acquired in schools.

439 They frequently come to town in small groups of five to 20
484 persons. I have seen them many hundreds of times, but again and
142 again I am delighted when I meet these small, but well-built and sturdy [282] figures. The men are not taller than 150-160 cm. (Translator--5 ft. to 5ft. 4 in.), while the women are barely 140 cm. (Translator--4 ft. 8 in.). Their skin is copper brown in color.

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114 * The author a business man, lived in Tumaco (southwest Colombia) for 35 years (1895-1930) and was German Vice-Consul for the Departamento Nariño from 1907 to 1920. Although he never actually visited Cayapa villages, he did have occasions to see and question groups of them "many hundreds of times," on their frequent visits to Tumaco. Apart from this, several of his employees have been in Cayapa villages and have given him reports. (K. Th. Preuss).

142 Their bodies are clean, and I have never seen a Cayapa who had a
[515] rash or boils, and only few who had scars. Their hair is thick, bristly
[302] and dull black in color; the beardless men wear it semi-long to the nape of the neck, while the women let it hang loose and open so that it not only covers their backs and ears, but in part even their fore-
291 heads and cheeks. Their clothes are extremely modest. The men wear a sleeveless, shirt-like, loose gown, which usually reaches to the hips only, but is sometimes longer, reaching to the knees, in which case it seems to be the holiday attire, and it looks richer having a border of differently colored cloth. These clothes are made of thin, very bright and cheap cotton materials. On special occasions
292 they even dress in gala clothes, which differ from their every-day
531 clothes in that they are decorated with straight lines or zig-zag de-
301 signs of shells. In addition they may deck themselves out in their
177 most precious ornaments consisting of two to ten long necklaces made of multi-colored glass beads as well as (at least from their point of view) especially beautiful neck and arm ornaments consisting of the cardboards 6 cm. wide so well known to all of us, with a whole gross of ordinary porcelain shirt-buttons on each just as they were delivered by the European manufacturers. But even among them there are
292 dandies and fashion hounds, who manage to pick up a useless old
177 black waistcoat somewhere, which they then decorate with a lot of white shells and buttons, wearing it as a sort of open vest over their red or blue shirts. But imagine the happiness of the young man who in addition to this splendor, has managed to acquire a stiff round felt hat. No matter how shabby, battered, greasy and much too small it may be on his fat pate with the thick mop of hair, he is proud of his elegance and would not change places even with the governor. The
622 Gobernador de los Cayapas (Governor of the Cayapas) is one of their
177 chiefs, of which each village or district has one—yes of course—he
292 is a great gentleman—he can afford it—he not only wears a shell
301 bedecked waistcoat over his red cotton shirt, but over it still another long, black morning-coat, which he has bought from or been given by Don So-and-so, because it had become too tight, unfashionable or shabby for the latter. And around his neck and wrists he wears especially wide cardboards with buttons in proportion to his dignity. Naturally it would be considered unseemly for a governor to come to town without suitable head-gear, even if it be only a self-made straw panama hat for lack of a black felt hat. But even he does not wear
[293] trousers or shoes, which are considered superfluous and burdensome; instead he carries in his right hand a wooden stick five feet long with a silver knob as a symbol of his position and power.

301 The women's clothes are much simpler and scantier than the
291 men's. They simply consist of a piece of cotton cloth dyed blue, black or red, about two yards long, which is tightly wrapped around the lower part of the body and is tied at the waist with flax cord. The upper part of the body, up to the waist, and legs, from the feet to the knees, remain totally uncovered. By way of ornaments they wear long strings of tiny colored beads around the wrists and long, colored bead necklaces around the neck, as well as self-made mother-of-pearl amulets and some of the more well-to-do women even wear strings of silver coins. Bead necklaces are also
[584] worn in large numbers by young men during the period of their betrothal. In other words the women's wardrobes are not a serious worry to the husbands. Up to their sixth year, children run about completely naked apart from some bead or button ornaments likewise hung on them.

481 The men walk ahead of their wives, a long leaf-shaped paddle
562 in one hand and a small net-like basket containing as little as
482 possible in the other, while the heavily laden women trot behind them with short, swaying steps, along with the children. Even from their visits to town one can observe that the woman has been given the role of the load and work-horse.

482 On her back the woman carries a heavily laden basket which is strapped around her forehead, while the youngest child sits thrust out in riding position on her hip, with the mother's arm holding him tightly. In her other hand she usually carries a bundle and a cooking pot.

574 One of their first visits in town is at the local priest's. The
797 latter claims that the Cayapa are Catholics. But this is not true.
301 Probably they only go to the priest because he seeks to prove the blessings of the Catholic Church by means of small presents and holy coins, which, one must admit, do look very pretty worn around the neck. At home they have their own cult.

481 Their happiness is apparent when they leave the vicarage, be-
198 cause they have again received presents. They amble down the business streets, curious, amazed and admiring as they go from one shop to the other. "Chindo, Kachindo, compadre?" the gutter-snipes call after them. (The first two words are in the Cayapa language, the third is Spanish; the sentence means: "Where'ye going, fellow?") "Caminando, viendo, comprando, compadre"
[91] ("going for a walk, seeing, buying, brother") the men answer politely, but in very poor Spanish.

437 They have sold the new small canoes, tree bark mats
501 (damajaguas), palm-leaf fans, rubber and rolls of liana (these are
285 used in the construction of bamboo huts to tie up the palm-leaves
283] on the [284] roofs and for some other purposes in lieu of string),
which they have brought from the villages and with the cash they
have earned they now make their small purchases. They have
few wants and do not need much: a few feet of cotton cloth, a
chopping knife, some salt, a small mirror, glass beads, fish hooks,
[411] powder and small shot for the old muzzle-loader which a few of
them may own. This would be all their heart desires. It is little,
even very little, and yet it takes long, even very long, until they
have made their choice and finally decided to buy. First they
talk it over among themselves in their guttural and sónorous lan-
guage and then they start bargaining, and then they count out their
money slowly and cautiously; finally having managed to get the
[462] desired goods, they packed them into the nearly full basket car-
ried by the wife. The women and girls timidly hide behind their
576 menfolk. When spoken to, they do not answer, although they
571 understand sufficient Spanish. Their jealous menfolk have strictly
[191] forbidden them to enter into conversation with men of other races
or tribes. They draw back bashfully. But if the husband is not
present, only the mother or brother, the women become very
loquacious, especially when their tongue has been untied by a
small present—a mirror, necklace or something of the kind. And
they are happy beyond words if you caress their little child, who
looks like a Japanese baby painted brown, and has a friendly smile
even for a stranger. It is amusing to watch the women meeting a
fashionably dressed lady in one of the shops; then they surround
her laughing, amazed and admiring, but they do not appear to be
jealous of the lace dresses worn by European women. The men,
on the other hand, do not honor even the most beautiful and most
elegant white lady with so much as a glance.

142 The Cayapa girls are pretty from the age of 12 to 16 years,
302 their bodies somewhat plump, but still with a beautiful shape.
584 Sometimes young men and women can be seen with red and black
streaks and dots on their faces, chest, arms and legs; this is a
sign that they are engaged.

505 Once their business in town is finished they prepare for the re-
turn journey to their villages. "Adios compadre, adios compadres,"
and chattering and laughing, happy and content, they hurry to
the shore where their canoes are moored. On their way they

505 might hear a piano or phonograph music from somewhere. That they still must quickly take a look at. The entire crowd rushes busily into the house concerned and up the stairs. Their curiosity is soon satisfied and they come down again and now they must be off quickly so as to be able to make use of the tide current. Their
501 unpainted canoes are 8 to 10 meters (Translator--about 8 to 10 yds.) in length and from 70 to 90 centimeters (Translator--2 1/3 to 3 ft.) in width. They are slim and pleasing in shape and have
[531] black colored decorations around the edges. Each one of them accommodates from 5 to 8 persons, close together, with their meager belongings. They paddle along nimbly with their leaf-shaped oars and, while their canoes glide along silently and swiftly, the entire crowd has soon disappeared in the mouth of the
484 Mira River. It will take them two days to reach their hometowns.
648 During the journey they camp in the open over night, somewhere along the shore, in an empty pasture. But they have to be careful. Occasionally they are attacked and robbed there by Negroes, and if they resist, they are murdered in cold blood. Only recently a whole group of them, men, women and children, 14 persons altogether, were most cruelly murdered on the Mira River by some bestial Negroes.

101 [285] However, our friends will now have arrived home safe
342 and sound on the upper Cayapa River. They are greeted from afar
361 by the friendly smoke of their own hearths. Their villages con-
824 sist of a few, widely dispersed bamboo huts of a most primitive type. A few uncut tree trunks have simply been rammed into the earth in a rectangle. The floor is at a height of 3 to 4 meters (Translator--ca. 3 to 4 yds.) and is made of split bamboo. Above this, at an equal distance, is the roof made of coconut (?) palm (Steinnusspalme) leaves. That is the entire structure. Since these houses have no walls, it is obivous that doors and windows are not
417 required either. The trunk of the Ceiba trees, light as a cork,
824 into which a few steps are hewn, serves as stairs. (The Ceiba tree
512 produces the silk-like balsa wool, called "Kapok" on the European market.) These stairs are obliquely leaned on, without being fastened anywhere. A hen-roost can be climbed more easily than one of these Cayapa ladders. In order to be somewhat safe from surprises by unwanted visitors, the ladders are drawn up to the living quarters overnight, and when a family goes on a trip, the ladder is thrown into the river and left to float away. After
322 all it is so simple and easy to fetch another Ceiba trunk from the nearby forest on returning and quickly hack a few step-like cuts into it with a chopping knife.

352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
412 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cooking utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunt-
622 ing and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
796 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

584 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
583 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible, consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They will not part with their daughter without receiving a *good price* for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
[411] family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows, i. e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these. It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique will administer a hundred blows (well-counted on fingers and toes) with the ship. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
[273] can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato (corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
[415] ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

585
[415] they are by bringing along "Mates" and "Calabazas," i.e. bowls and pitchers made of the rind of pumpkin-like fruit, into which they put the greatest part of the food and drink offered in order to carry them home. Only when everybody has eaten until he is ready to burst and the majority are rather drunk, the wedding draws to a close. The young couple is finally left alone and may go to their hut. But before the couple are allowed to enjoy their love to the full, they must pass through a long cruel (because it is continent) trial period. They live and sleep together under their
[286] common mosquito-net made of cotton with red flowers, but not as husband and wife, but as brother and sister, and they are not allowed to touch each other for an entire year. They must remain pious, chaste and abstemious, no matter how difficult it may be for them. The purpose is to steel the virtue of abstemiousness and the strength of will. Only when this period of fasting and trial is over, may they succumb to the ecstasies of love. Woe to those
684 who cannot withstand and secretely attempt to taste of the forbidden fruit before the end of the trial year—if discovered they pay for their crime with their lives or have to seek refuge immediately in another territory which cannot be reached by the punishing arm of their strict rulers. Only once I had occasion to watch how a fiancé, who was violently in love, gingerly and furtively with trembling hands touched the arm and naked breast of his betrothed.

302 During this year of betrothal they use red and black plant juices
584 to paint their faces, chests, arms and legs with streaks and dots. This custom corresponds to our engagement announcements and wedding rings.

846 Immediately after the birth of a baby, the young mother gets
[515] up from her bed, goes to the river and bathes. Bathing in the river is one of the Cayapas' passions. Each and everyone of them take at least two or even three baths per day. The young mother has barely left her child when the grandmother cleans it up a bit, puts it down again; and then the father lies down with it, staying in bed with the child from three to five weeks, letting his wife nurse him, just as though he were the woman in child-bed, who had gone through the pains of childbirth and was in need of recuperating and nursing care. The young mother, on the other hand, does her usual work already an hour after delivery, attending to her daily chores as though nothing had happened. This strange custom is connected with their religious concepts and their fear of evil spirits

846 and demons; on the other hand it also aims at inducing the father to identify himself intimately with the child. Obviously the women, for whom these customs do not provide the least amount of consideration, quickly lose their earlier beauty and after a few years, they wilt and become horridly ugly.

594 The marriage of the Cayapa is most harmonious. They do not
[595 have polygamy or polyandry, and adultery never occurs or only
837] [287] very rarely. Women or girls who have relationships with
[689] white or black men or those of any other race, are killed without pity. In fact they are even forbidden to enter into innocent conversation with such men under threat of severe penalty. If one of the spouses dies, they do not remarry, remaining faithful to the
[764] dead. The dead are only buried when the corpse is already in a state of decomposition and when the pestilent smell has become unbearable.

574 While the villagers and inhabitants of other races in these parts
648 are very hospitable and will always offer hospitality to travelers, no matter how poor they are, even without expecting any remuneration, the Cayapa are an exception to this rule. They fear strangers on account of their women, who are not always safe from them; but most particularly they hate the Negroes who have repeatedly attacked their women forcibly. For this reason it is not easy to obtain shelter in Cayapa villages. As they have frequently also been robbed and mistreated by Negroes, they leave their huts as soon as a Negro settles in the neighborhood, and keep on withdrawing further inland. Thus they have already completely disappeared from the banks of the Santiago River and the lower course of the Cayapa River.

135 There still is a lot of gold in their region, as indeed there are
316 small layers of alluvial gold in all these rivers. But these Indians, with the exception of a few, more modern minded, and the rene-
[301] gades, do not collect it, nor do they wear gold ornaments. On the other hand none of them would tell a stranger where the yellow metal could be found, even if he were offered a fortune for his secret. From the Cayapa point of view gold is an accursed thing, which brought the white and the black devils into the country and was responsible for their being pushed back into the interior and
[648] robbed of their dominion. The Negroes, however, are their sworn enemies because they have too often had to suffer bitter injustice from them.

|8| Left to themselves and untouched, the Cayapa are gay, content and happy. Politics and book knowledge do not trouble them. The forest, fields and rivers yield in abundance everything they need for living. They know all the medicinal herbs and roots of [24] their region and know exactly which will protect them against snake bites and which one will cure their toothaches. The administration of the community is in good hands and does not cost anything; they do not have to pay taxes or tributes. They do not bother with what goes on in the cities of the white men and the outside world. Their main concerns are the instincts of nature, women and children, eating and drinking; they are indifferent to everything else, because they neither know nor understand it. Their simple and carefree life makes them happy--they are richer than we who, as a result of rushing and ambitious pushing, cannot find peace and happiness. They are happier in their ignorance than we, who proudly call our thin varnish of culture "civilization" and who scornfully characterize the Cayapa as "savages."

1: Heimann--10 F-4,5 (1895-1938)1932 SD6 Cayapa SD6

Illus. 1. Cayapa Indians (with two Colombians).

J. Heimann 504 Cayapa

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[Title page]

Die Cayapa-Indianer*).

Von

Max Heimann.

In der äußersten Ecke im Nordwesten der Republik Ecuador fließt der Santiagofluß. Bei dem Dorfe Borbon mündet einer seiner Nebenflüsse, der Cayapafluß. Am Oberlaufe des Cayapaflusses und an den Quellflüssen desselben wohnt das harmlose Völkchen der Cayapaindianer, das aus nicht mehr als 2000 Köpfen besteht.

Ich habe niemals begreifen können, warum man sie „unzivilisiert" und „Wilde" nennt. Etwa, weil sie sich einfacher, bequemer, zweckentsprechender und viel billiger kleiden als wir europäischen Modesklaven? Oder etwa, weil sie ihre eigene, uns unbekannte Sprache sprechen, weil sie nicht lesen und schreiben können und sich nicht mit dem Schulballast, den „wir Bildung" nennen, vollstopfen? Oder gar, weil sie andere Sitten und Gebräuche und andere Moralanschauungen haben?

Eins ist sicher — die Cayapa sind glückliche Menschen, denn sie sind zufriedener mit ihrem Los als wir anspruchsvollen und anmaßenden Europäer, die wir uns auf unsere übertünchte Zivilisation, auf die uns von der tyrannischen Mode vorgeschriebenen Kleider und auf unsere Schulweisheit so unendlich viel einbilden.

Häufig kommen kleine Gruppen von 5 bis 20 Personen zur Stadt, viele hundert Male habe ich sie schon gesehen, aber immer wieder freue ich mich, wenn ich diesen kleinen, aber wohlgebauten und kräftigen Ge-

*) Der Verfasser hat 25 Jahre lang (1895—1920) in Tumaco (Südwestecke Colombiens) als Kaufmann gelebt und war von 1907—1920 Deutscher Vizekonsul für das Departamento Nariño. Obwohl er nie in den Dörfern der Cayapa gewesen ist, hat er doch Truppe von ihnen „viele 100 Male" gesehen und ausgefragt, denn sie kommen häufig nach Tumaco. Außerdem sind mehrere Angestellte von ihm in den Cayapadörfern gewesen und haben ihn mit Nachrichten versehen (K. Th. Freudl).

[p. 281]

stalten begegne. Die Männer sind nicht größer, als 150—160 cm, die Frauen kaum 140 cm. Ihre Hautfarbe ist kupferbraun. Ihre Körper sind sauber, und noch niemals habe ich Cayapa mit Ausschlägen oder Geschwüren gesehen und nur selten welche mit Narben. Ihr Haar ist dick, straff und von stumpfer, schwarzer Farbe; die bartlosen Männer tragen es halblang bis zum Nacken, den Frauen hängt es lose und wild über Rücken und Ohren, teilweise noch Stirn und Backen bedeckend. Die Kleidung ist sehr bescheiden; bei den Männern besteht sie aus einem ärmellosen, hemdartigen, losen Gewand, das meistens nur eben über die Hüften reicht, manchmal aber auch länger ist, bis zu den Knien, und in diesem Falle das Festkleid zu sein scheint, denn es sieht reicher aus, da es an den Kanten mit andersfarbigem Stoff besetzt ist. Diese Kleider sind aus dünnen, grell-

Abb. 1. Cayapa-Indianer (nebst zwei Kolumbianern).

bunten, billigen Baumwollstoffen. Bei besonderen Gelegenheiten ziehen sie auch Galagewänder an, die sich von den alltäglichen dadurch unterscheiden, daß sie geradlinig oder in Zickzack mit kleinen, weißen Muscheln besetzt sind, und dazu legen sie als höchsten Schmuck zwei bis zehn lange Halsketten aus bunten Glasperlen um und auch für ihren Geschmack als besonders schön geltende Hals- und Armbänder, nämlich die jedem bekannten 6 cm breiten, blauen Pappen mit je einem Groß weißer, porzellanener Hemdenknöpfe darauf, so wie sie von den europäischen Fabriken geliefert werden. Es gibt auch Gecken und Modenarren unter ihnen, die sich irgendwo eine abgelegte, alte schwarze Weste erhandelt haben, die sie mit einer Menge weißer Muscheln und Knöpfe verzieren und dann als eine Art Jäckchen offen über ihrem roten oder blauen Hemde tragen. Und wie glücklich ist erst der Jüngling, der sich zu all dieser Pracht noch einen runden, steifen Filzhut verschafft hat; mag dieser auch noch so schäbig, verbeult und speckig und für seinen dicken Schädel mit dem dichten Haarschopf viel zu klein sein, er ist stolz auf seine Eleganz und würde in dieser Hinsicht nicht einmal mit einem Gouverneur tauschen. Der Gobernador de los Cayapas, das ist einer ihrer Häuptlinge, ein Kazike, und jedes Dorf oder jeder Distrikt hat einen solchen. — ja freilich —

1: Heimann SD6 Cayapa

das ist ein großer Herr — der kann es sich leisten — der trägt über dem roten Kattunhemd nicht nur eine muschelbenähte Weste, sondern über dieser zuweilen auch noch einen langen, schwarzen Schoßrock, den ihm ein Don Soundso verkauft oder geschenkt hat, weil er diesem zu eng, zu unmodern oder zu schäbig geworden war. Und um Hals und Handgelenke trägt er ganz besonders breite Knopfpappen, wie es seiner Würde geziemt. Selbstverständlich wäre es für ihn als Gouverneur unpassend, ohne Kopfbedeckung zur Stadt zu kommen, und sei sie in Ermangelung eines schwarzen Filzhutes auch nur ein selbstverfertigter Palmstrohhut. Beinkleider und Schuhe trägt auch er nicht, so etwas ist überflüssig und lästig, aber dafür hält er wichtig in seiner rechten Hand einen anderthalb Meter langen Holzstab mit einem silbernen Knauf daran als besonderes Zeichen seiner Stellung und Macht.

Die Kleidung der Frauen ist viel einfacher und notdürftiger als die der Männer; sie besteht nur aus einem zwei Meter langen Stück Kattun von blauer, schwarzer oder roter Farbe, das stramm um den Unterkörper gewickelt und mit einer Bastgarnschnur um die Hüften festgebunden wird. Der Oberkörper bis zu den Hüften und die Beine bis zu den Knien bleiben vollständig unbedeckt. Als Schmuck tragen sie um die Handgelenke gewickelt lange Schnüre aus winzigen farbigen Glasperlen und um den Hals lange bunte Perlketten, auch selbstgemachte Perlmuttergehängsel, und einige Bessersituierte haben außerdem noch Schnüre mit großen Silbermünzen daran. Perlketten in großer Anzahl werden auch von jungen Männern während ihrer Bräutigamszeit getragen. Die Toilettenfrage der Frauen macht den Ehemännern also keine großen Sorgen. Die Kinder laufen bis zu ihrem sechsten Lebensjahre ganz nackt umher, nur daß ihnen ebenfalls schon Perlen- und Knopfschmuck umgehängt wird.

Mit einem langen Paddel mit blattförmiger Schaufel in der einen Hand und in der anderen einen kleinen Netzkorb mit möglichst leichtem Inhalt schreiten die Männer voran, und hinter ihnen her trotten die schwerbeladenen Frauen in kurzem, wiegenden Laufschritt und die Kinder. Schon bei ihrem Besuch hier in der Stadt sieht man, daß der Frau die Rolle des Last- und Arbeitstieres zugeteilt ist. Auf dem Rücken tragen die Frauen vollgepackte große Rohrkörbe an um die Stirn gelegten Gurten, auf ihrer vorgeschobenen Hüfte sitzt ihr jüngstes Kind in reitender Stellung, vom Arm der Mutter umschlungen und festgehalten, und mit der anderen Hand schleppen sie noch ein Bündel und den Kochtopf.

Einer ihrer ersten Besuche in der Stadt gilt dem Pfarrer. Dieser erzählt, die Cayapa seien Katholiken. Aber das stimmt nicht. Vermutlich gehen sie nur deshalb zum Priester, weil dieser ihnen mit Heiligenmünzen, die doch als Schmuck am Halse sehr hübsch sind, und durch andere kleine Geschenke die Segnungen der katholischen Kirche zu beweisen versucht. Zu Hause bei sich haben sie ihren eigenen Kult.

Heiter, weil sie wieder beschenkt worden sind, kommen sie aus dem Pfarrhause und schlendern dann durch die Geschäftsstraßen, neugierig, staunend und bewundernd gehen sie von einem Kaufladen in den anderen. „Chindo, Kachindo, compadre!" rufen die Straßenjungen hinter ihnen her (die beiden ersten Wörter sind aus der Cayapasprache, das dritte ist spanisch; der Satz heißt: „Wohin gehend, Gevatter!"). „Caminando, viendo, comprando, compadre" („spazierengehend, sehend, kaufend, Gevatter") antworten die Männer höflich, aber in sehr mangelhaftem Spanisch.

Die neuen, kleinen Kanus, die Baumbastmatten (damajaguas), die Palmblattfächer, den Kautschuk und die Rollen Lianen (diese werden bei dem Bau der Bambushäuser zum Festbinden der Palmblätter auf den

Dächern und zu einigen anderen Sachen an Stelle von Stricken verwendet), die sie aus ihren Dörfern mitbrachten, haben sie verkauft, und mit dem Erlöse machen sie nun ihre kleinen Einkäufe. Sie sind sehr bedürfnislos und benötigen nicht viel: einige Ellen Kattun, ein Haumesser, etwas Salz, einen kleinen Spiegel, Glasperlen, Fischhaken und Pulver und Schrot für die alte Vorderladeflinte, die der eine oder der andere besitzt. Das ist alles, was ihr Herz begehrt. Es ist wenig, sehr wenig sogar, und doch dauert es lange, sehr lange sogar, bis sie gewählt und sich endlich zum Kaufen entschlossen haben. Da beraten sie erst lange Zeit untereinander in ihrer gutturalen, sonoren Sprache, dann geht das Feilschen los, dann das langsame und vorsichtige Bezahlen, bis sie endlich die gewünschten Waren erhalten haben, und alles wird dann der Frau in den schon fast vollen Tragkorb gepackt. Ängstlich verstecken sich die Frauen und Mädchen hinter den Männern. Wenn man ihnen etwas sagt, antworten sie nicht, obgleich auch sie von der spanischen Sprache genügend verstehen. Es ist ihnen von ihren eifersüchtigen Männern strengstens untersagt, sich mit Männern anderer Rassen und Volksstämme zu unterhalten. Scheu weichen sie zurück. Doch wenn der Eheherr einmal nicht zugegen ist, sondern nur Mutter und Bruder, dann werden auch die Frauen gesprächig, zumal wenn man ihnen mit einem kleinen Geschenk — Spiegel, Halskettchen oder dergleichen — die Zunge löst, und überglücklich sind sie, wenn man ihr kleines Kind liebkosend streichelt, das wie ein braunangemaltes Japanerbaby aussieht und selbst dem fremdesten Manne zutraulich zulächelt. Amüsant ist es, wenn die Frauen eine modern gekleidete Dame in einem Kaufladen treffen, dann umringen sie sie lachend, staunend und bewundernd, aber auf die Spitzenkleider der Weißen scheinen sie nicht neidisch zu sein. Die Männer hingegen würdigen selbst die schönste und eleganteste weiße Dame keines Blickes.

Hübsch sind die Cayapamädchen im Alter von 12 bis 16 Jahren, ihr Körper ist etwas plump, hat aber dann noch schöne Formen. Zuweilen sieht man junge Männer und Frauen mit roten und schwarzen Strichen und Flecken im Gesicht, auf der Brust und an den Armen und Beinen, das sind die Verlobungsanzeigen der Brautleute.

Sie haben ihre Geschäfte in der Stadt nun erledigt und rüsten sich wieder zur Heimfahrt in ihre Dörfer. „Adios compadre, adios comadre", und schwatzend und lachend, vergnügt und zufrieden eilen sie hurtig zum Ufer, wo ihre Kanus liegen. Auf dem Wege dahin hören sie irgendwo Klavierspiel oder Phonographenmusik. Das müssen sie sich noch schnell ansehen. Geschäftig eilt die ganze Schar in das betreffende Haus und die Treppe hinauf. Ihre Neugierde ist bald befriedigt, sie kommen wieder herunter und nun schnell fort, damit sie die Flutströmung noch gut ausnützen können. Ihre unbemalten Kanus sind 8 bis 10 m lang und 70 bis 90 cm breit, haben eine schlanke, gefällige Form und an den Rändern Verzierungen in schwarzer Farbe. In jedem Fahrzeug nehmen 5 bis 8 Personen Platz, dicht aneinander gedrängt, und daneben liegen ihre geringen Habseligkeiten. Hurtig paddeln sie mit ihren blattförmigen Rudern, lautlos und schnell gleiten ihre Kanus dahin, und bald ist die ganze Schar in der Mündung des Miraflusses verschwunden. Erst in zwei Tagen werden sie ihre Heimatdörfer erreichen. Auf der Reise kampieren sie des Nachts im Freien, am Ufer, auf irgendeinem freien Weideplatz. Aber vorsichtig müssen sie sein. Zuweilen werden sie dort von Negern überfallen und beraubt, und wenn sie sich zur Wehr setzen, kaltblütig erschlagen. Erst vor kurzer Zeit ist wieder eine ganze Truppe von ihnen, Männer, Frauen und Kinder, zusammen 14 Personen, im Mirastrome von einigen bestialischen Negern in grausamster Weise ermordet worden.

Doch unsere Freunde sind wohlbehalten in der Heimat am oberen Cayapaflusse angekommen. Schon aus der Ferne begrüßen sie freundliche Rauchwolken ihrer Kochplätze. Ihre Dörfer bestehen aus einigen wenigen, verstreut liegenden Bambushütten von sehr primitiver Art. Im Viereck sind einige unbehauene Baumstämme in den Erdboden gerammt, in einer Höhe von 3 bis 4 m befindet sich der Fußboden aus geschlitztem Bambusrohr, und über diesem in gleichem Abstande ist das aus Blättern der Steinnußpalme hergestellte Dach. Das ist der ganze Bau. Wände irgendwelcher Art haben die Häuser nicht, folglich sind auch Fenster und Türen nicht vorhanden. Als Treppe dient der Stamm des korkenleichten Ceibabaumes (der Ceibabaum liefert die seidenartige Balzawolle, die im europäischen Handel „Kapok" genannt wird), in dem einige Stufen eingekerbt sind. Diese Treppe wird schräge angelehnt, aber nirgendwo befestigt. Eine Hühnersteige ist leichter zu erklettern als eine solche Cayapaleiter. Um vor Überraschungen unwillkommener nächtlicher Besucher ein wenig sicher zu sein, werden die Treppen während der Nacht in die Wohnräume hinaufgezogen, und wenn eine Familie auf Reisen geht, dann wird die Treppe in den Fluß geworfen, damit sie fortschwimmt, denn es ist ja so einfach und leicht, sich bei der Rückkehr einen neuen Ceibastamm vom nahen Walde zu holen und mit dem Haumesser schnell einige stufenartige Einschnitte darin zu machen.

Und so einfach und primitiv wie ihre Häuser ist auch das Leben dieser Indianer. Möbel irgendwelcher Art haben sie nicht, sie hocken und schlafen auf dem Fußboden. An Gerätschaften haben sie nur einige Kochgeschirre und was sie für ihre Kanufahrten und zu Jagd und Fischfang nötig haben. Jeder Distrikt hat seinen Gobernador oder Kaziken, der ein strammes Regiment führt und die Ordnung aufrecht hält. Um die Osterzeit herum sind die Straf- und Bußtage, an welchen der Häuptling an allen denjenigen, die sich während des Jahres Missetaten haben zuschulden kommen lassen, Prügelstrafen vollzieht. Die Regierung in Quito läßt die Cayapa ganz unbehelligt, weil sie weiß, daß diese friedfertigen Indianer kein Unheil anstiften und ihr sonstige Ungelegenheiten nicht bereiten.

Auf moralisch hoher Stufe steht das Liebes- und Eheleben der Cayapa. Wenn ein Jüngling sich in ein Mädchen verliebt hat, dann begibt sich sein Vater als Brautwerber zu den Eltern des Mädchens. Ist der junge Mann diesen als Schwiegersohn genehm, dann fordern sie ein möglichst hohes Heiratsgut, das aus Kanus, Haustieren, Gerätschaften und Lebensmitteln besteht. Ohne einen guten Preis erhalten zu haben, geben sie die Tochter nicht her. Es ist bei ihnen also umgekehrt als bei uns in Europa, wo die junge Dame mit einer Mitgift ausgestattet sein muß, um sie an den Mann bringen zu können.

Um nun herauszufinden, ob ein solcher verliebter Cayapajüngling auch schon im heiratsfähigen Alter ist und eine Familie ernähren kann, wird er mit Blasrohr, Bogen und Pfeilen, also mit Waffen, die er sich selbst anfertigen kann, in den Wald geschickt, um ein Sahino (Art Wildschwein) zu erlegen. Gelingt ihm dieses Jagdkunststück, dann hat er den Befähigungsnachweis gegeben, und die Hochzeit kann vonstatten gehen. Aber vorher wird er noch zum Kaziken gerufen, der ihn aufklärt, daß die Ehe nicht nur Freuden bringt, sondern auch Bitternisse, und ihn fragt, ob er letztere auch ertragen könne. Selbstverständlich kommt eine bejahende Antwort. Und nun wird er auf die Probe gestellt. Er muß sich seinen Rücken entblößen, auf den der Kazike hundert derbe, an Fingern und Zehen wohlabgezählte Rutenschläge niedersausen läßt. Hat der Bräutigam weder geschrien noch gezuckt, sondern die Schläge, wenn auch mit zusammengepreßten Zähnen, mutig und standhaft ertragen, dann hat er die Prüfung

bestanden, und die Hochzeitszeremonie kann nun vom Kaziken vollzogen werden.

Ein Festmahl wird veranstaltet. Alles, was Feld, Wald und Fluß an Eßbarem liefern können, wird zu Speisen verarbeitet, und dazu gibt es große Mengen von Chicha, Guarapo und Masato (Getränke aus Mais, Zuckerrohr und Bananen). Alle Bewohner des Dorfes stellen sich ein, um am Feste teilzunehmen, viele von ihnen haben einen praktischen Sinn, sie bringen sich Mates und Calabazas mit, das sind Schüsseln und Krüge aus den Schalen von kürbisähnlichen Früchten, und da hinein tun sie den größten Teil der ihnen dargebotenen Speisen und Getränke, um solche nachher mit nach Hause zu nehmen. Erst wenn alle sich bis zum Platzen vollgefressen haben und die meisten schon reichlich betrunken sind, geht die Hochzeitsfeier zu Ende, und das Brautpaar wird endlich allein gelassen und zieht in seine Hütte. Aber bevor Bräutigam und Braut die Liebe voll und ganz genießen dürfen, haben sie erst eine lange und grausame, weil enthaltungsvolle Prüfungszeit durchzumachen. Sie wohnen zusammen und schlafen zusammen unter ihrem gemeinsamen Moskitonetz aus rotgeblümtem Kattun, aber nicht, als ob sie Mann und Frau sind, sondern als ob sie Brüderlein und Schwesterlein wären, und sie dürfen sich ein ganzes langes Jahr hindurch nicht berühren. Fromm, keusch und enthaltsam müssen sie bleiben, wenn es ihnen auch noch so schwer fallen mag. Die Tugend der Entsagung und die Festigkeit des Willens sollen gestählt werden. Erst wenn diese Fasten- und Prüfungszeit vorüber ist, dürfen sie sich dem Liebesrausche hingeben. Wehe ihnen, wenn sie nicht widerstehen können und doch schon vor Ablauf des Prüfungsjahres von der verbotenen Frucht heimlich naschen — bei Entdeckung müssen sie ihr Vergehen mit dem Tode büßen oder rechtzeitig in andere Gegenden flüchten, wohin der strafende Arm ihrer strengen Machthaber nicht reicht. Nur einmal habe ich beobachtet, wie ein liebeentbrannter Bräutigam verstohlen und mit zitterndem Finger den Arm und die nackte Brust seiner Auserkorenen betastete.

Während dieses Brautjahres malen sie sich mit roten und schwarzen Pflanzensäften breite Striche und Flecken im Gesicht, auf der Brust und auf den Armen und Beinen. Das entspricht den bei uns gebräuchlichen Verlobungsanzeigen und Trauringen.

Gleich nach der Geburt eines Kindes erhebt sich die junge Mutter von ihrem Lager, steigt zum Fluß hinab und badet sich. Das Baden im Flusse ist überhaupt eine Leidenschaft der Cayapa, zwei oder gar drei Bäder täglich nimmt jeder und jede von ihnen. Kaum hat die junge Frau ihr neugeborenes Kind verlassen, dann säubert die Großmutter es ein wenig, legt es nieder, und der Vater legt sich dann zu ihm und bleibt drei bis fünf Wochen bei dem Kinde liegen und läßt sich von seiner Frau hegen und pflegen, gerade als ob er die Wöchnerin wäre und das Kind mit Schmerzen zur Welt gebracht hätte und der Erholung und Pflege bedarf. Die junge Mutter aber verrichtet schon eine Stunde nach der Entbindung wieder ihre Arbeiten und geht ihren täglichen Beschäftigungen nach, gerade als ob nichts geschehen sei. Diese eigenartige Sitte hängt mit ihren religiösen Anschauungen und ihrer Furcht vor bösen Geistern und Dämonen zusammen, bezweckt aber auch, daß der Mann sich auch wirklich zur Vaterschaft des Kindes bekennt. Daß die Frauen bei solchen Gebräuchen, die ihnen nicht die geringste Schonung erlauben, schon nach wenigen Jahren ihre frühere Schönheit verloren haben, schnell verblühen und dann widerwärtig häßlich werden, ist selbstverständlich.

Die Cayapa leben in sehr harmonischer Ehe, Vielweiberei oder Vielmännerei gibt es bei ihnen nicht, Ehebruch kommt niemals oder doch nur

1: Heimann SD6 Cayapa

sehr selten vor. Die Frau oder das Mädchen, die sich mit einem Weißen, einem Schwarzen oder einem Manne von irgendeiner anderen Rasse eingelassen hat, wird erbarmungslos getötet, selbst ein unschuldiges Gespräch mit solchen Männern ist den Weibern bei schwerer Strafe verboten. Wenn einer der Ehegatten gestorben ist, dann heiraten sie nicht wieder, auch dem Verstorbenen bleiben sie noch treu. Ihre Toten begraben sie erst dann, wenn die Leichen bereits in Verwesung übergegangen sind und der pestilenzartige Geruch nicht mehr auszuhalten ist.

Alle sonstigen andersrassigen Dorf- und Landbewohner dieser Länder sind sehr gastfrei und gewähren jedem Durchreisenden, mag er auch noch so arm sein, gern Unterkunft, selbst wenn sie keine Bezahlung dafür erhalten. Die Cayapaindianer machen darin eine Ausnahme, denn ihrer Frauen wegen fürchten sie die Fremden, vor welchen jene nicht immer sicher sind, aber besonders hassen sie deswegen die Neger, die sich schon öfters in gewalttätiger Weise an den Frauen vergriffen haben. Aus diesem Grunde ist es nicht leicht, in den Cayapadörfern ein Obdach zu finden. Da sie auch schon häufig von Negern bestohlen und mißhandelt worden sind, verlassen sie ihre Hütten, wobald sich ein Neger in der Nachbarschaft niederläßt, und ziehen sich immer weiter landeinwärts zurück. So sind sie schon vollständig vom Santiagofluß und vom Unterlauf des Cayapaflusses verschwunden.

In ihrer Gegend gibt es noch recht viel Gold, in allen Flüssen findet man Alluvialgold in kleinen Schüppchen. Aber diese Indianer, mit Ausnahme von einigen Modernen und Abtrünnigen, sammeln es nicht und tragen auch keine Schmucksachen aus Gold. Keiner von ihnen würde einem Fremden die Fundstätte dieses gelben Metalles verraten, selbst wenn ihm Reichtümer für seine Geheimnisse geboten würden. Für die Cayapa ist das Gold fluchbeladen, es hat die Weißen und die schwarzen Teufel in das Land gebracht, die sie zurückgedrängt und der Herrschaft beraubt haben. Ihre geschworenen Feinde sind und bleiben die Neger, weil sie von diesen schon zu häufig bitteres Unrecht erlitten haben.

Wenn die Cayapa allein und unbehelligt gelassen werden, sind sie heiter, zufrieden und glücklich. Politik und Bücherweisheit machen ihnen keine Sorgen. Wald, Feld und Fluß liefern ihnen in verschwenderischer Fülle alles, was sie zum Leben benötigen. Sie kennen alle Heilkräuter und Wurzeln der Gegend und wissen ganz genau, welche von ihnen sie vor Schlangenbissen schützen, und welche ihre Zahnschmerzen heilen können. Die Gemeindeverwaltung ist in guten Händen und kostet nichts, Steuern und Abgaben brauchen sie nicht zu zahlen. Um das, was in den Städten der Weißen und weit draußen in der großen Welt vorgeht, kümmern sie sich nicht. Um die Naturtriebe, um Frau und Kind, um Essen und Trinken dreht sich ihr Sinnen und Trachten, und alles übrige ist ihnen ganz gleichgültig, weil sie es nicht kennen oder nicht begreifen. Ihr einfaches, sorgloses Leben macht sie glücklich — sie sind reicher, als wir, die wir durch Hasten, Jagen und ehrgeiziges Vorwärtsstreben keine Ruhe und kein Glück finden; sie sind glücklicher in ihrer Unwissenheit, als wir, die den dünnen Kulturfirnis hochmütig „Zivilisation“ nennen und die Cayapa verächtlich als „Wilde“ bezeichnen.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

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2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

THE CAYAPA AND COLORADO

By JOHN MURRA

INTRODUCTION

The *Cayapa* and the *Colorado* are the last surviving Indian groups in the lush western lowlands of Ecuador (maps 1 and 6). Once an area of extensive Indian occupation, western Ecuador is now inhabited by a Spanish-speaking population of mixed Indian, Negro, and white ancestry, known as montuvios. The *Cayapa* and *Colorado* have precariously managed to hang on to their jungle homes. Speaking closely related if mutually unintelligible languages of the *Barbacoan* division of the *Chibchan* family, they represent the southernmost extension of that major division. Comparative studies with other *Chibchan*-speaking groups in Highland and eastern Colombia, with *Quechua*-speaking Indians in Highland Ecuador, and with various Montaña groups should prove of considerable culture-historical interest.

THE CAYAPA

The *Cayapa* are a riverain people inhabiting the lowlands of northwestern Ecuador. Sprinkled through the jungles of Esmeraldas Province, an area of difficult colonization and control, they managed for centuries to avoid the enslavement suffered by their Highland neighbors or the ethnic annihilation of most Coast aborigines. Only in the past few decades have their settlements been pushed back into the hills by Spanish-speaking montuvio and Negro homesteaders. World War II requirements in balsa wood, rubber, and other tropical commodities have accelerated this process of displacement and acculturation.

The Cayapa River and its affluents, from the mouth of the Anzole to the foot of the Andes, are the main area of *Cayapa* settlement. Barrett (1925) found three concentration spots: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, corresponding to three political, tribal divisions, which might since have shifted or amalgamated. In addition, small groups of *Cayapa*, in various degrees of acculturation, are found in the Santiago Valley and along the coast into Colombia. Estimates of their numbers vary but hover around a mean of 2,000.

The chief source and authority on the *Cayapa* remains S. A. Barrett's monograph (1925). Barrett visited them in 1908–9, long enough to bring

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

back an exhaustive account of their subsistence pattern and material culture as well as considerable data on religion and ceremonial life. According to modern interests, the report is weak in life-cycle data and economics, and a serious drawback is the almost complete lack of comparative considerations. Moreover, it describes a culture with marked European influences. Nevertheless, at this writing, it remains one of our most complete accounts of an aboriginal South American group. The remaining titles in the bibliography refer to linguistic treatises, hearsay accounts, and phantasies of hurried travelers.

The inaccessibility of their habitat facilitated the *Cayapa's* survival into the 20th century, but it also prevented most chroniclers from visiting their land. Early references to naked and painted Indians living along the Patia River in large houses on tall poles and wearing gold ornaments might refer to the *Cayapa* or to some other *Chibchan* people. Jijón y Caamaño (1940–45, vol. 2) has reproduced fragments from an unpublished Cabello Balboa chronicle discussing the people of Esmeraldas Province during the 16th century. Among the peoples figuring prominently in Cabello Balboa's report are the *Nigua*, an Indian group inhabiting traditional *Cayapa* territory. Jijón y Caamaño's suggestion (1940–45, vol. 2) that the *Nigua* and *Cayapa* are one people seems tentatively acceptable.

Both peoples claimed to have descended from the Andean Highlands, though it is unclear if they were refugees from the *Inca* or Spanish invasions. As reported by Barrett, this tradition is very strong even now, four centuries after the Conquest, permeating various divergent activities of the *Cayapa*, who date many techniques and artifacts in terms of pre- or post-migration practices. In 1907 Beuchat and Rivet had pointed to toponymic and archeological similarities between Esmeraldas Province and the *Cara* country in the Highlands. Later work by Jijón y Caamaño (1912, 1919, 1940–45, vol. 2) has strengthened the case for *Chibchan* affiliation of the *Cara* language and given a measure of confirmation to native tradition.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Agriculture is the main occupation of the *Cayapa*, although fishing and hunting supply a large percentage of their food. Each house is surrounded by clearings and fields, and additional clearings are customarily made away from the river, in the bush. Most families have fields of plantains, bananas, sugarcane, coca, and sweet manioc (yuca); in addition, cotton, tobacco, maize, yams, and pineapples are frequently cultivated. Many wild plants are encouraged through weeding and other care.

Plantains (pl. 60, *bottom, right*) form the staple food of the *Cayapa*, and each family will have several acres planted to this perennially ripening fruit. Bananas are fed to the hogs and cover an acreage almost as large as that of the plantain.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent canefields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported.

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Capaya* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the priests visit the *Cayapa*.

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive.

In addition to permanent houses, small temporary ranchos are sometimes built when people are far from home. The houses in the "village" are standard structures, but the church follows Spanish ways: it rests on the ground and has walls.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Although *Cayapa* tradition records a period when the people wore blankets and even ponchos, today their clothes are scanty (pl. 59, *bottom*). The men wear a tight, small, white garment, made like bathing trunks, and a thin gaudy shirt of calico, with short and very tight sleeves. On festive occasions vests of European cut and manufacture are frequently donned over the shirt, and so are felt fedoras.

Women wear a long skirt of native cloth, girded with a narrow fringed belt. As in the Highlands, several skirts of different weights are sometimes worn. Head, shoulders, and chest are usually left bare.

291 Children wear no clothes at all until they are 6 or 8.

301 The hair is worn loose, long, and flowing by the women but is clipped
302 above the ears by the men. Both sexes wear necklaces and wristbands of glass and porcelain beads, coins, seeds, and beetle wings. Only women wear earrings.

302 The traditional *Chibcha* custom of frequently painting body and face is found among the *Cayapa*. Red, yellow, and black are used, and the designs are very numerous. Barrett reproduces many of the motifs and insists that there is no special significance attached to any of them, nor is there any age, sex, or property correlation.

TRANSPORTATION

501 **Watercraft.**—A large part of every *Cayapa's* life is spent on the water fishing and traveling. Canoes are built with great skill and care. They
[439] can withstand not only fluvial but also maritime travel and are routinely sold in the "civilized" coast towns. They are dugouts, usually 10 to 12 yards long but sometimes much larger. Balsa-wood logs are sometimes used as outriggers.

MANUFACTURES

000 Details of *Cayapa* manufactures are contained in Barrett's work, which describes and illustrates finished products and minutely discusses the techniques of preparation.

322 **Woodworking.**—Woodworking includes house building, making deadfall traps, and carving seats and children's dolls.

285 **Weaving and basketry.**—The women weave cotton cloth on a narrow
286 native loom, and the men do the sewing. The men also weave the fishing
462 nets and hammocks. Barrett's discussion of *Cayapa* basketry is outstanding. The *Cayapa* make many kinds of baskets, mats, and fans of bark and of various roots.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery is crude and undecorated. It is used particularly for
177 storage. Tradition claims that in their old Highland habitat the *Cayapa* made better pottery but that calabashes have since largely replaced ceramics.

324 **Stonework and metalwork.**—Stonework is limited to the metates
325 used in grinding corn and plantains. Although in aboriginal times Lowland Ecuador was a famous area of metallurgy, there is no evidence that the contemporary *Cayapa* practiced it.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapon most widely used today is the muzzle-loading
177 shotgun. The blowgun was important in the past, but today its use is restricted to boys, who shoot poison darts while playing at hunting. Hardwood lances are being given up, and the bow and arrow is said not to be mentioned in *Cayapa* tradition. The steel machete is ubiquitous.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

ECONOMICS

The *Cayapa* economic unit is the virtually self-sufficient, one-family household. Land is owned and worked familially, and there is as much land to be had as the family can clear. If any special rules govern distribution and inheritance, they are not reported by our sources. Also, there seem to be very few provisions for interhousehold cooperation: men will help a neighbor bring down a tree trunk from the hills, but all other activities are evidently left to individual enterprise.

This self-sufficiency does not apply to all spheres of activity. Machetes and rifles are essential in jungle life, and most families make at least one trip a year to the coast for trading and social purposes. In the small Ecuadorean and Colombian towns they find a ready market for rubber, tagua nuts, and other forest products. Cocoa is grown specifically for this trade. There is also a limited market for some of their manufactures: canoes, mats, fans, and other basketry. In exchange, the *Cayapa* want metal goods: axes, machetes, shotguns, fishhooks, fish spears, and copper tubing for their distilleries. But they also like beads and mirrors, pearls, vests, and old derby hats. In recent years machine-made muslins and calicoes have been edging out native-made cloth.

The *Cayapa* are not yet incorporated in Ecuadorean economy. Their need for metal goods and trinkets has not yet forced them to work on plantations or in placer gold mines. Their own supply of rum has helped them avoid debts contracted for alcohol, and they have usually retreated into the forest when their self-sufficiency has been menaced. It is improbable that this selective acculturation can last very long.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The basic *Cayapa* social unit is the household. Though there is no definite indication as to size and composition, it appears to be an extended family including normally no more than 10 to 12 people. Chief Antonio Napa's house at Punta Venado could seat some 40-odd people at a feast, but it was unique in size, and the Napa household according to Basurco (1894) had only 8 to 10 members.

Barrett (1925) presents a detailed chart of kinship terms used by the *Cayapa*. We unfortunately know nothing about the behavior that goes with the terms or about marriage rules. On the face of it the system is a "lineal" one—collateral relatives are separated from lineal ones but are not differentiated among themselves. Thus, the term for uncle applies to both paternal and maternal ones. All terms are highly descriptive. There is no evidence of reciprocal use of terms, but Barrett's chart is not really complete. The system is quite unique and interesting.

The lineal and descriptive nature of the kinship system emphasizes the bilateral character of the *Cayapa* family. There is no clan organization. The extended family household is the truly basic social unit. There is

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

[611] There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer group-
596 ing of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal
596 bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing
462 and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

631 Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado,
177 Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and
622 a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente politico, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane
[643] of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on
[777] aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

463 None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material
622 compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

646 The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

644 **Childbirth.**—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at child-
[645] birth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name.
583 Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial
858 whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings
785 seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to
693 help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive
857 tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the
848 child is 10 years old.

851 **Puberty and marriage.**—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either
584 sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The
585 chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like
777 succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

Death.—Death is not considered to be a natural phenomenon but is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body. A dead man's soul hovers around his house, which is usually abandoned, though it may be dismantled and sold. The corpse is buried in a coffin in a Catholic-style cemetery near the church. The dead man's possessions are usually given away, but it is not known who inherits his fields and clearings.

RECREATIVE AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The great range of designs used by the *Cayapa* in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (fajas).

Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

Canoe paddles and wooden seats are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

Music and dancing.—Holidays, weddings, and other feasts are accompanied by much dancing and drinking. As elsewhere along the coast, the European marimba is widely used, as are panpipes, flutes, drums, and rattles. In recent years the Highland San Juan dance has been gaining in popularity. Also of immediate Highland provenience may be the small European wooden harp with palm-fiber strings.

Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. *Guarapo*, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

RELIGION

Native *Cayapa* religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are said for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1941 SD6 Cayapa SD6

But the soul is believed to linger after death, and the methods used to encourage its departure are strictly aboriginal. A young couple's marriage may not be consummated until solemnized by the visiting padre, but the admonitions of the village chief to both bride and groom reinforce the authority of native jurisdiction. The annual Easter whipping of the whole community is also native.

Barrett could find no clear-cut creation story. The universe is believed to be made up of three superimposed worlds, with human life centered on the middle one. Men share this middle world with many spirits, some malevolent and other benevolent, all of whom are busy affecting human happiness and goals.

Sometimes the spirits must be exorcised, as when they cause illness. For this a shaman is called, and, with the cooperation of neighbors, he drives out the spirits amid much singing, smoking, and sprinkling. The shaman also may suck out the cause of illness.

Almost anyone can become a shaman by undergoing intensive training and acquiring a set of spirit helpers. There seems to be no "predestination" for this career, though Barrett was apparently unable to get enough information on this point. Like the chief the shaman is not a full-time professional.

Because of his magic control of spirit powers, the shaman can be a force for evil as well as for good. It is he who causes illness and eventually death. There is a great deal of similarity between the behavior and the paraphernalia of the Cayapa shaman and that of the Highland medicine man.

THE COLORADO

The *Colorado*, or, as they prefer to call themselves, *Tsatchela* or *Tsachila* Indians, share with the Cayapa the distinction of being the last surviving aboriginal group in the Lowlands of western Ecuador. The two groups know about each other and even occasionally visit back and forth; but they speak mutually unintelligible languages, and their ways of life are quite distinct.

In contrast to the Cayapa, the *Colorado* are rapidly disappearing. Their territory and their numbers have been shrinking constantly, and one can easily foresee the time when the group will become extinct. They have not been able to withdraw before the pressure of "civilization," and they have been incorporated to a large degree into the Highland plantation system known as *concertaje*. The area they occupy on the upper reaches of several affluents of the Esmeraldas and Daule Rivers in the western part of Pichincha Province has been an area of heavy colonization in recent decades. During World War II an all-weather road was opened which increased the area's accessibility to colonization from the Highlands.

PLATE 57.—Cayapa houses and village. Top: Typical dwelling along river. Center: Unfinished house showing roof structure. Bottom: Chief's house at Sapayo Grande. (After Barrett, 1925.)

[p. 284(A)]

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

Plate [illegible].—Colorado houses, early [illegible] century. (After [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] pp. [illegible], [illegible])

[p. 2[illegible] (h)]

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SDN Cayapa SDN

Plate 16.—Colorado and Cayapa Indians. Top: Colorado, early 1900 contact. Below: Cayapa, same period. (After Rivet, 1905, opp. p. 100, and Barrett, 1925, p. 25.)

[p. 284(C)]

Plate [illegible]—Colorado and Cayapa Indians. Top (left): Colorado man, early 20th century. Top (right): Tsáchila (Colorado) man wearing silver nose ornament. Bottom (left): Tsáchila (Colorado) man playing marimba. Bottom (right): Cayapa harvest of plantains. (After Rivet, [illegible], app. p. [illegible], after Von Hagen, [illegible], pls. [illegible] and after Barnett, [illegible], pl. [illegible].)

[p. 2[illegible](D)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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INDIAN NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 40

A SERIES OF PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES

THE CAYAPA INDIANS OF ECUADOR

BY

S. A. BARRETT

PART I

NEW YORK
MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN
HEYE FOUNDATION
1925

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THIS series of INDIAN NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS is devoted primarily to the publication of the result of studies by members of the staff of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, and is uniform with HISPANIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS, published by the Hispanic Society of America, with which organization this Museum is in cordial coöperation.

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THE CAYAPA INDIANS OF ECUADOR

BY
S. A. BARRETT

PART I

[p. iii]
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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CONTENTS OF PART I

	PAGE
Phonetic Key	x
Preface	xi
Territory	1
Geographical Situation	1
Climate	3
Resources	6
Trees and Plants	6
Game	11
Mammals	12
Birds	13
Reptiles and Amphibians	14
Fish	14
Mollusks	14
Crustacea	15
Insects	15
Minerals	23
Health Conditions	25
Surrounding Peoples	26
History	31
Daily Life	39
Material Culture	45
Buildings	45
Dress	63
Food and Its Preparation	72
Agriculture	79
Hunting	111
Fishing	121
War	132
Manufactures	133
Canoe-making and Canoeing	135
Wooden Implements	154
Stone Implements	163
Calabash Implements and Utensils	166
Pottery	173

[P. VI is Blank]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

		FACING PAGE
	Map of the territory occupied by the Cayapa Indians	1
I.	Dwelling and adjoining cane-mill	46
II.	Dwelling showing roof extension and riders	47
III.	Typical dwellings along the river	48
IV.	Priest's house and church at Sapayo Grande	49
V.	Dwelling showing railing in lieu of walls	50
VI.	The cane-mill	51
VII.	Unfinished house, showing roof structure	52
VIII.	Village of Punta Venado	53
IX.	Distant view of Punta Venado	54
X.	Chief's house, Sapayo Grande	55
XI.	Ground-plan of chief's house	56
XII.	Suspension hooks	57
XIII.	Details of house construction	58
XIV.	Storage platform or loft	59
XV.	Harvesting cane	62
XVI.	Youth in ordinary costume	63
XVII.	Man and woman in everyday dress	62
XVIII.	A typical family group	63
XIX.	Woman wearing necklace and bracelets	64
XX.	Woman wearing double manta	65
XXI.	Woman's customary coiffure	64
XXII.	Single manta and tasseled girdle	65
XXIII.	A family group	64
XXIV.	Fiesteros and church at Punta Venado	65
XXV.	Young men dressed for fiesta	64
XXVI.	A typical hair-cut	65
XXVII.	Fiesta costume	64
XXVIII.	Fiesta costume completed with a vest	65
XXIX.	Fiesta costume with foreign hat	66
XXX.	Fiesta costumes	67
XXXI.	Boy dressed for fiesta	66
XXXII.	Boy dressed for fiesta	67

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

FACING PAGE

XXXIII. Fiesta costumes 66
XXXIV. Fiesta costume 67
XXXV. Fiesta costume 66
XXXVI. Fiesta costume 67
XXXVII. Boys dressed for fiesta 66
XXXVIII. Boys dressed for fiesta 67
XXXIX. Face paintings 68
XL. Face paintings 69
XLI. Face paintings 68
XLII. Face paintings 69
XLIII. Face paintings 68
XLIV. Face paintings 69
XLV. Face paintings 68
XLVI. Face paintings 68
XLVII. Face paintings 68
XLVIII. Face paintings 68
XLIX. Arm paintings 70
L. Arm paintings 71
LI. Leg paintings 70
LII. Leg paintings 71
LIII. Necklaces of beads and of seeds 70
LIV. Neck ornament of seeds 71
LV. Necklaces 70
LVI. Wrist and neck ornaments 71
LVII. Oyster-shell kitchen-midden 72
LVIII. Drying platform 73
LIX. Plantain field 74
LX. Harvest of plantains 75
LXI. Mashers, chocolate stirrers, and food paddles. 76
LXII. Mealing block and stones, and wooden trays.. 77
LXIII. Utensils for making rum 84
LXIV. Sugar-cane stacked beside the mill 85
LXV. Still, canoe-shape dish, and dipper 86
LXVI. Pita leaves for making cord 87
LXVII. Impounding trap for shad 126
LXVIII. Near view of spring trap 127
LXIX. Canoe-making 134
LXX. Canoe-making 135
LXXI. Placing of cross-bars for transporting the canoe 136
LXXII. Decorative patterns painted on canoes 137
LXXIII. Decorative patterns painted on canoes 138

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

FACING PAGE

LXXIV. Decorative patterns painted on canoes..... 139
LXXV. Decorative patterns painted on canoes..... 140
LXXVI. Paddle handles and blades..... 141
LXXVII. Leaves used to rub down paddles..... 149
LXXVIII. Canoeing on the Rio Cayapas..... 150
LXXIX. Canoe piloted by a woman..... 151
LXXX. Canoe piloted by a man..... 150
LXXXI. Canoeing on the Rio Cayapas..... 151
LXXXII. Canoeing on the Rio Cayapas..... 154
LXXXIII. Wooden seats and bases..... 155
LXXXIV. Carved wooden toys..... 162
LXXXV. Musical tops..... 163
LXXXVI. Designs on calabash utensils..... 172
LXXXVII. Forms of pottery vessels..... 173
LXXXVIII. Pottery vessels set to dry..... 174
LXXXIX. Firing pottery..... 175
XC. Pottery after firing..... 176

FIGURES

1. Types of ladders..... 46
2. Details of frame construction..... 51
3. Details of frame construction..... 51
4. Notches for receiving stringers..... 52
5. Corner of superstructure seen from interior..... 52
6. Beater for bark cloth..... 106
7. Dart and quiver of blow-gun..... 113
8. Deadfall trap for small mammals..... 119
9. Fish-line with pottery sinker..... 131
10. Modern adz used in making canoes..... 139
11. Handle of adz..... 140
12. Device for smoking out bees..... 144
13. Calabash vessel and woven ring..... 170

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

PHONETIC KEY

Vowels

i	ĭ		ɪ
e	ĕ		
a			
o	ŏ		
u	ŭ	û	
ai			

Consonants

	Post-palatal	Medio-palatal	Pre-palatal	Dental	Labial-dental	Bi-labial
Stop	k g		t d	*t*	f v	p b
Spirant		c	s			
Nasal	ñ		n			m
Lateral			l			
Inverted			r			

y, h, w, as in English.
tc as *ch* in church.
ts as in sits.
ty, ly, dy, dipthongal combinations.
The apostrophe (') indicates a strong aspiration.
° nasalization.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

PREFACE

THE information contained in this volume was obtained during the period from July, 1908, to April, 1909, when the author lived with the Cayapa Indians of northwestern Ecuador. This work was suggested to Mr George G. Heye by Prof. Marshall H. Saville, when he found the rich archeological deposits at La Tolita, near the mouth of Rio Santiago, and was undertaken for the purpose of obtaining information with which to solve certain problems connected with the highly developed prehistoric art in pottery and metalwork shown especially in and about the mounds at La Tolita. The results of the present research have failed to give any clew to the manufacturers of these archeological objects, owing to the great antiquity of the culture represented by them and to the fact that the Cayapa Indians are comparatively recent immigrants into this region. However, many interesting and important observations concerning the ethnology of the region were made, and the results of these are here offered as a contribution to the ethnology of this hitherto little known region of northwestern South America. Forming as they did a part of the field research of the Marie Antoinette Heye Expedition, the studies whose results are the subject of the present work were due to Mrs Heye's interest and generous patronage.

The author left San Francisco in June, 1908, so calculating the time of his journey as to connect, via New Orleans and Colon, with a vessel of the Pacific Navigo-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

tion Company at Panama for Esmeraldas. Owing, however, to the irregularity of schedule along this western coast, it was necessary to remain a fortnight in Panama until the next steamer sailed. The arrival of this vessel from the south brought a welcome visit from Professor Saville, who, returning from a summer's archeological research in Ecuador, was able to give further valued information concerning the region to be visited and the encouraging news that health conditions there were then favorable.

Finally, after a voyage of five days, with the usual stops at Buenaventura and Tumaco, our vessel dropped anchor in the harbor of Esmeraldas, where the author was warmly greeted by Mr George D. Hedian, American consular agent at Esmeraldas. Mr Hedian had known Professor Saville for three years and had participated with him in the archeological expedition of the previous summer. His cordial interest, therefore, was threefold: that of a consul, that of a coworker, and, above all, that interest born of whole-souled friendship, as was amply proved throughout the author's stay in the region, and especially evidenced by his fraternal kindness in times of illness and on many other occasions. Mr Hedian's good advice concerning methods of travel and health precautions, and his kind offices in arranging matters of business concerning the expedition, were a result of long residence in the region and of thorough knowledge of the country and its people. The writer takes this opportunity to express his personal appreciation of Mr Hedian's many courtesies.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

It seemed best for the writer to remain in Esmeraldas for about a week in order to recuperate from a slight fever contracted at Tumaco during a canoe trip of a few hours to inspect the mounds on El Morro island in the bay of Tumaco. During this week he also had an opportunity to meet all the people of importance in Esmeraldas, the capital and chief city of the province of the same name, and to outfit so far as was necessary for the trip up the Rio Cayapas. Among others the author met the Governor of the province, who kindly gave him letters of recommendation to the local teniente politico at La Tola.

Finally, passage was obtained for La Tolita on a balandra, or small sloop. The author was accompanied by Mr Hedian, who had arranged his affairs in order to accompany him among the Indians and to see that he was properly introduced to some of their head-men.

After a journey of two days we disembarked at La Tolita, where we were hospitably received by Señor Don Pablo I. Sánchez, owner of the hacienda, and by Señor Don Calixto Ramírez, his business manager. Both of these estimable Spanish gentlemen facilitated in every way the work of the expedition, and it is a pleasure to acknowledge their many kindnesses. Mention must also be made of the tender care given the author during illness by these two and by Señora Sánchez, Señor Don Maximiliano Sánchez, and Señor Don Manuel. Acknowledgment should also be made to these friends for their interest in obtaining a considerable collection of pottery and stone objects from

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

La Tolita mines, which were presented to the author for the collections of what later became the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

This opportunity is taken to acknowledge also our indebtedness to Señor Don Donato Yannuzzelli, of Palma, and to his brother Señor Don Antonio Yannuzzelli, of Esmeraldas, as also to Messrs Dumarest Brothers and others for various favors which contributed to the success of our undertaking.

After several days spent in preparation at La Tolita, we embarked on our canoe trip up the Rio Cayapas, arriving on the second day at the house of Señor Don José Trejo, Secretario de la Gobernación of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa, who, on being assured that we were not connected with some new mining project, cheerfully permitted us to establish camp in his cane-mill on the bank of the river opposite his house.

After remaining two days, Mr Hedian returned down the river, leaving the author to establish further friendly relations which would enable him to prosecute his investigations to advantage. By care and diplomacy the Indians were convinced that the expedition was not secretly prospecting for mining properties, and that there was no danger of interference with their lands and liberties. In due time, therefore, friendly relations were effected, especially with Don José, and with Señor Don Antonio Nupa, head chief, or gobernador, of the Punta Venado division; and ultimately the confidence of the latter particularly, and of various others, was gained to such an extent that it was possible to procure

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the desired information concerning the entire culture of the Cayapa people, given in detail in this volume, as well as notes on the language which will appear later. It is fitting that acknowledgment be made here to the Cayapa Indians for their generous hospitality and assistance, contrary to the rule obtaining in North America, almost wholly without direct compensation other than a little medical aid now and then. Especially should acknowledgment be made to their chief, Don Antonio, who made the author virtually a member of his household, and who, together with the other members of his family, facilitated the investigation in every way.

The plates in this volume were reproduced from negatives made by the author in the field and from photographs of specimens collected while the work was in progress and now in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. A similar collection was gathered at the same time for the Königlicher Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. The drawings of the objects in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, were made by Mr Rudolph Weber and Mr William Baake of New York, and Mr George Peter of Milwaukee.

The detail map of the Cayapa region is based on Basurco's map, made for the provincial government, bearing the title "Plano Topográfico del Rio Cayapas y sus Principales Afluentes Levantado en Diciembre de 1891 por Santiago M. Basurco, Ingeniero de la Comisión Exploradora." The Governor of the Province of Esmeraldas courteously permitted the author to make a copy of this map, which proved very useful in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

many ways. Investigation showed, however, that the map is not entirely correct in certain details; but these imperfections were adjusted on the copy, and further additions were made from a map placed at the disposal of the Museum by the courtesy of the American Geographical Society of New York.

The elaboration of the results of the field work into their final form has been accomplished under many difficulties, since in large measure it has been necessary to perform the task at odd moments after the author's regular duties as a museum curator were finished day by day. Furthermore, the absence of an adequate library within easy reach has added to the difficulties. Acknowledgment is made to The Field Museum of Natural History, of Chicago, for the special privilege of consulting, on Sundays, its books dealing with South America, these being the only days it was possible to visit Chicago for the purpose.

The author takes this opportunity to express his appreciation of the hearty cooperation and of the many valuable suggestions of Professor Saville and of the late George H. Pepper in the preparation of this work; and especially does he wish to acknowledge his gratitude to Mr Heye for his constant encouragement and sympathetic interest.

S. A. Barrett

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

3: Barrett E-5 (1906-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

THE CAYAPA INDIANS OF ECUADOR

By S. A. Barrett

TERRITORY

Geographical Situation

THE people known as the Cayapa Indians live at present almost wholly on the main and tributary streams of the Rio Cayapas, one of the large rivers of the northwestern part of the Province of Esmeraldas, Ecuador, and about ninety miles in a direct line north of the equator. Their territory is within comparatively easy reach of the ocean, which almost all visit at least once a year.

There are a few, perhaps an aggregate of one hundred individuals, who live in several other localities, namely, on the adjacent Rio Santiago, at Pueblo Viejo, and at points along the immediate coast from the Rio Dulcie, a few miles south of the town of Esmeraldas, the capital of the province, northward to the Rio Rosario, about eight miles southeast of Tumaco, in the extreme southwestern part of Colombia. However, practically all the Cayapa, approximating fifteen hundred to two thousand individuals, now live on or in the immediate vicinity of the river which bears their name.

The Rio Cayapas heads in the western slope of the coast range of the Andes at a point not far from Mt Cotacachi, which attains an altitude of 16,290 feet (4,966 meters). The western slope of this sierra is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[33] very abrupt; it soon gives place to the broad coastal plain which stretches thence to the ocean and which is broken only by low foot-hills in its eastern part near the higher mountains, and by short, isolated, low ranges of hills and individual hills in its western part near
[34] the coast. The portion of this coastal plain now occupied by the Cayapa is that along the lower course of the Rio Cayapas and its tributaries. There are very few, if any, who reside as far as the lowest of the foot-hills of the coast range.

[35] The lower course of the Rio Cayapas is wide, very deep, and sluggish; but immediately above tidewater it is a swift, more or less shallow stream, with numerous rapids, and in its upper course its current is so rapid that it may be ascended by canoe only with difficulty, even when not in flood. At time of very high water, on the other hand, the river is quite impassable at certain rapids, especially that known as Corriente Grande. The nature of the coastal plain is such as to produce numerous rapids, some of them of considerable extent, but, so far as it was possible to ascertain, there are no cataracts along the lower course of the river.

To the east of the coast range of the Andes, and separating it from the much higher sierra, spreads an extensive valley, at a lofty altitude, in which are situated the chief interior cities of Ecuador, including Quito (9,350 feet, or 2,850 meters), Ibarra (7,380 feet or 2,250 meters), and others. It was here, according to [[73]] their traditions, that the Cayapa formerly lived. Beyond this great main range of the Andes lies the vast Amazon basin.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The conditions prevailing in the high interior valley 153
also present contrast with those under which the Cayapa now live, not only as to topography, but also as to climate, natural resources, modes of travel, the nature of their habitations, the food supply, and in various other particulars.

Climate

The climatic conditions of the territory of the Rio 152
Cayapa are typically tropical. The temperature is equable throughout the year, the maximum day temperature ranging, so far as it was possible to determine, between 70° and 85° Fahrenheit.[1] Rains are of almost

[1] "The temperature at night ranges from 65 to 75 degrees Fahr., on cloudy days from 70 to 80 degrees Fahr., and on sunny days from 75 to 85 degrees. The latter degree I have experienced but twice in seven or eight months' residence. . . . . Although almost directly under the equator, that burning equatorial heat and those malignant fevers of which we read, are here unknown. The cause of this salubrious climate is the moisture-laden current which, sweeping by the Galapagos Islands, reaches this portion of the Ecuadorian coast and deposits its moisture as it strikes the slopes of the Andes. The clouds shield the country from the direct rays of the sun, the copious rains wash the country clean, the snows furnish cooling water, while constant evaporation tempers and cools the air."—Extract from the report of the engineer to the United States Gold Dredging and Rubber Company, on the Rio Santiago. This report was based on observations made during 1905-06. A report made by another engineer of the same company for the month of May, 1905, gives the night temperature as ranging between 68°-82°F., and the day temperature as ranging between 67°-77°F. The daily rainfall is given in this report as ranging from 0.83 inch to 6.87 inch.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[12 daily occurrence, although the year is divided into a so-called wet season and a so-called dry season. The former corresponds to the fall, winter, and spring months, and the latter to the summer months of the North Temperate zone. At all times, however, this particular region is bountifully supplied with rain, although it is only a short distance north of the more arid portions of the western coast of South America. Beginning with the region about the Rio Esmeraldas, the rainfall rapidly decreases toward the south, and save in a few exceptional areas the territory becomes correspondingly more arid. Even at such a short distance as Manabí the aridity is very noticeable, and still farther to the south, on the Peruvian coast, the country is very arid. To the north, on the other hand, as far as southern Mexico, the rainfall is very abundant, and in some sections may even exceed in volume that of the Cayapa region.

It was not feasible on the present expedition to carry apparatus for measuring the precipitation exactly, but according to systematic observations[1] made during the first three months of 1907, in April, 1906, and again in May, 1908, on the Rio Santiago, a few miles distant from the Rio Cayapas, and a part of the same drainage system, the daily precipitation ranged from .81 inch to .87 inch, or a total annual precipitation of from 24.63 to 26.46 feet. If data were available for every month of the year, it is not improbable that these figures would be found to vary. Further, if observ-

[1] See Note 1, page 3.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

variate extending over a series of years were available, it would probably be found that the precipitation varies considerably from year to year. For instance, according to reports the winter months of 1909–10 were attended by an unprecedented rainfall. On the whole, therefore, it is safe to assume that the observations of the engineers referred to represent a fair average of the precipitation of this region. 132

In consequence of the great rainfall and the constant saturation of the ground, floods are frequent along all the rivers of this region. These freshets come, of course, only when there is a continuous and an unusually heavy fall of rain for several hours, or, as sometimes happens, for several days. In the latter event the Rio Cayapas rises several feet at its mouth, which is itself upward of a mile wide, and where the lowness of the bordering lands permits the stream to spread over wide areas. Farther up-stream, where the hills confine its waters, the river rises much higher; and at some points, where for considerable distances there are no low flood-plains and where the banks are steep, it rises as high as fifty feet. 133 731

As a result of such conditions there has been developed a form of pile-dwelling, the floor of which is raised from six to twelve feet above the ground. The Cayapa always endeavor to build their houses as near the river as possible, on account of their dependence on it as a means of travel and for other purposes. The floods, however, must always be taken into account in selecting a site even for such a pile-dwelling, since at times of such 731 [342] 361 [487]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

731 floods it not infrequently happens that the waters rise
361 so high as completely to surround the house, and indeed sometimes to within a few inches of its floor.

132 The excessive rainfall naturally produces great humidity,[3] which would be very oppressive were it not for the fact that the sky is almost constantly overcast, so that the full power of the sun is rarely felt in the region. This fortunate circumstance renders the climate, which would otherwise be almost intolerable, very equable and pleasant.

Resources

TREES AND PLANTS

137 By virtue of the climatic conditions above set forth the vegetation of the Cayapa region is typically tropical. Almost every foot of ground is covered by a dense jungle growth comprising many species of trees, palms, shrubs, and smaller plants, and characterized by an abundance of vines and parasitic vegetation. So dense is this growth that it is practically impossible to travel on land even a short distance without the use of a machete.

137 Among the most important and characteristic plants
124 of the region are the various species of palms, many of which are put to use by the Cayapa in one way or another. In the following list of the trees and plants of this section are given the Cayapa and the local Spanish names of those palms which are most useful to the

[3] One of the engineer's reports, above referred to, places the humidity at an average of about 80 per cent.

Cat. 116, pp.
9-11 AJ

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Indians. A number of these palms produce foods, and several provide leaves which are used in making house-thatch, while the trunk of one makes a durable flooring for houses. These matters will be taken up more specifically in the discussion of these subjects. 137 824

Another characteristic plant is the giant bamboo, which grows in clumps at frequent intervals along the banks of the rivers, especially along their lower courses. This bamboo often reaches a height of seventy feet or more, and has a basal diameter approximating ten inches. These immense stems serve various useful purposes, among the most important of which may be mentioned that of joists and rafters in house-building. 137 [342]

There is a great variety of trees in the jungle, many of which produce useful woods. Perhaps the most important uses of wood among the Cayapa are in house construction and in canoe-making. In the former the guayacan, which provides the almost indestructible pillars that support the pile structures, is of greatest importance. Several varieties of trees are used in canoe-making, but two or three kinds are preferred to all others. 137 342 396

Another characteristic of the jungle is the association of many species of plant life together in one area. Whereas in the North Temperate zone it is customary to see large tracts of land occupied by a single principal species of tree, such as the pine, in this Ecuadorian region a considerable number of trees of one species growing close together and in such manner as to form anything comparable with a grove is rarely seen. As a 137

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

137 rule the various species of trees are associated in a strictly heterogeneous manner, and in all cases there is a fairly dense undergrowth, besides vines and aerial roots in abundance. These latter hang from the trees in such profusion as alone to make it necessary to cut a trail in proceeding even for a short distance by land.

824 137 Of these aerial roots the one known by the local Spanish term *pitigua* deserves special mention. It is very strong and durable, is little affected by climate, [342] and is not attacked by insects. It is, therefore, extensively employed in binding joints in house-building, and indeed wherever a good binding material is needed. [285] It is also extensively used in making certain kinds of basketry.

This general mention of the natural vegetal resources of the Cayapa region will suffice for present consideration, but the separate plants and their particular uses will be treated in detail in the following pages in connection with matters with which they are particularly concerned.

The heterogeneity of the flora of the region, above referred to, is fortunate for its inhabitants, since it places nearly every kind of plant, on which so much of the culture of the Cayápa Indians depends, within comparatively easy reach of all. That the flora should be so varied in any given locality, and that any given species should be so generally distributed, is due to the almost identical climate, soil, and other environmental conditions throughout the region.

The following is a list of the principal vegetal resources, both indigenous and introduced, employed by the Cayapa:

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Trees and Plants

137
192
824

English	Spanish	Cayapa
	guayacan	waiaka'n[a]
rubber	caucho	sa'be
cedar	cedro	inū'n-tcĭ, erinō'n-tcĭ
	guadaripo	tō-tcĭ
	amarillo	pitōa'lō
	balsa	na'na
	dama jaua	te'ckĭ-tcĭ or tō'ckĭ-tcĭ
	achote	ca'imū (canyūō-tcĭ = the shrub)
	hawa	ma'ī-tcĭ
	guabo	cī'lyū (cī'-tcĭ = the tree). See p. 109
	guabo macheton	mactĭ-pa' cīlyū
	guabo dulce	pi' cīlyū
	guabo tacoane	ni'ūga cīlyū
	guabo agria	sa' cīlyū
		pū' cīlyū
calabash	calabaza	wa'iyū (wa'ī-tcĭ = the tree), also ca'lya
chocolate	cacao	kaka'bō
papaw	papaya	papa'ia
	caimito	a'kū'ifya (akūi'ī-tcĭ = the tree)
	zapote	tapō'te
orange	naranjo	la'nsa (lansa'-tcĭ = the tree)

[a] In some instances these names are invariably given by informants with *tcĭ*, signifying tree, following the root of the word; in others this is never added unless it is intended particularly to show that the tree itself is meant. In some cases the addition of *tcĭ* causes considerable phonetic change in the root. In those cases where the simple root form and also the compound form were obtained, the latter follows the former in parentheses.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

137
192
824

English	Spanish	Cayapa
lemon	limon	lē'mō (lēmō'-tcī = the tree)
	chocolatillo	tcūkūla'le, tcūkūlaī'a
sandpaper tree		lya'pic-hakī
plantain	platano	pa'nda
banana	seda	cē'da, sēdo-kīnī'a
	hoja blanca	lī'ba-hakī[a]
	hoja negra	c'lūē-hakī
sugar-cane	caña dulce	c'lla
wild cane	caña brava	nya'nyī
corn	maiz	pī'cū
tobacco	tabaco	ta'kō
	yuca	kū'tcū, kū'ctcū
	ratcadera	nū'a
pineapple	piña	tcī'lya
pepper	aji	tyū
	yerba buena	ēvī vē'nō[b]
pumpkin	capayo	ū
	kuna-kuna	wa'-tcī
	matamba	bī'ta
		nimtcū'a'
	tangarra	dūī'n-tcī

Palms[c]

ivory nut	palma tagua	tī'mō būlō (tī'ō-tcī = the palm)[d]
	palma real	ōya'-tcī

[a] This term, like the Spanish *hoja blanca*, signifies "white leaf."

[b] The name of this introduced plant is obviously a corruption of the Spanish.

[c] A porous vine used as a smoking material by children.

[d] In the majority of cases the names given by informants for these palms are combinations of the simple names of the palms with the word *tcī*, signifying "tree." The five cases in which the simple name was obtainable are here noted, the compound terms following them in parentheses.

[177]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ENGLISH	SPANISH	CAYAPA
	palma palmicha	sā'wī (sa'n-tcī = the palm)
	palma chonta dura	ka'imbī (kanō'-tcī = the palm)
	palma chapil or milpeso	kūla'pō-tcī
	palma guividnande	vifiga'-tcī
	palma guinul	pūka''-tcī
	palma pambil	bū'a (bū'iñ-tcī = the palm)
	palma crespa	pī'nlya-tcī
	palma chontilla	pē'aputc
coconut	palma coco	kō'kō (kō'kō-tcī = the palm)
fan-leaf palm	palma rampile	pī'tcûa
		ya'ha
		kapi'm-tcī

137
192
824

GAME

Game is abundant in the jungle, and there are fish of various species in the streams. The ocean is within a comparatively short distance and its shores abound in many species of Crustacea and mollusks, as well as in the various salt-water fish, all highly prized by the Indians. 136

The specific uses of each species and its mode of capture, together with other points of interest in connection with it, will be taken up in detail at appropriate points in the following pages. For the present purposes it will be sufficient to give lists of the principal mammals, birds, fishes, Crustacea, mollusks, reptiles, and amphibians which are found in the region.

These lists, like the list of trees and plants previously given, are by no means complete, since they include

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

only the principal species with which the Indians are particularly concerned. Moreover, it is a source of regret that it is impossible, except in a very few instances, to give the scientific names of any of the species mentioned. It was originally intended that a collection should be made of all those forms of vegetal and animal life employed in any way by the Indians. In fact, a good beginning had been made in this matter, and considerable time had been spent in preparing mammal and bird skins during the first three months' residence on the river, but, unfortunately, during the author's illness from fever for nine weeks, these specimens were completely spoiled by insects and no time was available later to gather another collection. The only specimens saved were certain insects preserved in alcohol.

MAMMALS

English	Spanish	Cayapa
deer	venado	ma'na
wild hog	saino	aven-dû'cû, awen-dyû'cû
peccary	tatabara	na'-tcûcû, ne-tû'cû, ka'ne tyûcû
tame hog	puerco	kû''tci, kô''tci
(large rodent)	guanta	wala'mbû
(large rodent)	guatin	kô'yû, kû'yû
jaguar	tigre	kê'la, a-kê'la
black-marked species		pabafe'la
red-marked species		lakembi'lya
ocelot	tigrillo	tômañ-gê'la
puma	león	lyû-kê'la, lyû-kê'na
monkey	mono	wa'cû, wo'cû

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

136
192

English	Spanish	Cayapa
monkey	mico, machin	cū'rī, cō'rī
howler monkey	mongon	hōyū'ngū
	cusumbi	wa'sū, wa'se
squirrel	ardilla	ī-ya'mbū, ya'mbū
armadillo	armadillo	tcil-ya'mbū
rat (large species of wood rat)	raton	ī'yō
rat (small species)		pakōla'la
	zorra	cī'ni

BIRDS

toucan	paliton	tcandō'tō (o)
toucan (small species)	pichilingo	pī'tcī (o)
grouse	perdiz	ū'ndūrūrū, ō'ndōrōrō (o)
turkey, wild	pava, drumalona	ē'lī
turkey, wild	pavon, cantona	ka'ntsū
turkey, domestic	pava	kastī'lya walya'pa
dove	paloma	mabō''kō (o)
		pastō''kō (o)
		wa'pū'pū (o)
buzzard	gallinaso	kū'ndūrūrū, petyū'tyū
pelican	alcatraz	nana''ka
	guacharaca	watcara'ka (o)
frigate bird		nyambīwa'tū
hawk	gabilan	hūya'lyū
hawk	gabilan de machiñ	cūī hūya'lyū
hawk	gabilan de mono	wac hūya'lyū
	canchimalo	tcañgō'kō
	catanita, panchana	kīt'īh-'ctcī

* As elsewhere among aboriginal peoples, onomatopoetic terms are of frequent occurrence among the Cayapa, the tendency being especially noticeable in bird names. Terms of this kind in the above list are indicated by means of (o) following them.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

136
192

English	Spanish	Cayapa
parrot (large green)		lō'rō, alō'rō
parrot (small green)	catalina	kōū'' kōtcī
macaw		a'kara

REPTILES AND AMPHIBIANS

boa constrictor	gualcauna	hūrūhū'rū
boa constrictor	sobrecama	we'sū
alligator	lagarto	e'mbū
crocodile	caiman	e'lmbū
crocodile, young	tulisio	dī' t'cū
iguana	iguana	ara''pī
lizard (large species)	piande	bīmbū'ka
lizard (large species)	lagartilla	dāmbē'la
lizard (chameleon-like)		kapūtckē'rān
salamander	salamanca	wacpī'nī
tree-toad or frog		pa'tata

FISH

shad	sabalo	awī'lī
sting-ray		pīpū''pū
		tyū-wī'lī
	verugate	antca'ma

MOLLUSKS

oyster	ostion	ostī'ñ, ostrō'n
	piangua	pī'añgū, icpia'ñgān
	chiripiangua	tcī'rīpiañgūa
periwinkle		ka'kū
	almeja	tcū'ya

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CRUSTACEA 136

English	Spanish	Cayapa 182
crayfish	camaron	a'lôcâ, pi'câ
crayfish (another species)		karna da (?)
crab	cangrejo	ofʼlâ, ofʼlâ
crab (a particular species)		ŋpâl ofʼlâ
crab (a particular species)		kaia ofʼlâ
crab (a particular species)		kaia'pa ofʼlâ
	mapara	ma'para

INSECTS

Many species of insects abound in the Cayapa region, 136
though few of them directly concern the Indians in an economic way. In view of the fact that many of these insects are not mentioned later in these pages, it seems appropriate to enter more into detail at this point respecting certain of them than was necessary in dealing with plants and animals.

Among the insects worthy of particular mention are 136
certain malevolent ones, such as centipedes, scorpions, 184
tarantulas, ticks, stinging gnats and, above all, the mosquito, of which there are a number of species. Contrary to the conditions in many parts of the tropics, however, there seems to be a total absence in the Cayapa region of the yellow-fever bearing species of mosquito, as there is also of the plague-bearing flea. Hence this particular section of the tropics to the present time has been entirely free from these two dreaded maladies,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

though both exist at various other points along the western coast. There appears to be no particular lack of hosts for either of these insects; and from the fact that the yellow-fever mosquito does exist at Tumaco, only a short distance north of the mouth of the Rio Cayapas, one is at a loss to account for its absence from a region so close as Esmeraldas province where climatic conditions are similar. In the case of the flea, however, at least one possible explanation appears, namely, the difference in climate between the Esmeraldas region and that of the vicinity of Guayaquil. At Guayaquil and southward the coast is comparatively arid, thus giving favorable dry breeding places for the flea, while from Esmeraldas northward the rainfall is very great, consequently the ground is thoroughly saturated and the breeding grounds of the flea are greatly diminished, if not altogether lacking.

Of the mosquitos which do exist here the most dangerous are those of the one or more species which are said to transmit malaria—the "tropical" or "jungle" fever as it is commonly called. Fortunately these pests appear not to be very numerous; at least the cases of "jungle" fever among the Indians, as also among the whites and negroes, are not numerous. Probably a certain degree of immunity is experienced by natives and old residents, for as a rule they have comparatively light attacks of the fever, though often a newcomer is violently infected and sometimes with fatal results.

Another annoying species of mosquito is a small one, the bite of which produces a local infection which slowly

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

spreads if not promptly checked. The remaining species, of which there are several, are also annoying, but their bites appear to produce no particularly evil effect.

The tick is found only about the mouth of the Rio Cayapas and elsewhere along the immediate coast. This annoying insect is said to be almost exclusively confined, in this region at least, to those sections where domestic animals, particularly cattle and horses, are kept. Thus the Indians, by virtue of their location, are little troubled by it, though much annoyance is experienced by others living where it occurs at all abundantly.

Centipedes, scorpions, and tarantulas are encountered only occasionally, but their bites and stings cause considerable trouble now and then. The centipedes are the most numerous and are of large size, reaching a length of fifteen inches or more. There are also certain other poisonous insects not known in temperate regions, but these appear to be rare.

Among the malevolent insects which do not injure man directly are the termites which destroy woodwork and even extend their tunnels into the dwellings. The damage they do, however, is never considerable.

There are many species of ants in this region, the most of which are quite harmless. One, however, the so-called army, or driver, ant is of importance, though it must be regarded quite as benevolent as it is malevolent. This species travels in great armies, as the name implies. It is strictly carnivorous, and will attack almost any living animal, whether large or small.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

136 [570] It is claimed by the Indians that if an army of these ants enters the dwelling, there is but one recourse, namely, its occupants move out and visit nearby relatives or friends for a day or two. Meantime the ants penetrate every nook and corner of the house from top to bottom, including the palm-leaf thatch, and devour or drive out every living thing in it. Cockroaches, one of the greatest pests of the region, are almost always present in large numbers in the thatch, but after a visitation of army ants, they, together with the centipedes, scorpions, and all other forms of insect life have disappeared.

While residing in the cane-mill previously referred to (pl. VI), a short distance above the village of Punta Venado on the lower course of the Rio Cayapas, at about ten o'clock one morning there appeared on the ground about the house a large number of these ants. On investigation it was found that they were issuing from the jungle in myriads, traveling along an old and fairly well-beaten Indian hunting trail that led from the jungle out into the clearing. The cane-mill was surrounded by a clearing of about two acres, with a relatively open portion, about half an acre in extent, immediately adjacent to the mill. The cane, which had been recently planted in this area, did not exceed a foot or so in height, hence a good opportunity was afforded to observe the movements of the ants. To all appearances they paid attention to nothing except their journey, so long as they were on the trail within the jungle; but immediately they reached the edge of the clearing, the dense line, which was as wide as the trail

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

would permit, broke into several smaller lines which deployed in various directions as the ants commenced their hunt for food. This hunt was thorough to a degree, and involved searching every nook, corner, and crevice of everything they encountered. While thus hunting, the ants passed in large numbers around and under the cane-mill, but for some unknown reason, and much to our relief, they did not climb the housposts and overrun the mill itself. |36

A species of small red land crab is very abundant throughout the region. Many of these crab burrows were seen in the vicinity of the cane-mill, which gave an opportunity of observing the attacks of the ants upon the crabs. The scene about the mill during one of these attacks was so animated that it was scarcely possible to keep watch of any particular crab burrow and thus observe the ants as they besieged it. The observer became aware of their presence there, however, when the rightful owner of the burrow suddenly emerged from its entrance and scuttled away in vain endeavor to rid himself of his tormentors. Running first one way, then another, in his attempt to escape, the crab soon found that, while he had been attacked in his burrow by from half a dozen to perhaps a score of ants, each of which clung tenaciously, the further it ran the more of the enemy it accumulated, until it was finally overcome by sheer force of numbers. Now and then, of course, a crab managed to escape. 2.

Perhaps the most striking instance of the methods employed by these ants in their foraging was given by

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[134] their tunnelling of a heap of old crushed sugar-cane stalks, commonly spoken of as "cane-trash," which lay in front of the mill. To all appearances this refuse pile was not inhabited, but when the ants commenced their search of it, it proved to be literally alive with land crabs and with insect life of various kinds. As a rule, those occupants which succeeded in reaching the surface of the pile, did so in each case with several ants clinging tenaciously to them. Now and then one of the flying creatures, such as a cockroach, would endeavor to escape by means of its wings, but would literally alight within a few feet in order to try to rid itself of the clinging ants, but it usually found that these efforts were rewarded only by an attack of a larger number of the pests.

After two or three hours of hunting and hunting in this clearing, the army of ants took its way up the river-bank and disappeared into the jungle, leaving no trace of its visit save an empty crab-shell or other ants reminder here and there.

[135] Many stories are told by the Cayapa and others of the work of these ants, some of them tending to show what may be regarded as a certain degree of ingenuity on the part of the ants. That they work in unison in their attacks on small animal life is shown by the above personal observation, and this fact may be taken as in a measure corroborative of the following experience of Señor Don Calixto Ramírez, who has resided for many years in this region and who has had excellent opportunities for observing its natural history.

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Shortly after Father Ramirez's arrival in this section of Ecuador, he had occasion to be out looking up cattle, in company with a friend who at the time was an old resident. They were on the upper course of the Rio Santiago, and in riding along they observed a line of army ants so moving as to indicate that they formed a segment of a circle, the remainder being hidden by the jungle. The two observers tied their horses a short distance away and followed the ants, as the circle moved inward, until they reached a point where the center of the circle was visible. There they saw, to their surprise, a coiled equis, the most venomous snake of the region. The serpent was perfectly quiet, and apparently asleep. The ants moved cautiously in until their circle enclosed a space of but a few feet in diameter. At this juncture four or five ants approached the equis and finally bit it, thus causing the snake to bestir itself. It moved off toward one side of the circle of ants, where it met a warm reception; it then moved in another direction, with no better result; and so it darted in various directions in its frenzied endeavor to escape, until finally the circle closed in completely, when nothing was to be seen but a writhing mass of ants and the snake, a foot or so high and two or three feet in diameter. Time did not permit the observers to witness the disposal of the snake, but on their return, a few hours later, there was not an ant in sight, but as an evidence of the combat, the snake's skeleton, picked absolutely clean, lay at the point where it met its fate.

There are numerous other kinds of ants, among which

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

may be mentioned at least one species of leaf-cutting ant whose peculiarly spiny body presents an interesting appearance, though it is in no way of special importance to the Indians. One very large, black, stinging ant, called conga in Spanish, and ny6'mi in Cayapa, is much feared by the Indians and others resident in this region, for the reason that its sting produces not only an annoying local irritation, but also a rise in the temperature of one bitten, so that it is commonly said that the sting of the conga insures two days of fever.

Certain species of small bees are of value to the Indians, particularly in the production of the wax used in calking canoes and pottery, and in painting canoes; it is also employed remedially to a slight extent as a cure for cuts and abrasions. The honey made by these bees is very little sought as a food, and is quite secondary in value to their wax. The Indians recognize four classes of these bees. The puba ta'ndg is a small black species that lives in trees and makes the best wax which is yellow in color and is produced in larger quantities than that made by any of the other bees. The cihemi'ski, also a small black bee, lives in the ground and produces an inferior black wax which is used only to a limited extent by the Indians. The third of these small black bees is the ta'nda, which lives in trees but which produces much more honey than wax. The fourth species, amili a'ma, is a small yellow bee which likewise lives in trees and produces a black wax that is used to a considerable extent.

Certain insects are employed as food. Two of these,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

which were observed, were a large, black, beaked beetle (*Rhynchophorus palmarum*), called kū'perū by the Cayapa, and a large white larva called kōmu'cū by them. 136 925 242

Certain other insects, though of no special economic importance, are of interest to the Indians. One in particular is a large beetle (*Euchroma goliath* L. & G.) whose iridescent wing-covers are employed in making necklaces. There are also large, beautifully colored butterflies, dragonflies, and a large firefly (*Pyrophorus pellucens*), besides a host of other species of insects of greater or lesser interest. 136 925 [206]

Insects 136 192

English	Spanish	Cayapa
beetle (*Rhynchophorus palmarum*)		kū'perū
beetle (*Euchroma goliath* L. & G.)	cucaron	kabē'tsū
firefly (*Pyrophorus pellucens*)		mū'lūkū
bees		pabs ta'nda cibemi'okl ta'nda amili a'ma
ant (a large, black, stinging ant)	conga	nyū'mī
larva (a large white larva)		kū'mucū
larva	cogoyo	asf'
a worm or caterpillar	hualpa	tcfl'lī

MINERALS

Among the natural resources of the country should be mentioned its minerals, certain of which are found 135

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

in considerable deposits along this portion of the coast of Ecuador. In fact this region, like a large part of the western coast of South America, is rich in precious metals, those present in this particular locality being chiefly gold and platinum, although silver and copper are also found. It is an interesting fact that platinum first became known to the civilized world through its introduction from the Province of Esmeraldas; it had, however, been discovered and employed to a considerable extent in the making of ornaments by the aboriginal inhabitants of the region about the mouth of the Rio Santiago before its introduction into the modern arts, in fact long before the coming of Columbus. The high development reached in the art of metal-working by the ancient inhabitants of this section is shown particularly by the elaborate and delicately wrought ornaments of gold and platinum, and occasionally also of silver and copper, found so abundantly at La Tolita near the mouth of the Rio Santiago and at certain other points in that vicinity.

The Cayapa Indians of the present day are quite differently disposed toward metal-working, for they have no knowledge of the art, now using no metal objects other than those obtained by trade, such as axes, adzes, and machetes. They assert that they never came into contact with the ancient metal-workers of this region, for the reason that they were long ago driven out or exterminated by another tribe which the Cayapa in turn banished in comparatively recent times. Not only do the Cayapa do no metal-work themselves, but

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

they have no knowledge of mining and are not at all inclined to acquire such knowledge even though they realize that gold and platinum command good prices at the settlements. Furthermore, they are extremely distrustful of and even hostile to everyone connected with mining or prospecting enterprises.

Health Conditions

Associated with the natural resources of a region are its health conditions, which in the Province of Esmeraldas are very good in comparison with most parts of the South American tropics. In fact the Esmeraldas shore is reputed, on good grounds, to be the most salubrious territory of the entire western coast of South America. Indeed, during the entire time spent by the author in the region, there was not, so far as could be learned, a case of any of the ultra-serious contagious diseases, and certainly none was reported in those portions of the province in which he resided. During the same period, however, both bubonic plague and yellow fever broke out with marked violence at Guayaquil, about two hundred miles southward, and there was also an epidemic of yellow fever at Tumaco, not more than fifty miles to the north along the coast from the mouth of the Rio Santiago. As pointed out in speaking of the insects of this region, neither the plague-bearing flea nor the yellow-fever bearing mosquito are found in the Province of Esmeraldas, hence the absence of these two diseases.

The most serious, and in fact practically the only serious, contagious disease of frequent occurrence in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

this section is a form of malarial fever locally called paludismo; but this malady is so mild in comparison with the diseases above mentioned as to be almost negligible in a comparative consideration of the general health conditions of the region. The attacks of paludismo on newcomers are often severe, and now and then result fatally, but a native or an old resident of the region is usually fairly immune from it.

It is said that typhoid is entirely unknown; indeed no signs of it were observed during the author's stay in the region. Dysentery, which is such a serious malady in certain parts of the tropics, is little known here, though sporadic cases occur; in fact, two cases came under the author's observation, but only one of these was fatal, and this largely by reason of a complication of conditions combined with inadequate care.

It may be said, therefore, that the region inhabited by the Cayapa, and in fact the whole Province of Esmeraldas, is very healthful in comparison with other parts of the tropics.

Surrounding Peoples

The only people at present known to have close linguistic affinity with the Cayapa are the Colorados of the upper course of the Rio Esmeraldas. Dr D. G. Brinton[29] places the Cayapa in what he terms the Barbacoan linguistic stock, taking that name from a people formerly living on the upper Rio Patia in south-

[29] Brinton, The American Race, pp. 196–199, New York, 1891.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ern Colombia. Brinton's limits of this linguistic stock are not very clearly defined, but are given roughly as extending from the headwaters of the Rio Daule, which empties into the Gulf of Guayaquil, northward to the vicinity of the Rio Patia, which empties into the ocean north of Tumaco in southern Colombia, thus extending from about one degree south to two and one-half degrees north latitude. The information at Brinton's disposal did not enable him to locate exactly the various peoples which he includes in this stock, but he names the Barbacoas, Cayapas, Colorados or Sacchas, Cuaiqueros, Iscuandes, Manivis, and Telembis. It is not at all unlikely that the peoples whom Brinton calls Barbacoas, Iscuandes, Telembis, and perhaps also the Cuaiqueros, are in reality only small bands of Cayapa who had gone into the localities which still bear these several names, and that the vocabularies and other information on which he based the classification were collected from them at these places, with the result that these people came into literature as four distinct divisions.[11] The same thing has happened in many instances in North America,

[11] It is highly probable that the meager vocabularies on which Brinton based his classification of these several supposedly distinct groups of people under the one family name were recorded by various systems of orthography, used by travelers whose mother tongues were different, and who in most, if not all, cases were not trained in the study of aboriginal languages. This would be sufficient to account for the considerable differences in the vocabularies—differences which, in the absence of further data, would warrant anyone in considering the various peoples as dialectically distinct one from another.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

101 hence it is now being found that a people speaking a
197 single language appears in literature under several different names. As already pointed out, a few of the Cayapa at the present time are scattered along the coast from a point north of Tumaco to some distance south of Esmeraldas. These small bands near the coast are far more accessible to travelers and naturally would be encountered first by them. Hence it could very easily have happened that the several different peoples reported to Brinton, probably by as many different travelers, as separate groups, but whose languages proved to be closely related, were simply these bands of Cayapa who were then, as they are now, living apart from the main body along the Rio Cayapas. Furthermore, if the above assumption is true, it is probable that these Cayapa of the coast then recognized, as they do now, their identity with the main body of the people.

[103] The fact that almost all the rivers, and especially all the smaller streams, as well as other physiographical features of the whole region, mentioned by Brinton, still bear names that are of Cayapa origin, is strong evidence that the Cayapa at a comparatively early date had spread over this large area and that they were familiar with and probably in possession of, so far as other Indians were concerned, the territory from a point some distance north of Tumaco southward. It therefore seems very probable that what appeared to Brinton as several linguistically related groups are in reality parts of a single group, and that formerly, as now, the only other people so far reported who have any

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6
Colorado SD7

CA 101 197

close linguistic affinity with the Cayapa were the Colorados.

CA CO 171

The dialect of the Colorados, however, is so different from that of the Cayapa as to be almost unintelligible to the latter. Their customs, dress, and general culture are also quite distinct, and their territory is of a very different character from that of the Cayapa, being decidedly mountainous, though not far enough inland to be at a great altitude. There is no political or social affinity between the two peoples; in fact, although belonging to the same linguistic stock, the only knowledge one has of the other is that gained from an occasional visit by two or three Cayapa to the Colorado country, or vice versa. It is told as one of the important events of recent times that in returning, several years ago, from a visit to Quito, the chief of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa came by way of the Colorado country and spent several days there, and that he finally brought home with him a member of that tribe who visited on the Rio Cayapas for some days before returning to his own people.

CA CO 484 484

CA 197

That the Cayapa have wider linguistic affiliations has been recently shown by Drs Beuchat and Rivet,[12] who set forth the fact that there is considerable affinity between the Barbacoas, of which the Cayapa is a dialect, and the Coconuco and Paniquita groups, both of which are in Colombia. The interrelations of the latter two

[12] Affinités des Langues du Sud de la Colombie et du Nord de l'Équateur (Groupes Paniquita, Coconuco et Barbacoa), par H. Beuchat et P. Rivet, extrait du *Muséon*, Louvain, 1910.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6
Cholo

groups are much closer than are those of either with the Barbacoa, but there seem to be a sufficient number of features in common between these two Colombian stocks on the one hand, and the Cayapa and Colorado dialects on the other, to warrant the inclusion of all these in a larger group or linguistic family.

On the north the nearest Indian neighbors of the Cayapa are those commonly called by the ambiguous term "Cholos," and who live along the Rio Saija, a small stream which empties into the ocean at about 2° 50′ N., at a point nearly opposite the island of Gorgona. These people are entirely different from the Cayapa in language and culture; but there is a certain amount of intermingling between the two, and a marked influence is exerted by the Cholos on some features of Cayapa culture, especially medicine practices.

The only other Indian neighbors of the Cayapa are the Quichua, or Kechua, descendants of the historic Inca peoples, who live in the interior valleys, the nearest being those about Ibarra and Cotacachi. Although they are of an entirely different linguistic stock, there is here also a certain amount of intermingling, small parties of Quichua making occasional trips down to the coast, and small parties of Cayapa making occasional trips into the mountains. At the present time, however, the trails are much neglected and are extremely difficult to travel, so that the intercourse is very slight.

The only other peoples with whom the Cayapa come into contact are the few European or North American whites, and the many negroes, descendants of former

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

slaves of this western coast, especially of Colombia. These negroes live adjacent to and mingle very much with the Cayapa, and have exerted a strong influence on some features of their culture, especially their music. 177 [553]

HISTORY

According to Cayapa tradition, the original home of the people was in the mountains near Ibarra. At a time probably very near that of the advent of the first Spaniards, the Cayapa as a body moved to what is now known as Pueblo Viejo de Cayapas, in the mountains drained by the upper course of the Rio Santiago. Various reasons are given for this migration, some affirming that it was because of their fear of the invaders (and, as one informant said, especially the fear of their horses), while others say that it was due to the general alteration in their mode of life as a result of the conquest. Still others claim that the migration occurred some time prior to the conquest, and that it was due to their love of peace and their distaste for the hostilities forced on them by the invading Quichua, or Incas as they are so often called, who, only a comparatively short time prior to the arrival of the Spanish explorers, had invaded Ecuador and subjugated its various peoples in the interior, even as far north as what is now the northern boundary of the republic. One informant related a traditionary tale to the effect that the Cayapa migrated by the advice and under the leadership of a certain shaman who, dissatisfied with conditions as they were at Ibarra, called through his magic a jaguar which he entrusted with the duty of finding a more suitable abode. After 173

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

173 about a month's wandering, the jaguar returned and reported to the shaman that the most suitable place was the then uninhabited region about Pueblo Viejo. Acting on this advice he assembled his people and all departed for the new locality. Here the Cayapa lived for a considerable length of time in much the same manner as before—typical mountaineers, knowing very little of river life, and with maize as their staple food.

At that same time the rivers Cayapas and Santiago, and the coast adjacent, were occupied by another people, very vicious and always enemies of the Cayapa. By some they are said to have been cannibals. They preyed constantly on the Cayapa, killing them whenever and wherever encountered. The Cayapa, on the other hand, were then, as they are now, a very peaceable people; but after many years of these outrages they organized war-parties which descended the rivers and exterminated the enemy. These people are always referred to by the Spanish term *Indios Bravos* ("wild Indians"), and are described by some informants in fanciful, mythical terms. By most, however, they are declared to have been like ordinary people, except that both men and women wore skirts of bark cloth and otherwise dressed differently from the Cayapa, and that they were very ferocious. Some claim that in this war of extermination all these Indios Bravos were killed; others claim that a few escaped to the mountains about the extreme headwaters of the Rio Esmeraldas, where their descendants still live and are much feared even at the present time.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

It is said that these people whom the Cayapa are reputed to have conquered are not the people who formerly lived at La Tolita and built the mounds and made the pottery and metal objects so abundant there. That was a still different tribe which occupied the region prior to the time of the people whom the Cayapa exterminated. And they are likewise quite a different people from those formerly living along the lower course of the Rio Esmeraldas. It is said that at a point on this river a short distance above the present town of Esmeraldas, there lived, before the coming of the whites and negroes to the region, a tribe of Indians called Wásû. They were like the Cayapa in appearance, but had a language entirely different from that of the Cayapa or of any people now known to them. It is said that there were a few of these Indians in the vicinity of Esmeraldas up to within a generation or two past, but that they are now extinct. No words of their language were recalled by any of the Cayapa informants. 173

Accounts of the migration of the Cayapa from Pueblo Viejo to their present abode vary somewhat. One informant gave the following account which attributes the success of the Cayapa to magic.

After the Cayapa had been subjected to the depredations of the Indios Bravos for many years, it was determined that some action must be taken to insure their safety. Accordingly three men were sent out to reconnoiter. They came down the river on a small raft, using the greatest care to make no sound and traveling entirely at night. They reported that there were

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

173 great numbers of the Indios Bravos living in villages along the river.

Next, two young women were sent down, who at last discovered a house containing two Indio Bravo men asleep. Approaching cautiously, they discovered that these men held clasped very tightly under their arms short lance-shape wands which, by working with the utmost caution, the women were able to remove. They took these objects back to Pueblo Viejo and gave them to their husbands, who set about at once to learn from the wands the various magic, death-dealing powers which they possessed. At first the wands refused absolutely to divulge anything, but after being frightened with threats of burning, they consented to teach the men during the night.

When night came, therefore, the wands flew about the house and exhibited their magic power. They taught the men what parts of the body were vulnerable to them, and how, on the other hand, they might be caught in the arm-pit, by the side of the head, on the shoulder, in the inner angle of the elbow, in the angle of the knee, and by various other parts of the body. The wands also taught these men how to dodge their own attacks, and also how they might be used in killing the uninitiated. These men, in turn, taught others, until a considerable company of magicians had been thoroughly trained.

At last an expedition of ten of these magicians, each with his wand, which had been thoroughly tried, started down the river to attack the Indios Bravos. One

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

magician, who was especially powerful, remained in his house at Pueblo Viejo to chant the proper incantations to pacify the souls of those who were to be killed, in order that they might not harm any of the attacking party of magicians. The members of the party approached in succession and with great caution the various points inhabited by the Indios Bravos. At each place they made a sudden attack, using their wands with deadly effect. These attacks were met by a stout defense on the part of the Indios Bravos, but the wands of the Cayapa had been so thoroughly trained and proved that they were able to fly against those sent by the enemy and break them, and later to kill everyone in the village attacked.

The Cayapa first attacked the Indios Bravos living along the Rio Sapayo Grande; next those along the Rio San Miguel; next those along the Rio Camarones; then those along La Herradura de Cayapas, and so on down the Rio Cayapas, up the Rio Onzole, and again down the Rio Cayapas to its confluence with the Rio Santiago. They also visited destruction on the inhabitants along the Rio Santiago, and finally made their way down to the coast. Here the magicians divided part going along the coast as far as Tumaco on the north the remainder going as far as Esmeraldas on the south Thus by these magic means they were able to destroy all the former inhabitants of the region and to render it habitable to themselves.

On the return of the shamans to Pueblo Viejo, all the Cayapa moved down to the Rio Cayapas, which region

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

173 in large measure they found to be the same as it is now; but the Cayapa did not take possession of the former territory of the Indian Bravos until conditions had first been more or less changed. For instance, while the Indian Bravos had fields of plantains and bananas as do the Cayapa at present, they were not utilized directly by the conquerors, but the roots were dug up and replanted. Similarly all other products of the labor of the Indian Bravos were changed, thus removing any danger to the Cayapa from using them.

[265] In those days also, the sabalo, the fish most prized by the Cayapa, existed only in the main streams of the rivers: it never came into the small esteros as it does now. On going into the country of the Indian Bravos the Cayapa placed near the mouth of each estero a row of palm-wood posts which had the magic power of rising from the ground to their full height during full moon and of sinking into the mud out of sight during the dark of the moon. These posts are said to have had a direct effect on this particular species of fish and on their passing up and down the estero. Some of these posts are said to be found even now at the mouths of certain esteros.

173 There are, of course, no means of fixing the exact
174 date of the migration of the Cayapa either to Pueblo Viejo or to their present location, and their tradition cannot be taken too literally. However, it seems probable that the essential features of the tradition in large measure are based on historical facts.

Whatever the reasons for their move, and whatever

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the means employed to accomplish it, the advantages in this new location over their former mountain habitat resulted in greater ease of agriculture, improved conditions for growing plantains, facility of travel on the river, and proximity to the sea. The change from their former life, which was that of a village community of mountaineers with maize as the staple food, was very considerable. They at present live scattered along the banks of the rivers, each family keeping to itself in large measure, but they still preserve a semblance of their former village life in the three pueblos, Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, each of which is a common meeting place for its particular division of the people.

The provincial and national governments recognize, in a way, the rights of the Indians to full and peaceable possession of their territory, and have endeavored to protect them by enacting laws prohibiting the settlement of other peoples along the Rio Cayapas and its tributaries. The enforcement of these laws, however, has been quite another matter, for the negroes, descendants of former slaves of Colombia and Ecuador, in later years have gradually worked their way up the streams until now their houses extend as far as Corriente Grande. Formerly Cayapa houses were found as far down-stream as Borbon, at the confluence of the Cayapas and Santiago rivers, but at present the house farthest down-stream is only a short distance below the confluence of the Rio Onzole with the Rio Cayapas.

As for the white population of the entire Province of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Esmeraldas, and especially of the drainage of the Rios Santiago and Cayapas, it is decidedly in the minority; indeed at present there is only one white family living on the course of the Cayapas.

The desirability of the intrusion of another race into a territory occupied by Indians is always doubtful. In this case it is especially so, for some of the negroes at all times take great liberties with their Indian neighbors, not to mention the fact that they openly plunder their crops and houses whenever opportunity offers. These depredations the Cayapa tolerate, rarely taking a hand themselves in the punishment of the offenders, and never committing acts of reprisal. They are a law-abiding people, and recognize completely the authority of the provincial government over all inhabitants except themselves. Any such acts, if they were to occur among themselves, would be severely punished in their own way and without governmental aid. Be it said to the credit of the provincial authorities, that they recognize the right of the Cayapa to govern themselves and to punish their own offenders, and further that they attempt to protect the Indians from impositions by others. However, it frequently happens that the guilty ones either escape or, if apprehended, are inadequately punished.

As above mentioned, all ordinary depredations, such as theft by outsiders, are tolerated by the Cayapa without personally attempting to punish the offenders. There is one crime, however, which demands a severe penalty, namely, outrages against women. The standard of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909):1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ethics is very high among the Cayapa themselves, and any case of unfaithfulness, if such were to be discovered among themselves, would be most severely dealt with. About 1897 or 1898 two negroes came to a Cayapa house, drove the men away, and took possession of the premises with the women occupants. On the following day the chief sent down the river a commission which conveyed to the local teniente politico at La Tolita the heads of the negroes, carefully wrapped in leaves of the hoja blanca, as well as the compliments of the chief, and with an explanation as to the reason why the heads had been separated from the bodies. Incidentally the explanation conveyed the intelligence that future offenses of this kind would be punished in like manner. The teniente politico was requested to forward to the governor at Esmeraldas the two heads and the above message, but owing to the rapidity of decomposition in the tropics, it was deemed best to give the governor the benefit of the message only. Fortunately for all parties concerned the governor's reply, it is said, was a complete vindication of the action of the Cayapa. So far as could be learned, no similar crime has been committed since that time.

DAILY LIFE

The social organization of the Cayapa has a strictly family basis, although according to their own traditions they formerly lived, when at Ibarra and Pueblo Viejo, in village communities. At present each family regularly lives entirely separated from every other family, and usually at a considerable distance from its nearest

J. Barrett E-5 (1906-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

neighbor, though occasionally two or three houses may be within sight of one another along the river. In no case, however, is there an approach to communal life, each family forming an individual unit with family property-rights. There is, to be sure, a central government, the head of which is an hereditary chief, or gobernador, as he is at present called after the Spanish fashion. The purposes of this central government are strictly those of preserving law and order, settling controversies between individuals, and punishing infringements upon recognized social customs. In no case is there any interference by the central government with property or other recognized family rights and privileges.

A family, as the term is here used, consists of husband, wife, children, and dependents. By dependent is meant not necessarily one who is supported by the others, but one not having a house and a family of his own and who may choose to reside with some family, usually a closely related one. These dependents are usually newly-married sons or daughters, or are parents, grandparents, or other relatives of the head of the house or of his wife.

The daily life of the Cayapa is a busy routine for all members of the household, especially the women. In addition to the cooking, keeping the house in order, and attending to the wants of the smaller children, the mother of the household is kept busy spinning, weaving cloth, and making baskets, mats, fans, and pots, to say nothing of the work she does in the care of the crops and the gathering of the wild foods.

J: Barrett E-S (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

At an early age the girls are instructed in household duties of all kinds, and often begin to spin and weave, as well as to make pottery, basketry, and other articles, at the age of five or six years. They also take a hand in agriculture when very small. As they grow older and become more proficient in these various arts, they enter more and more into the regular daily work of the home, until they finally marry, which they usually do at an early age, often at about seventeen or eighteen years.

The daily life of the men is also a busy one. They do their share of the work in the fields, besides being industrious hunters and fishermen. They are expert woodworkers, making very excellent canoes, paddles, benches, images used as toys by children, musical instruments, certain cooking utensils, and various other objects of wood. They make and tend the fish corrals, as well as set the mines when the water is in a favorable condition to divert fish to certain places. In addition to trapping and netting fish, they also do much fishing with hook and line. They hunt a great deal and procure a very important part of the food supply in that way, for the jungle abounds in many kinds of game. When about the house, they are, like the women, almost always busy at something, as adzing a canoe, weaving a net, or doing some one of the many kinds of work which fall to the man's lot in the Cayapa division of labor. Since the introduction of needles and thread among the Cayapa, the men have taken up sewing and have become very efficient tailors for their simple needs.

3: Barrett E-9 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The women do all the spinning and weaving of cloth, but the men sew all garments, not only for themselves but also for the small boys who have not yet learned to sew. This is due largely no doubt to the fact that the single garment worn by the women requires no sewing whatever, while the two garments worn by the men must be sewn.

At a very early age boys begin to learn the arts practised by their elders, hence they are instructed in hunting, fishing, woodworking, and similar useful accomplishments of the men.

It is customary among the Cayapa to arise at dawn, usually between five and five-thirty o'clock, and to retire as soon as darkness comes, or between six-thirty and seven o'clock. These hours vary little throughout the year, owing to the proximity of the equator.

The daily routine is usually about the same throughout the year, varying in event of a fiesta, or boda, which brings the people together at a particular village, from which, after some days of festivities, they return home. Another diversion is going down the river to the settlements. Sometimes this trip is made almost purely for pleasure and to obtain oysters and other sea foods, but more often these pleasure trips are combined with the selling of tagua, cacao, rubber, or plantains, and occasionally logs for lumber.

One of the most characteristic features of the daily life of the Cayapa is the devotion of the members of a family toward one another, especially that of parents toward their children. Few restrictions are placed

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

upon the children, and punishment is very rarely necessary. The children usually play together amicably, and the considerate care given by elder children to their young brothers and sisters is especially noticeable. The agriculture practised by the Cayapa requires a great deal of labor in connection with the various crops, especially plantains, sugar-cane, and cacao. In this cultivation the whole family joins, the children, even when very small, cheerfully doing their share in clearing away the weeds and brush that grow so rapidly in the tropics, and in harvesting the crops.

The children have various amusements, though no games in the ordinary sense of the term. They have several kinds of toys. Musical tops, such as those shown in pl. LXXXV, 2-5, made of gourds and certain large nuts, are much used. Wooden dolls of various mammal, bird, and human forms, such as those shown in pl. LXXXIV, are also much used. They have toy canoes varying from a few inches to several feet in length, and toy paddles for use with them. These canoes and paddles they use a great deal, especially when swimming, which is a very common and healthful amusement among both sexes.

The children are trained to this canoe life from infancy, and one of the first toys of a child is a paddle. At a very early age children are instructed in its use, so that even at the age of five or six years a child can take a small canoe and paddle along the river for short distances.

The children also play with small baskets, fans, mats,

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

pots, and wooden and stone implements, made by themselves or by their elders especially for them. They construct play-houses after the fashion of dwellings, and often make small fish corrals like those used by their elders. The boys also make toy fish-nets and gigs, and still use the blow-gun as a plaything, although this old type of hunting weapon is now rarely used by the men.

The nearest approach to a game among the Cayapa, either among the children or among the older people, is that which the boys play with their musical tops, although this is not at all a game of chance. The floors of the Cayapa houses, being made of undressed palm-wood, are always too rough for the spinning of tops, and the ground is always too wet. Therefore, to provide a spinning surface, a large mat is spread upon the floor, or a manta or other piece of cloth is stretched tightly over the legs of a boy seated flat upon the floor. Then he, with usually another boy, spins the tops in opposition one to another, the point of the play being to see what top can knock the other from the spinning surface. There is no scoring in this amusement, and the whole pleasure of it is derived from the spinning of the tops and especially from watching them collide with one another. Often two boys are able to keep four or five tops spinning at the same time, so that their collisions create a lively scene and furnish much pleasure to the onlookers as well as to those engaged in the spinning. The spinning is usually done with the hands alone, although sometimes, if a very rapid

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

motion is desired, a string with a grip is used. Occasionally a girl may be seen spinning a top, but it is primarily an amusement of the boys.

MATERIAL CULTURE

BUILDINGS

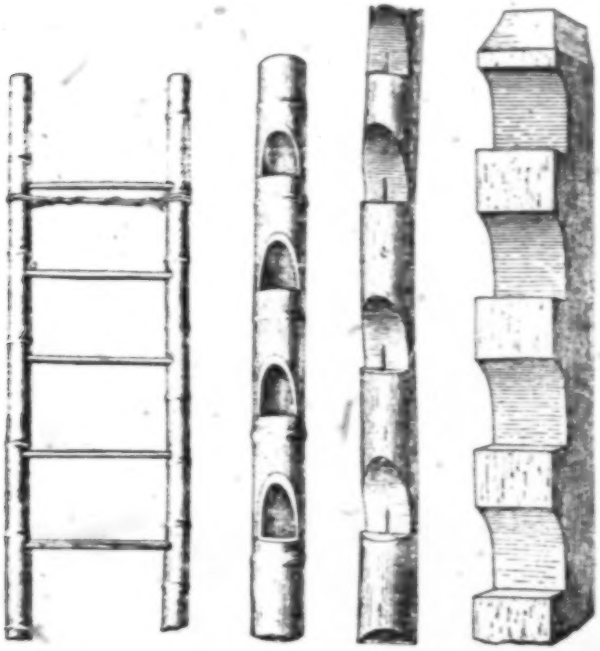
The buildings of the Cayapa may be divided into four classes: the dwelling or regular abode, the rancho or temporary structure, the cane-mill and distillery, and the church, this last, of course, being of modern introduction. All these buildings, except the church, which is at ground level, are pile structures and are constructed according to a single general plan.

In pls. I-IV are shown typical dwellings. They are always rectangular in ground-plan (pl. XI), and vary in size according to the number of occupants, some reaching large dimensions. The dwelling of which the above-mentioned ground-plan is presented is 87 feet in extreme length and 41 feet in width. Dwellings are almost invariably situated along the river bank, and each is flanked by fields of sugar-cane, plantains, bananas, cacao, pineapples, and other crops. The dwellings are raised four to twelve feet from the ground, and access is gained by means of ladders such as those illustrated in fig. 1, especially those of the types shown in *a* and *d*.

The houses are fairly simple in construction. The framework consists of a number of heavy squared posts of a hard black wood called by the local Spanish name

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

guayacan, in which notches are cut at the level of the floor (pl. XIII, *b*) to hold the stringers that support it. The tops of these posts are also notched for the beams that support the superstructure. The sides of the



a *b* *c* *d*

FIG. 1.—Types of ladders

building are entirely unenclosed. The roof is steep and is thatched with palm leaves. Sometimes a single roof covers the whole building, as in those structures shown in pls. II, VII; but upon the larger buildings it is ordinarily in two parts, as indicated in pls. X, XI. While the floor in such a structure is continuous, the presence

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342
348

DWELLING AND ADJOINING CANE-MILL

BARRETT CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 46 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[p. 46(a)]

DWELLING SHOWING ROOF EXTENSION AND BAMBOO RIDERS

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

of these two roofs serves to separate the building into two parts: one for the general living and sleeping room, the other for cooking. The structure is thus given the appearance of a double house, although the floors of the two rooms are always at the same level and the house is a unit in every respect except the roof. The double roof serves to exclude the smoke, which rises from the open fire-box in the kitchen, from the living and sleeping room. This division of the roof results in two inner gables, the eaves of which are brought within the area of the house itself (pl. XI, *h*, *i*) and under normal conditions would allow the rain-water to fall upon the floor. To prevent this, a large eaves-trough is made by hollowing out half of the long trunk of a species of palm locally called pambil (Cayapa, bū′iñ-tcī). The roof always projects a considerable distance beyond the edge of the floor, so that rain-water from the eaves falls at a distance of at least three or four feet from the sides of the building, and the eaves extend far enough down to prevent the wind from blowing the water back on the floor. As before stated, the ordinary dwellings have no sides, but their place is partly taken by a more or less elaborate railing, such as that shown in pl. V, which lessens the danger of one accidentally falling from the elevated floor. Raised platforms are frequently constructed at one or more points along the sides of the building. Such platforms are from four to ten feet in length and from four to seven feet in width, as are those shown in pl. XI, *e*. The roof is correspondingly extended to cover them. These platforms are raised usually

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

from four inches to a foot above the level of the main floor, and are most frequently used as sleeping platforms or as storage places for various articles.

In this region where the rainfall is so great and where the sun rarely shines, one of the serious problems is that of keeping clothing and other articles dry. To accomplish this, there is constructed at one side, usually at the rear of the house, or behind that portion in which the fire-box is situated, a drying platform, constructed of large bamboo stems laid side by side, without a roof, and ordinarily on or nearly on a level with the main floor. The convex surface of the bamboo permits the water falling upon it to drain readily to the ground, while the impenetrable outer surface of the bamboo permits no rain to be absorbed by it. Thus, in a few minutes after a rain, this raised platform is usually dry enough to permit the spreading upon it of clothing, or of mats for the drying of cacao. At one side of this drying platform is placed a horizontal bamboo pole, usually as long as the platform and raised six or seven feet above it, for use in drying large fish-nets.

On the rafters of the house, and hence high up in the interior, is constructed a platform, or loft (pl. XIV), usually of bamboo, which is used for the storage of old utensils, food, and articles not in daily use. Ordinarily this storage loft does not cover a space equal to more than one-quarter that of the floor of the house itself, and frequently it is much smaller, although always of sufficient capacity to accommodate all the surplus stores of the family.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342

TYPICAL DWELLINGS ALONG THE RIVER

BARRETT CAYAPA INDIANS

p. 45(A)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

34.
797
R. IV

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

PRIEST'S HOUSE AND CHURCH AT SAPAYO GRANDE

[p. 48(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

In pl. XI is shown the ground-plan of one of the largest of the Cayapa houses. This is the largest of the four dwellings of the chief of the Punta Venado division, and is commonly called "*la casa grande del Gobernador*." This structure is situated on the southwestern bank of the Rio Cayapas, at a point just up-stream from the confluence of the Herradura Grande. The house is occupied usually by at least two families, and can comfortably accomodate as many as forty people if necessary. The structural details of this dwelling are typical of those of Cayapa houses in general, although the others are somewhat smaller. This "casa grande" is 87 feet in extreme length by 41 feet in extreme width. The floor may be divided into two areas by the line *h-i*, which represents that along which the two inner gables meet and where the pambil eaves-trough is placed to prevent the water from running in on the floor. The larger floor area (*a*) is the general living and sleeping room, and is 50 by 35 feet, exclusive of the raised projections (*e*), which extend from six to seven feet in each case. This entire floor area is covered by a single large roof. The smaller area (*b*), about 30 feet square, is, as before stated, at the same level as the larger area, but it is covered by a separate roof, and it is here that the fire-box is situated and where all food is prepared and cooked. The fire-box (*c*) is 6 feet 4 inches by 3 feet 9 inches, and is raised about three feet from the floor. The projection (*d*), about 5 feet 6 inches wide and 19 feet 6 inches long, is at the same level as the main floor, but is made of bamboo. Here

3: Barrett E-5 (1906-1909)1925
SDc Cayapa SD6

are kept the water calabashes, and the preparation of food is usually done on or near this space. All houses are provided with a similar place for the storage of the calabashes, although in most cases the space devoted to this purpose is much smaller. Unlike *d*, the several projections marked *e* on the plan are raised from four to twelve inches above the level of the floor. They are from 6 to 7 feet in width, and beginning at the lower left-hand corner of the plan, measure 12½, 8½, 15, 13, 11, and 9 feet, respectively, in length. These serve as storage places and are frequently used at night as places upon which to sleep. The inner edge of each of the areas *d* and *e* is, of course, supported upon the stringers of the main floor, but the outer edge in each case is held by two special posts which rest upon the ground and reach to the roof, which naturally must project beyond the main roof in order to cover the corresponding floor projection. These posts are indicated in the ground-plan by small rectangles, and are usually somewhat smaller than those employed to support the main floor. As shown on the plan, fourteen posts are used to support the main floor, the successive posts along each side being placed from eleven to twelve feet apart. The dimensions of these posts in cross-section are usually about six by nine inches. Access to this house is by means of two ladders (*g*), both of the type shown in fig. 1, *a*. In the case of one of them a special projection (*f*), 3 feet 3 inches by 5 feet 6 inches, has been built as a landing at the top of the ladder.

In pl. XIII is shown an elevation of the same house.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925

SD6 Cayapa SD6

222
342

DWELLING SHOWING RAILING IN LIEU OF WALLS

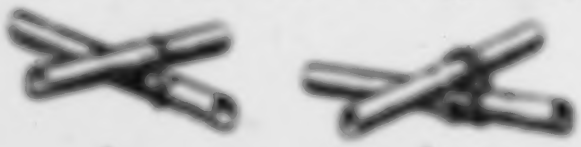
[p. 30(4)]

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

THE CANE-MILL

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

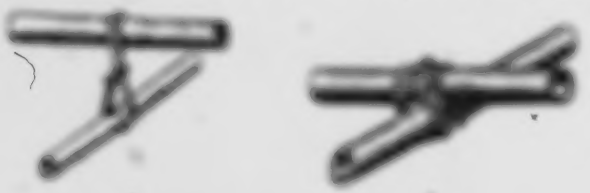
The essential parts as shown here are the squared house-post (*a*), into the side of which is set, by means of a notch (of the type shown in fig. 4, *i*) a stringer (pl. xiii, *h*) running lengthwise of the house. Upon this rest the bamboo poles (*c*) which support the palm-



a *b*

FIG. 3.—Details of house construction

wood floor (*d*). This floor is at a height of eight feet nine inches from the ground, into which the house-posts are set to a depth of three or four feet. The house-post projects seven feet above the floor level, and at its top is cut another notch (of the type shown in fig. 4, *e*, and *f*), into which is bound another long stringer,



a *b*

FIG. 4.—Details of house construction

e, similar to *h*, and which forms the support for the entire superstructure. A corner of such a superstructure is shown in fig. 5, in which the parts are lettered to correspond with those shown in pl. xiii. In fig. 5 the point of observation is within the house. The longitu-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

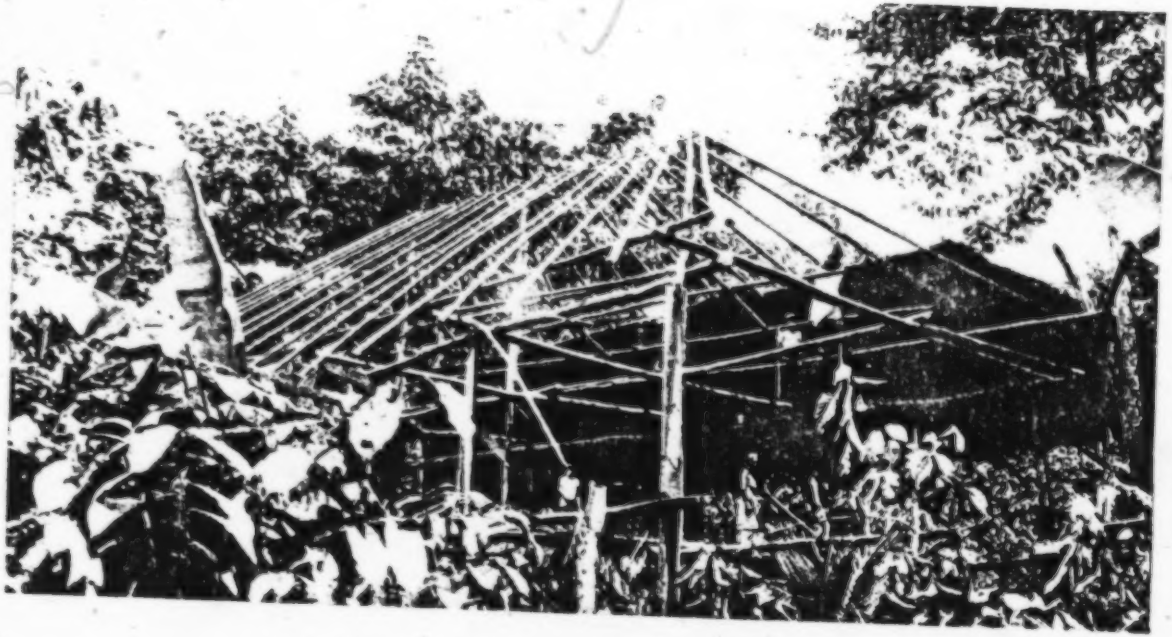
dinal stringer (e) projects three or four feet beyond the house-post, and upon this rests the transverse stringer (f) which projects about the same distance beyond

FIG. 4.—Notches for receiving stringers

the former (e). Near the end of this projection rests another longitudinal stringer (g), upon which rest the lower ends of the rafters forming the side of the roof. In some structures the ends of the rafters of the gable

FIG. 5.—Corner of superstructure seen from interior

rest directly upon f, as is the case in the large house above mentioned, an elevation of which is illustrated in pl. xxx and also in the unfinished structure shown



UNFINISHED HOUSE, SHOWING ROOF STRUCTURE

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

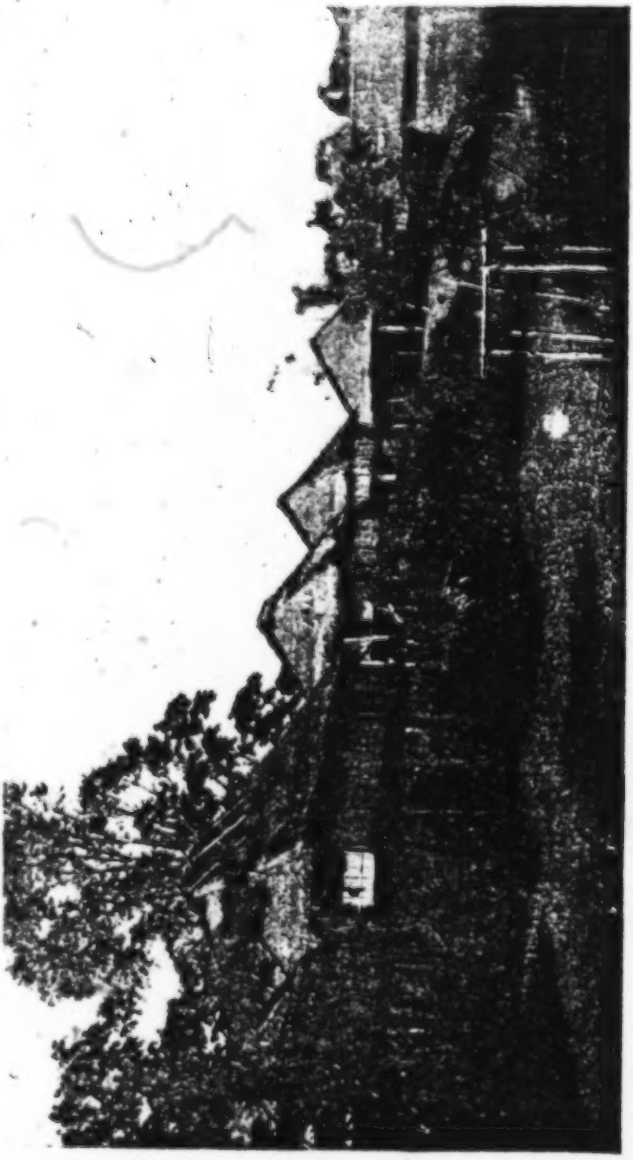
p 52(#)

342

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342
361

PL. VIII



VILLAGE OF PUNTA VENADO

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 52(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

in pl. VII. In some other dwellings another transverse beam (fig. 5, *f'*) is used as the support for the gable rafters.

In practically all cases in which two such stringers cross or where a stringer passes through a notch in a post, the parts of such a joint are securely bound together by one or another of the several methods shown in figs. 2–4. The binding material is a durable aerial root, called pitigua in the local Spanish, which is gathered and kept on hand for this purpose and for making certain kinds of basketry. It is kept in coils such as that shown in pl. XCI, 4, and when dry it needs only to be soaked for a short time to render it pliable.

The roof frame of such a building consists of a short central ridge-pole (pl. XIV, *i*), supported by two and in some cases three stout vertical bamboos (*m*) which in turn rest upon a horizontal beam (*j*) running lengthwise through the center of the building. The ridge-pole is of such length as to give the gable roofs a pitch of about forty-five degrees. It varies, therefore, according to the proportionate dimensions of the structure, but is usually from a third to a half as long as the building itself. The bamboos supporting the ridge-pole are, in the case of the large dwelling above mentioned, 13 feet 9 inches in height. The bamboo rafters of the sides of the roof rest directly upon and are bound to this ridge-pole. Those forming each gable are fastened together by means of a palm-wood rod passing through holes near the small upper ends of the rafters. This rod is bound to the two end-rafters of the sides of the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

roof, usually at a point two or three feet down from the ridge-pole. The other ends of these gable rafters are spread fan-like along the end beam (fig. 5, *f*, *f'*) of the superstructure so as to produce a complete frame for the attachment of the thatch of the gable. There is thus left at the top of this gable a small triangular opening, such as that shown in pl. x, which serves as a vent for the smoke from the open fire-box. The thatch is so laid on that it projects about two feet beyond the ends of the side roofs, while the thatch on the gable end just meets the underside of this projection. The projection of the ends of the side roofs in this manner prevents the rain from driving through the thatch along the line upon which the side and gable roofs meet, and it is also sufficient to prevent the entrance of rain through the triangular opening at the extreme top of the gable. The slant of the roof, both gable and side, is usually about forty-five degrees. The slant of the gable is regulated by the length of the short ridge-pole above mentioned. This whole construction of the superstructure of such a building is well illustrated in the unfinished dwelling shown in pl. vii.

The covering of the roof is a thatch of palm-leaves, usually those of the tagua, or ivory-nut palm. The necessity for a constant supply of these leaves, combined with the desire to perpetuate the supply of ivory nuts (since these are a source of considerable wealth), has caused the Cayapa to preserve carefully the groves of these palms. Even single palms growing quite apart from others are conserved. The trees, vines, and under-

DISTANT VIEW OF PUNTA VENADO

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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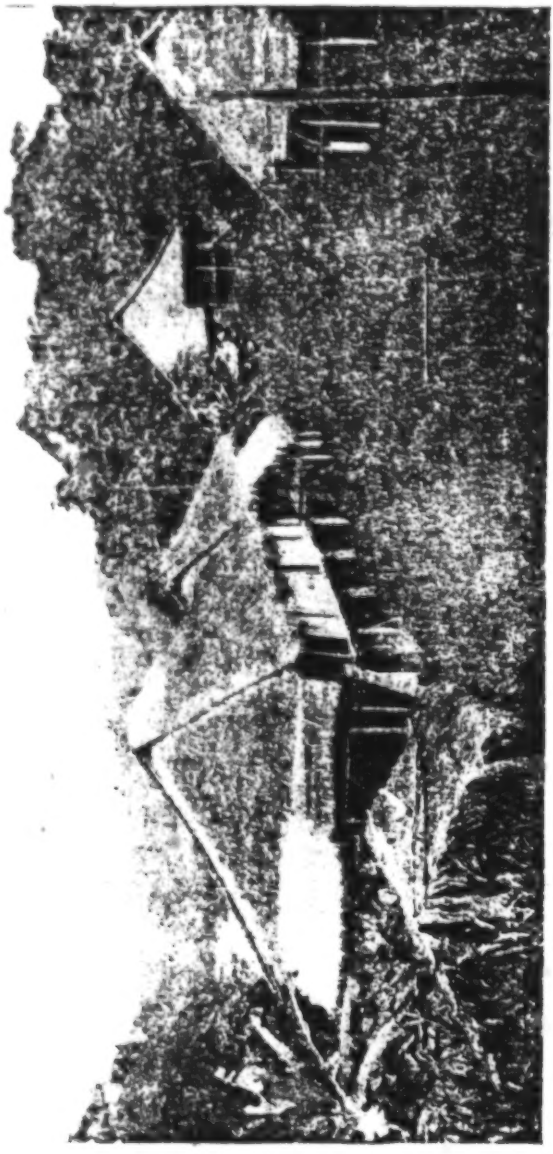
622
PL. X



CHIEF'S HOUSE, SAPAYO GRANDE

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[P. 54 (E)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

growth of the jungle are cut away from time to time around these palms, and about once a year, usually on the occasion of harvesting leaves for a thatch, the crown of leaves is trimmed. Any drooping dead leaves at the base of the crown are thrown away and the thoroughly mature healthy leaves only are selected for the thatch. Thus there remain at the center of this crown a number of young and more tender leaves which serve the needs of the plant itself and prevent damage to it which might otherwise arise from the loss of the mature leaves.

The tagua is a low-growing species of palm, the upper end of the stem, from which the leaves spring, rarely exceeding sixteen feet above the ground. The leaves are therefore easily gathered by means of a short ladder. This, combined with the fact that the tagua produces a very good quality of leaf, makes it almost the only species used for permanent thatch. While several other species of palm produce leaves of durable quality, they grow to such height that it is not expedient in most cases to gather the leaves except by cutting down the palm itself.

The tagua leaves, which reach an average length of about fourteen feet, have stout leaflets extending from the midrib at an angle of perhaps seventy degrees and for a distance of about three feet on each side of the midrib. To prepare the leaves for use, they are split in two along their midribs. Four of these half-leaves are then laid together so that the natural under-surfaces of the leaflets all face the same direction and the midribs are tied together with pitigua at two points.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 [349] 314 A platform of bamboo is next constructed at an elevation of two or three feet from the ground. The split green leaves, prepared as above, are then placed on this platform and a thatch built over and around them so as to protect them completely from the weather. This is done usually at the place where the leaves are cut, probably more as a matter of convenience than for any other reason, since the leaves when green are very heavy but on drying become very light. They are allowed to season here for at least two months, after which they are transported to the point where they are to be used. In some cases, however, the freshly cut leaves are transported at once to the house for which they are intended and there cured.

This seasoning in a dry place is absolutely necessary, since if the leaves were placed on the roof while still green, the constant rains of this region would soon rot [825] them. It is further claimed that if used when green they are soon attacked by insects, especially cockroaches, which, as before mentioned, are very numerous and troublesome.

342 177 The negroes also use the tagua-leaf to a large extent for thatch, and in its preparation they are very strict in their observance of certain rules concerning the phases of the moon. No timber may be felled and no thatch leaves cut in the light of the moon. In the case of timber, it is claimed that it is both subject to the attacks of insects and is rendered much more likely to break or split in working if cut in the light of the moon than if cut in the dark of the moon. Likewise thatch

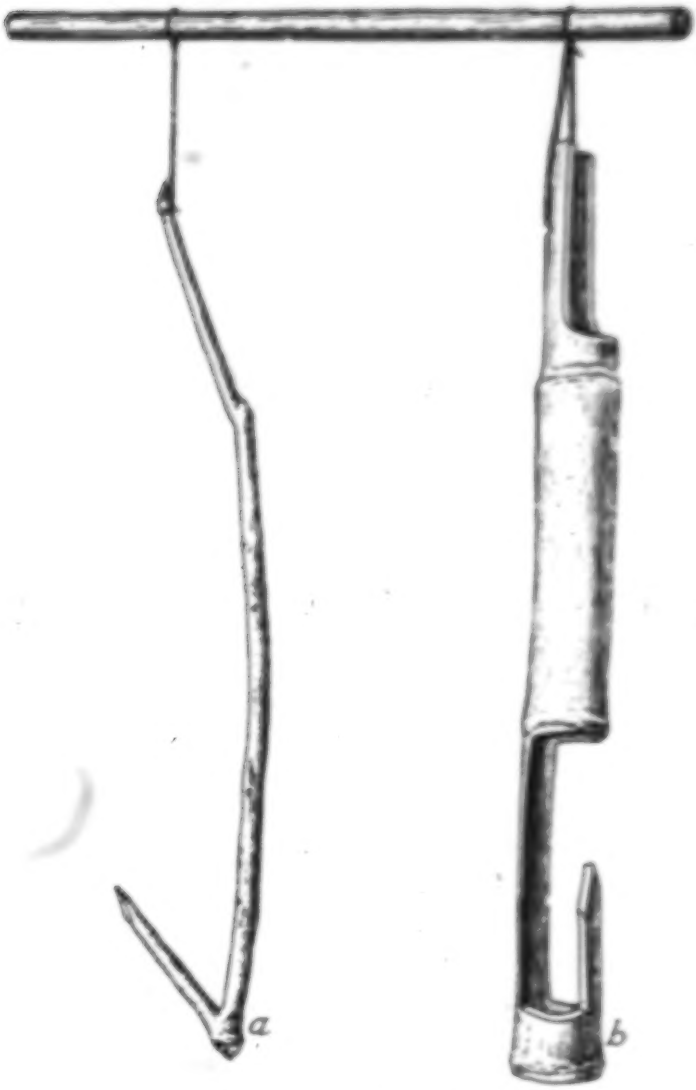
3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
*SD6 Cayapa SD6

GROUND PLAN OF CHIEF'S HOUSE

342
352
622

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

352



SUSPENSION HOOKS

[p. 56(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

cut in the light of the moon is practically worthless. The Indians, however, while they have adopted certain of the negro customs, and while they recognize this one to a limited extent, are usually much more governed by necessity and convenience in the cutting of the thatch or the felling of timber than by the phases of the moon. The bundles, or sets, of four half-leaves are applied directly to the bamboo rafters, the midribs of the leaves being quite sufficient to serve as horizontal supports for the thatch. Beginning at the eaves, the bundles are laid in courses in the same manner as are shingles. The natural underside of the leaf is placed uppermost, and the courses are laid with only about six to eight inches of the tips of the leaflets exposed to the weather. Each bundle is securely bound with pitigua, in from two to four places, to the rafters it crosses. By this overlapping process a thick and watertight roof is secured. The leaflets run directly down the slant of the roof, thus naturally tending to conduct the water from one tier of thatch to the next. Further, as above mentioned, the natural undersides of the leaflets are placed uppermost, and each of these leaflets forms a small shallow trough which readily conducts water. The thatch of the large house above referred to and illustrated (pl. xi) is no less than three inches, and in places probably four inches, in thickness. In this structure the northern gable of the section *a* consists of ten rafters covered with fifty-seven courses of thatch. The sides of this section consist of seventeen rafters covered with sixty courses of thatch.

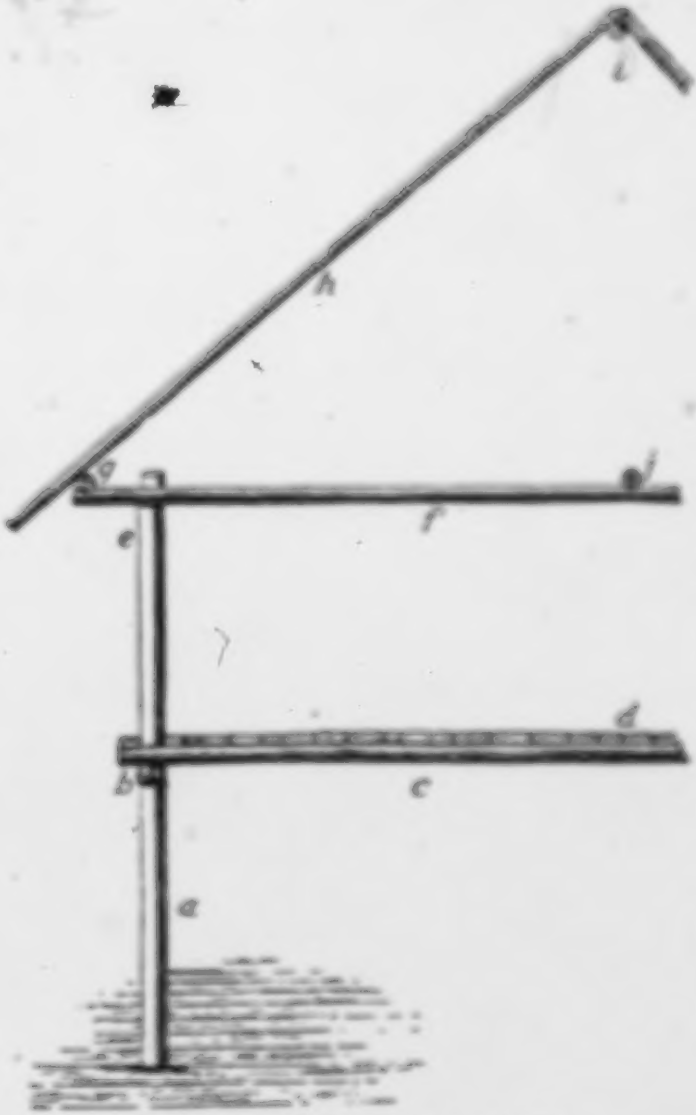
3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 The last courses of thatch covering the side roofs are so laid as to overlap one another and to securely cover the ridge-pole. Further, another special course or two are laid along the ridge so as to guard against any possibility of leakage. Surmounting the roof along this ridge-pole is in many cases a rider made of bamboo and consisting of two or more sets of short bamboo poles crossed at the ridge and extending from three to several feet down upon the sides of the roof. To the points where these sets cross are bound a horizontal pole which serves to tie them together and to form them into a strong unit. Such riders may be seen in pls. II, VIII, X.

Though such a roof is carefully made, it is likely to leak a little from time to time as some small portion of the thatch which was not properly cured gives way or as some leaflets are eaten by insects. Such a leak is [324] quickly and effectually mended by placing a green leaf of hoja blanca between the courses of thatch at this point. These tough leaves are from three to four feet long and from twelve to eighteen inches wide, and effectually shed the water. In case, however, a considerable section of the roof becomes leaky, the area affected is re-thatched with tagua-leaves.

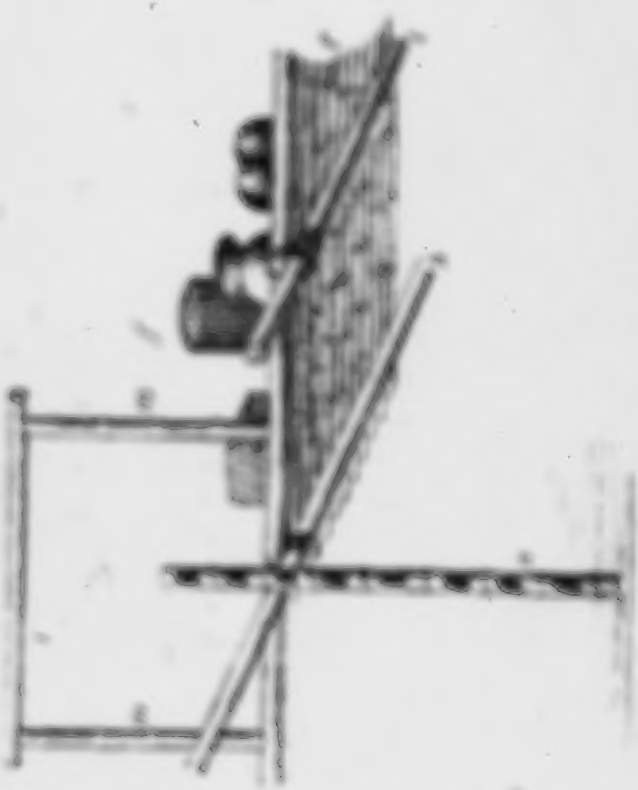
Buildings of the second class, the rancho or temporary structure, are built on the same general plan as are the permanent dwellings, except that they are much more [324] rudely constructed. In place of the well-squared, durable house-posts, bamboo is generally used. Further, in lieu of a thatch of a more durable kind of palm-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6



DETAILS OF HOUSE CONSTRUCTION

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6



[p. 58(8)]

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

leaf, a covering of the most available material is employed. The material used for this temporary thatch is usually a palm-leaf, but generally of some species of palm which provides a much less durable thatch than that used for the permanent dwelling. 342 [624]

These ranchos serve two purposes almost exclusively, namely, temporary shelters while traveling, and temporary shelters for work which lies too far from home to make daily journeys to and from the regular dwelling profitable. When traveling it is infeasible, not to say dangerous, to sleep upon the ground and without some kind of a roof, owing to the torrential rains which are almost sure to occur during the night, as well as to the danger from poisonous reptiles and other creatures. If, therefore, in traveling, it is impossible to reach a house by night, an early halt is made and a rancho constructed. This is rarely necessary except in case of a long trip over an uninhabited mountain trail, since along the navigable rivers are houses which may be reached in the course of the day's travel. Here the traveler, whoever he may be, is always welcomed according to the custom of the country, the unwritten law of which requires that shelter be given any traveler, whether he be an old acquaintance or a total stranger. When it is necessary, in gathering rubber or pita, in making canoes, or in doing any other work, to journey so far from the permanent dwelling as to make daily travel back and forth unprofitable, a small rancho is built. Such a structure may be used for a short time or for several seasons, it being re-thatched as occasion demands. In the [578] [309] [222]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 village of Punta Venado is such a rancho, built with its floor of bamboo resting almost upon the ground. On the other hand, ranchos that are built for regular temporary shelters such as those above mentioned, have their floors raised from two to four feet from the ground. This rancho in the plaza of the village is shown in pls. CXXXII-CXXXIV. In the background of pl. CXXXII and pl. CXXXIII distant views are illustrated, and pl. CXXXIV shows it in detail and indicates its special and interesting use. During one day only of the year is 796 this rancho occupied. At the fiesta held during Easter [351] week the entire plaza is carefully cleared of its dense 778 growth of weeds, grass, and vines, thus making access to the rancho possible. Before dawn on Easter Sunday itself, all dancing in the village ceases. The musical instruments are transferred to this rancho and a procession is formed which brings some of the images of saints from the church to the rancho, where they sit in state, as it were, throughout the day, while music is played before them almost constantly. It is said that this is the one day of the year when these saintly images can drink as human beings, and they are frequently offered [272] guarapo, a calabash of this cane juice being placed to [784] their lips as if they were in the act of drinking. During this time people are prohibited from drinking rum in the presence of the images, though they may drink as much guarapo as they desire.

348 The cane-mill, which is itself an important and a permanent building, is constructed in exactly the same manner as a regular dwelling. It is usually situated

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

near the permanent dwelling, and is almost always surrounded by cane-fields. The cane-mill is equipped with what may be termed the mill proper, consisting of a pair of large and very heavy rollers with a large hand-wheel used in turning them, the large storage pots for fermenting the cane juice, and the fireplace and pottery still used in distilling the rum made from the fermented juice. The similarity which such a mill bears to an ordinary dwelling is shown in pls. I, II, in each of which the structure to the right is the mill, and that to the left the dwelling. These two illustrations show also how close together the mill and the dwelling are sometimes built. In pl. VI is shown an isolated mill, with a field of young cane in the background. The dwelling of the owner of this cane-mill, illustrated in pl. V, is situated directly opposite on the bank of the river.

The three classes of buildings described are generally isolated from others. The continuously inhabited dwellings are never assembled into villages, but are scattered at intervals along the banks of the stream. There are, however, within the Cayapa territory, three villages, each consisting of a church and a number of houses. These villages are used by the people only when they come together for religious feasts and on other festival occasions. The houses in these villages are never occupied regularly except at such times, though they are constructed in every way like the dwellings occupied permanently by the people as homes.

The church, which of course is a modern institution, having existed only since the time of the Spanish con-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925,
SD6 Cayapa SD6

346 [177] quest, differs from the other buildings in that it is not raised above the ground and in that it is always enclosed nowadays with lumber obtained from the mills near the mouth of the river. Within the church there is a rude, high altar, with several images of saints; otherwise the building is entirely unfurnished. The front of the church at Pueblo Sapayo Grande is shown in pl. IV, and the fundamental differences in construction between a church and a dwelling are well shown by the contrast between the two buildings in this illustration. [342] The building in the left foreground is the convento, or house of the priest, and is a typical Cayapa dwelling in every respect. The most characteristic features of a church—its lack of piles, its completely enclosed sides, and its roof, the central portion of which is raised some feet above the remainder—are well shown in the illustrations of the church at Punta Venado. This structure, which is the largest of the three churches of the Cayapa, is shown in the background of pl. XXIV and in pls. CXXXII, CXXXIII, CXXXV, and CXXXVII. It is about 80 feet long, 35 feet wide, and about 25 feet high at the ridge of the building. The eaves are about 10 feet above the ground. This building is nearly twice the size of the church at either Pueblo Sapayo Grande or Pueblo San Miguel. Of these two churches the latter is somewhat larger than the former. The church at Punta Venado differs from the other two also in that it has a wooden floor, which, like its sides, is made of sawed lumber. The framework of the church is in all essentials the same as that of a dwelling, except for the fact that the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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HARVESTING CANE

[p. 62(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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302

YOUTH IN ORDINARY COSTUME

[p. 62(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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MAN AND WOMAN IN EVERYDAY DRESS

[p. 62(c)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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A TYPICAL FAMILY GROUP

[p. 62(D)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

greater size of the structure calls for correspondingly larger and stronger timbers and pillars. Furthermore, the fact that the floor is at ground level makes unnecessary the timbers which in the dwelling are required to support the floor.

Dress

At the present time the everyday dress of the men consists chiefly of two pieces: a very small, tight-fitting clout (pl. CXVI, 1–3), similar in appearance to short bathing trunks, and an improvised shirt made of calico or of gaudily figured bandana handkerchiefs. On special occasions, such as at feasts and other gatherings, a man adds to this a hat of European or of American manufacture; necklaces of beads, buttons, and silver coins; wrist-bands and neck-bands of small white buttons; and decorations upon the face and exposed parts of the body in red, yellow, or black paint. These ornaments are used to some extent also in the everyday life of the people. In pls. LIII-LVI are shown various types of necklaces and neck- and wrist-bands, and in pls. XXXIX-LII are illustrated typical paintings of the face, arms, and legs. Some of the men paint very little, others very elaborately; some wear no necklaces or similar decorations, others wear many such ornaments; and still others bedeck themselves in both manners very profusely.

The small trunk is ordinarily made of the same kind of native cloth as is used by the women in their dress. It is cut from a piece woven specially for the purpose

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

291 294 [462] and containing a sufficient amount of cloth to make two clouts. Each clout consists of two pieces sewed along a seam running up the front and back. The cloth itself is woven by the women, as is the woman's dress or manta; but the sewing of the clout is done by the men, for the women almost never do any sewing for themselves or for others. The fact that the woman's dress requires no sewing may account for her lack of 291 knowledge in this direction. The clouts are made to fit very tightly, so tightly in fact that they make deep impressions in the muscles of the legs. On account of this tightness no gathering-string or other method of fastening is ordinarily required. Occasionally a man is found who makes his clout a trifle looser than customarily, and provides it, on the right-hand side, with a button [177] to hold it in place. This is said by the Indians to have been formerly the universal custom. In recent times, however, the very tight clout has almost entirely supplanted the other form.

291 177 The influence on the life of the Cayapa exerted at the present time by modern commerce and its manufactured articles is here again shown by the use of white muslin in the making of the clouts. In fact, at present the muslin clout is almost, if not quite, as common as is that made of the native cloth.

291 It is said that formerly, when the Cayapa were mountaineers, they used the poncho which at present is so common among the Indians of the interior Andean region. On migrating into the warmer and more humid coastal region, however, the poncho was found un-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS PL. XIX

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WOMAN WEARING NECKLACE AND BRACELETS

[p. 64A]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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WOMAN WEARING DOUBLE MANTA

[p. 64(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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WOMAN'S CUSTOMARY COIFFURE

[p. 64(c)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

211
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SINGLE MANTA AND TASSELED GIRDLE

[p. 64(D)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

A FAMILY GROUP

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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PL. XXIV

FIESTEROS AND CHURCH AT PUNTA VENADO

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p.64(F)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

Pl. XXX

242
142
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YOUNG MEN DRESSED FOR FIESTA

[p. 44 (G)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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A TYPICAL HOUSE

[p. 69(a)]

3: Barrett E-S (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[p. 69(2)]

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

PIGOTA COSTUME COMPLETED WITH A VEST

[p. 64 (J)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

comfortable and gave place to the lighter shirt which at present is made of bandana handkerchiefs or of calico. Such garments are worn by the men and boys shown in pl. XXV-XXXVIII. This shirt is made by sewing the cloth into the form of a bag, with an opening just large enough to admit the head, and with two openings at the corners for the arms. At the arm-holes the garment fits very tightly; otherwise it is a very light, loose-fitting shirt which protects to a certain extent the upper part of the body from the strong though diffused sunlight, and, to a much greater extent, from the attacks of insects. Often, when about the house or elsewhere under conditions which make it superfluous, the shirt is not worn.

Both men and women wear necklaces to a considerable extent as a part of their daily attire, and on festal occasions. These ornaments are at present made largely of glass and porcelain beads of various kinds, of small buttons, and of silver coins. In primitive times necklaces probably were as much used as at present, but they were made largely of the seeds of certain plants of the region and from the iridescent wing-covers of a large beetle, *Euchroma goliath*. Necklaces of some of these materials are sometimes still found, but they have been largely supplanted by those made of the intrusive materials described.

In pls. LIII-LVI are shown various neck and wrist ornaments. Those shown in pls. LIII, 2–6, and LIV are made of seeds of various kinds, selected for their sweet scent or for their color. The one presented in pl. LIII, 1,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

301 is of beads and coins; in pl. LV, 1, is shown a necklace consisting of four strands of glass beads, while in pl. LVI, 2, is represented a necklace of beads, coins, and sweet-scented leaves, with two pan-pipes attached to it. A unique type of neck-band is shown in pl. LV, 2, 3; these consist of a woven band to which are attached pendants of haliotis shell. In pls. LV, 4, and LVI, 1, are illustrated a neck-band and a pair of wrist-bands made of buttons, to the former of which are attached a number of coins.

301 304 Perforation of either the nose or the ears appears to have been an unknown custom among Cayapa men, hence no nose or ear ornaments worn by men are found. Some of the women at present perforate their ears and suspend from them, as ornaments, small strings of beads or other bright manufactured objects. Neither 291 men nor women ever use native shoes or sandals of any 177 description, nor in former times were hats worn by the men. Subsequent to the Spanish conquest, however, a hat, resembling in form that of the conquistadores, was made from pitigua and used to a limited extent by the men. At present the men use, especially at times of fiestas, the white-man's hat and other wearing apparel obtained from the settlements down the river. Vests and derby hats are highly prized, the former being decorated with buttons, bright-colored yarn, and especially with rows of small silver coins. Those who do not possess vests of the kind made by the whites often improvise a vest-like garment from ordinary cloth. Such a garment is in use by the larger individual seen

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

242
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FIESTA COSTUME WITH FOREIGN HAT

[p. 66(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

242
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177

FIESTA COSTUMES

[p. 66(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

172
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BOY DRESSED FOR FIESTA

[p. 66(c)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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BOY DRESSED FOR FIESTA

[p. 66 (D)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUMES

[p. 66(e)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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302

FIESTA COSTUME

[p. 66 (F)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME

[p.66 (4)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME

[p. 66 (H)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

BOYS DRESSED FOR FIESTA

HZ
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[p.669(1)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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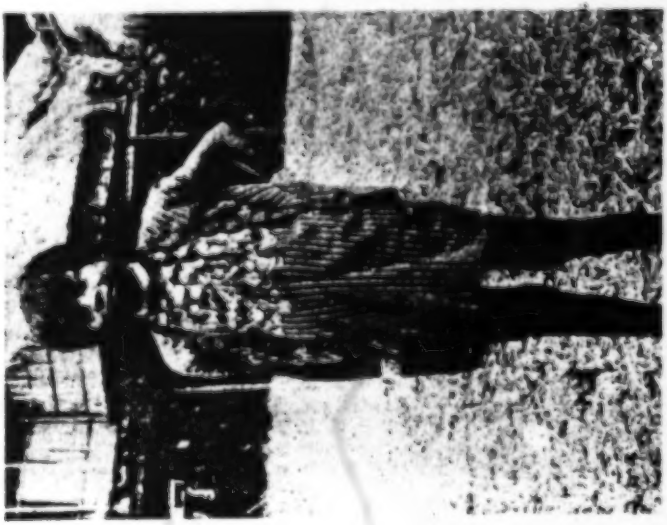
PL. XXXVIII



BOYS DRESSED FOR FIESTA

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 66(J)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

in pl. xxv. These improvised vests are often decorated with small holes in lines or in crosses or other patterns.

The everyday dress of the women consists of a manta, or skirt (pls. cxii-cxv), girded about the waist usually with a narrow tasseled belt (pl. cvii, 1, 2). In addition, necklaces are almost always worn, and ear pendants are sometimes used. This simple attire is also the one worn at feasts and other gatherings, except on certain special occasions, such as dances and church ceremonies. At such times the head and upper part of the body are completely covered with bright-colored calico or with gaudy bandana handkerchiefs; also in canoeing on a hot day a similar covering for head and shoulders is made of black or bright-colored calico, or of handkerchiefs. With this head-covering for canoeing is usually worn a ma'te, or hemispherical calabash cap, as a further protection from the sun. The manta, or skirt, above mentioned, is almost always of native fabric, and consists simply of a rectangular piece of cloth sufficiently wide to reach from the waist to slightly above the ankles, and of such length as to pass once and a third round the body. The two vertical edges of the garment are made to overlap at the back, and by pulling from time to time upon the upper corners, the garment is held in place under the narrow woven belt or the pita cord which is sometimes used in its stead. Frequently also over this tightly woven and fairly heavy garment is worn another of lighter material, which passes in the opposite direction about the body, so that the edges overlap in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

front. In such cases, sometimes the belt is placed outside the two garments, but more frequently it binds the under-garment only, the ends of the light outer garment being merely tucked under the belt at the front. This outer skirt is very frequently of calico or other light cloth, and is in no way essential to the dress. It may, however, be a second manta, and as large and heavy as the main under-garment. In pls. XIX, XXI, XXII, are shown women wearing the single manta; in pl. XX is presented an instance in which a second outer manta is worn with its corners tucked under the belt at the front, and in pl. XXIII the larger of the two girls wears in a similar manner an outer garment made of calico.

Ordinarily, children up to the age of six, and sometimes even up to ten years, wear no clothing at all. Usually, however, a girl begins to wear her manta, and the boy a short calico shirt, at the age of six or eight years; but the boy does not put on a clout until later, often not until about the age of twelve. On the other hand, frequently very small children, even those two or three years of age, are provided with clothing which they wear in imitation of their elders on gala occasions.

Practically the only time that babies are clothed at all is while sleeping; they are then tightly wrapped and bound in cloth, but without a cradle-board or a basket. They are placed crosswise in a hammock provided with a mat or a piece of bark cloth to hold it open and thus to form a kind of cradle. At one side of the hammock is attached a long braided string, made from the young leaf of a certain species of fan-leaf or from an ordinary

PL. XXXIV

FACE PAINTINGS

[p.689]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

312

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Vol. 6
6

[p. 68(B)]

FACE PAINTINGS

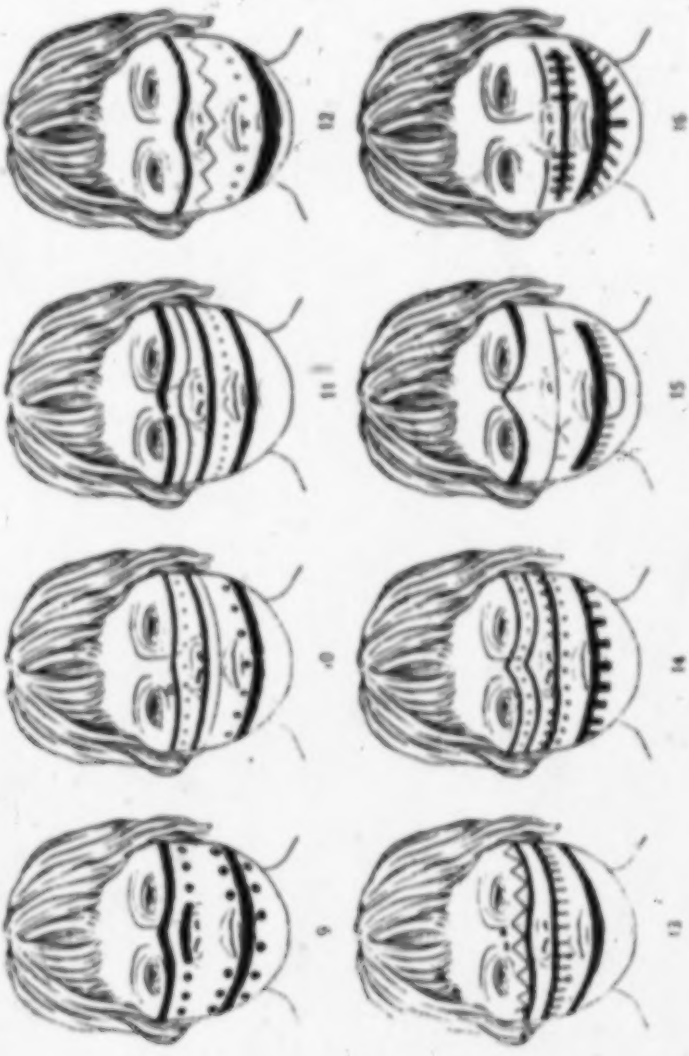
[P. 68(c)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

302

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

302



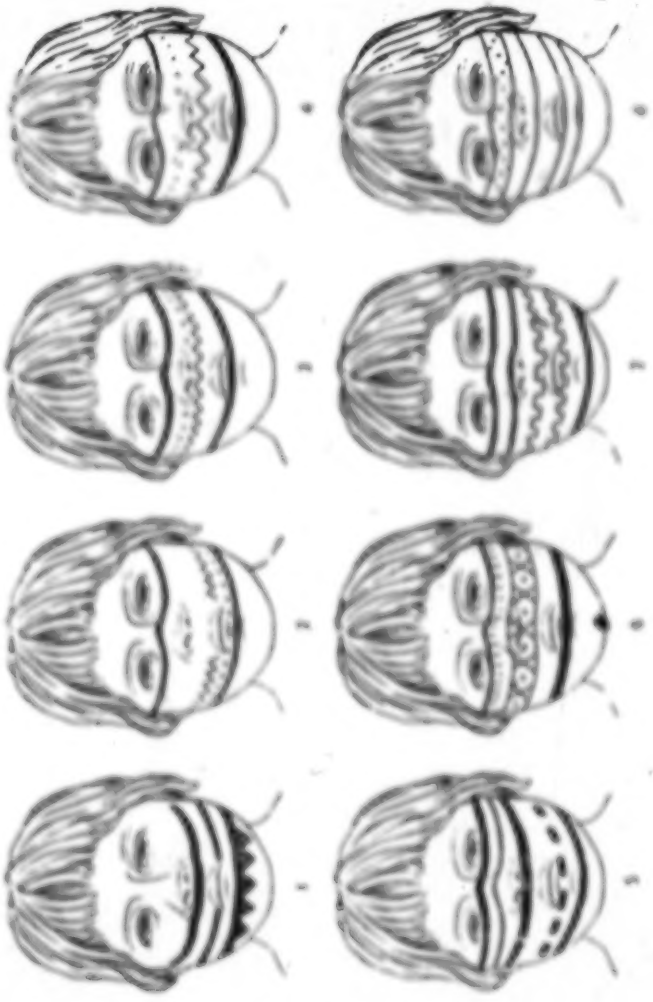
BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p.68(D)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

302

PL. XLIII



[p. 68(x)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[p. 68(r)]

FACE PAINTINGS

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

302

[No. 1 indicates red color -- Analyst]
[p. 68(6)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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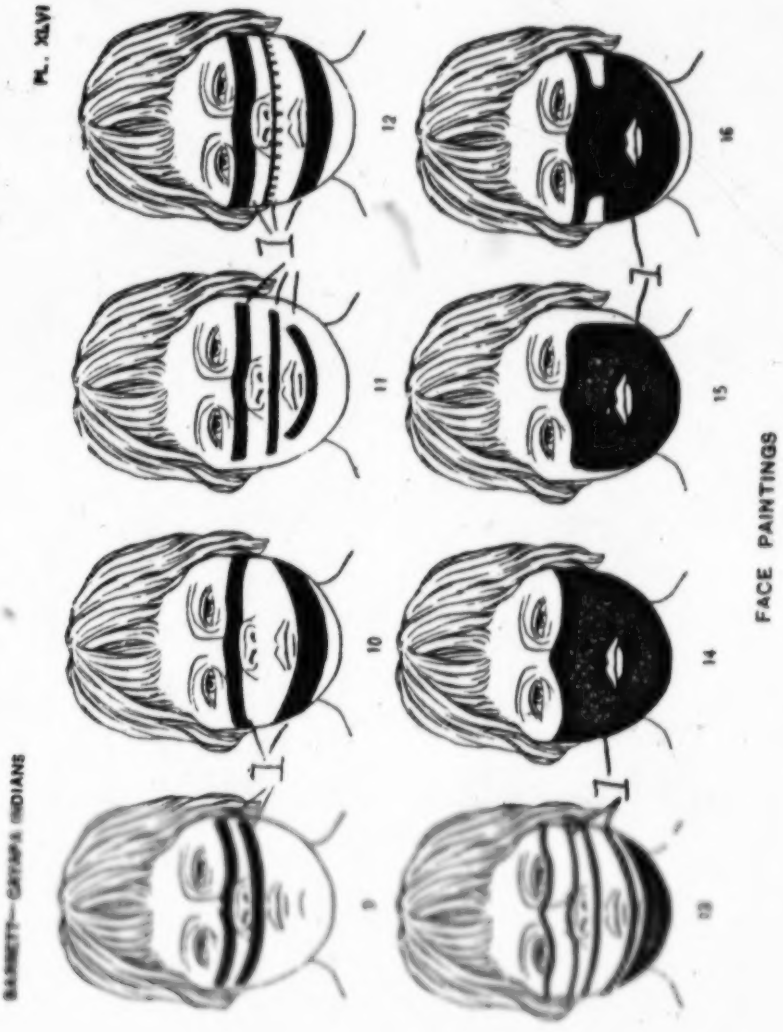
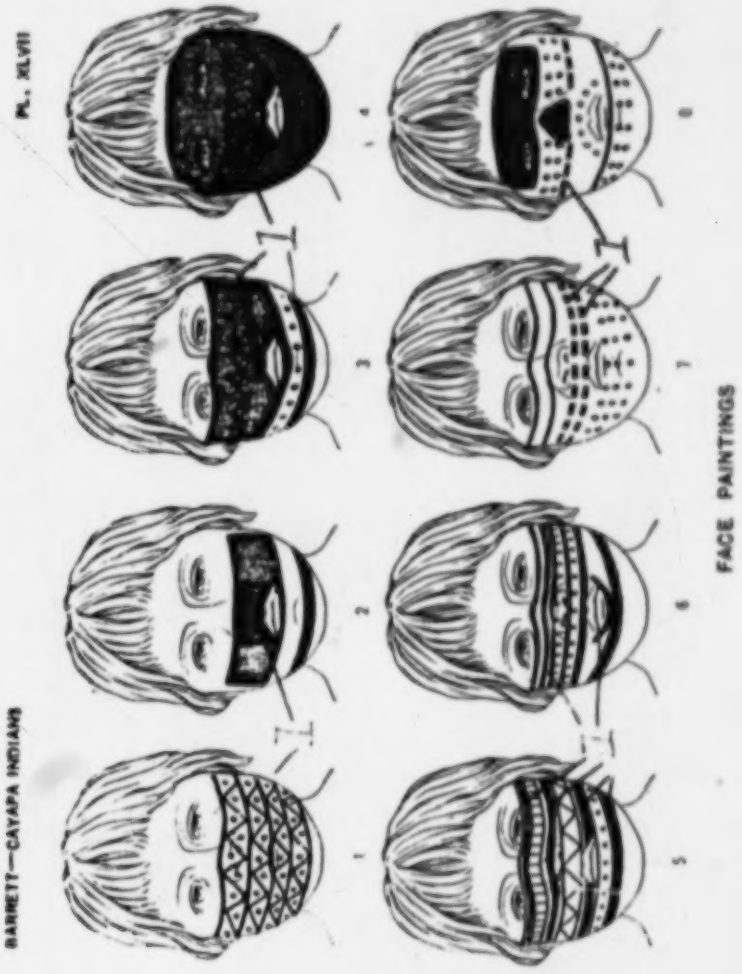


[No. I Indicates red color --Analyst]
[p.68 (H)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

302



[No. I indicates red color -- Analyst]

[p. 68(I)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

302

[No. 1 indicates red color, No. 2 indicates yellow color. --Analyst]

[p. 62(J)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

354 twisted string of pita, by means of which one of the older
[283] members of the family, while performing some other task, keeps the hammock swinging.

302 Aboriginally both men and women wore long loose hair, without braiding or other special mode of dressing; but now long hair is worn only by the women, the men keeping their hair cut short. Some of the women cut the front hair even with the eyebrows, otherwise their hair is never cut, nor is it dressed in any special fashion, being simply parted in the middle and allowed to fall loosely over the back and breast. The only time that the hair is ever worn otherwise is when a woman is engaged in some very hot work; it is then often coiled up on the head or tied in a large knot at the back. The hair of little girls is never cut, but that of boys is cut when they are very young. As a rule the men have no special mode of dressing the hair; it is simply kept cropped to an even length all round, and is allowed to grow from the crown straight down in all directions, without parting or other training. Now and then a man may part his hair in the middle, but this practice is exceptional. These styles of hair-dressing are shown in pls. XVI–XXXVIII.

A characteristic feature of Cayapa life is the custom of painting the face and other exposed parts of the body with red, yellow, and black pigment, and in many different designs. The red and yellow pigments, called in
302 Cayapa mū' and la''mū' respectively, are derived from the seed-pods of a small shrub known by the colloquial Spanish name achote and by the Cayapa name can-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

302 yū'ñ-tcī. This achote is of two different species, almost
824 identical in general appearance. The seeds of one are surrounded with a yellow covering, those of the other with a red covering. When ripe, these pods are gathered,
303 the seeds removed, and the color drawn off by soaking the pods in water for a considerable length of time. This red or yellow liquid is then boiled down to a pasty consistency and mixed with any fairly hard fat, such as lard or the fat of the jaguar, the puma, or other wild animal. It is said that the viscous milky juice of a species of tree called sande is sometimes used instead of one of these fats; but the paint produced with it is not so good as that in which the fat is used. This
302 strong, greasy pigment is applied with either a small pointed stick, if small dots or narrow lines are required, or with a wide carved stick called mūpūtcpal'pa (pls. CXXI, CXXII) if a wide line is desired or if a considerable surface is to be colored.

302 The black pigment, called ma'lyū, is obtained from the
824 fruit of a tree called ha'wū. This fruit, which is globose in form and from two to three inches in diameter, is gathered while green and cut in halves. The seeds and
303 the inner fleshy parts are then extracted and ground to pulp upon a mealing stone such as is used for grinding plantains. At the same time there is ground into the pulp a quantity of charcoal, and the result is a thin black paste. When dots and narrow lines are desired,
302 this paste is applied to the skin with a small stick tipped with cotton; but when a wide line is to be made, it is applied with a finger.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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[p. 70(4)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

PL L

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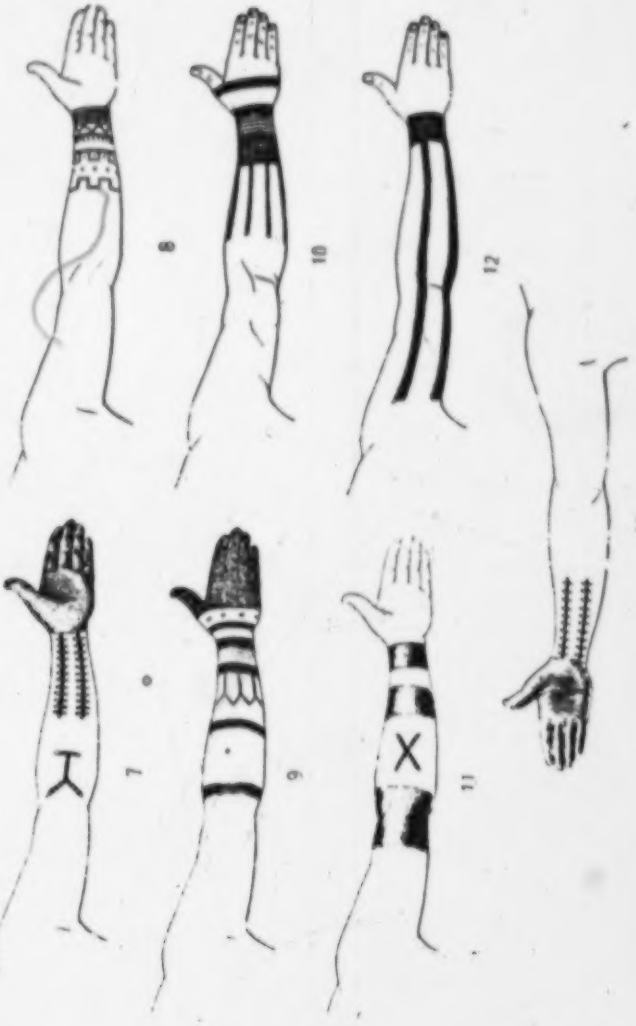

ARM PAINTINGS

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 70 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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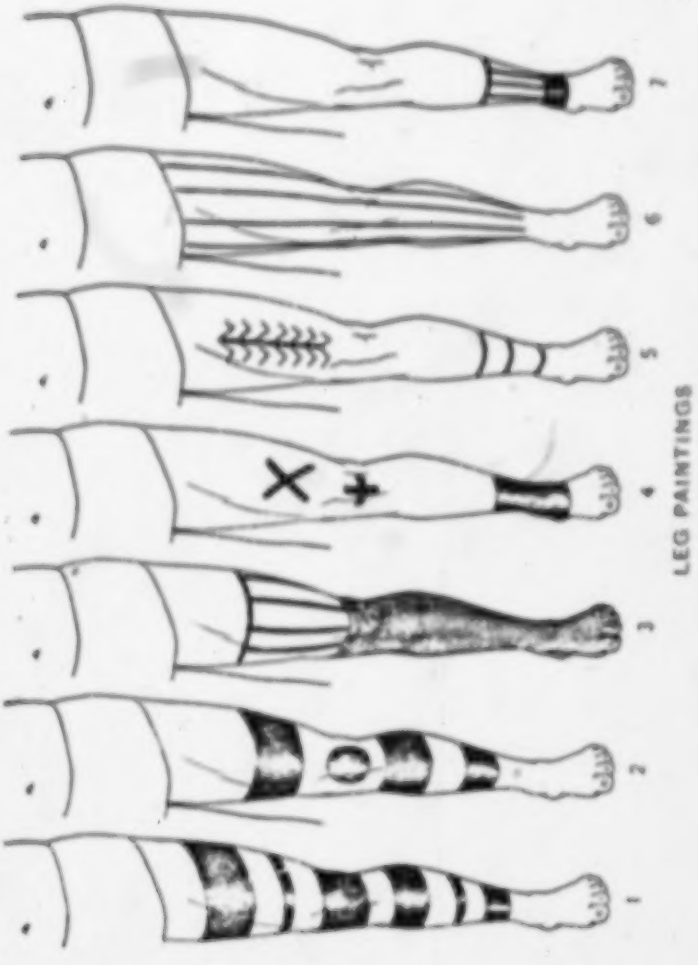
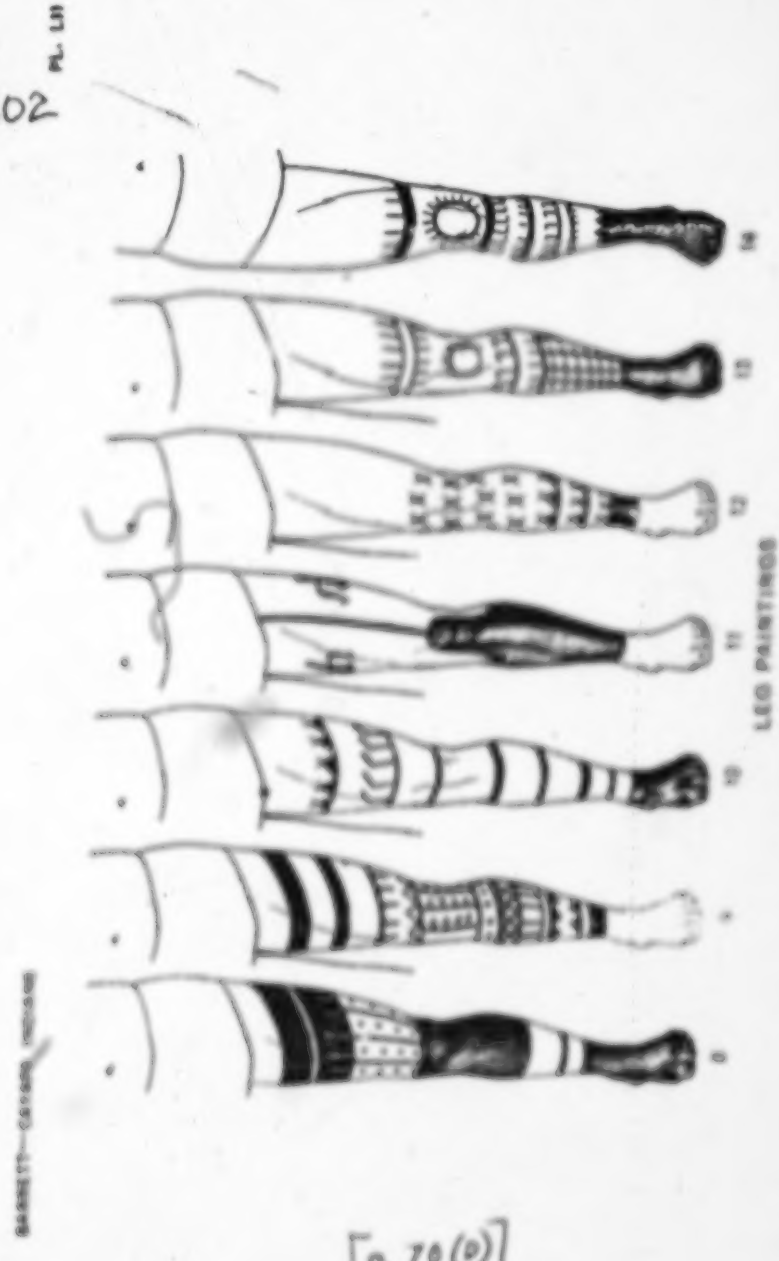


BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 70(c)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6



[p. 70(D)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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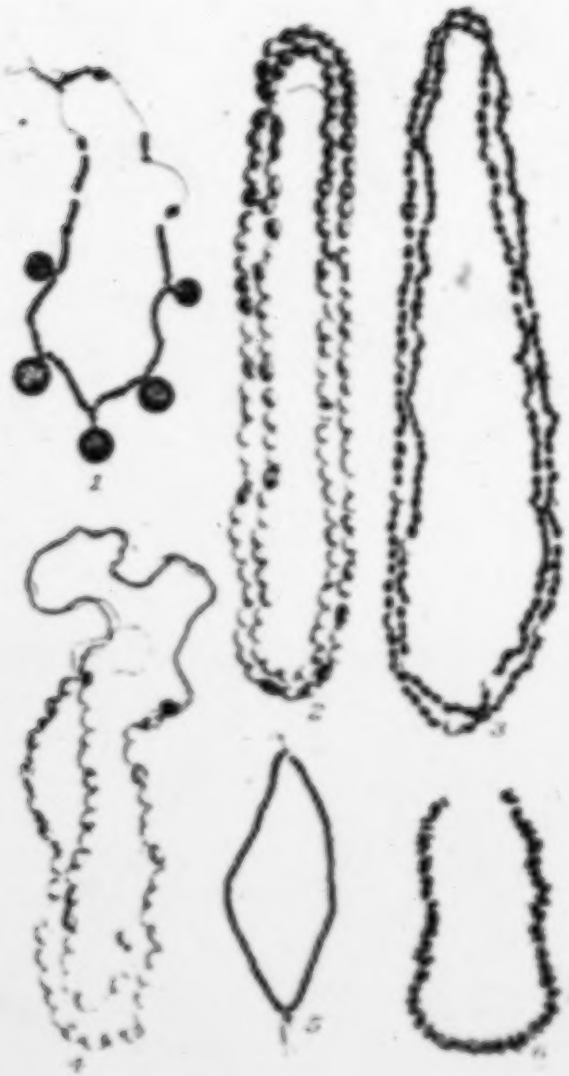


NECKLACES OF BEADS AND OF SEEDS

[p. 70(E)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

301

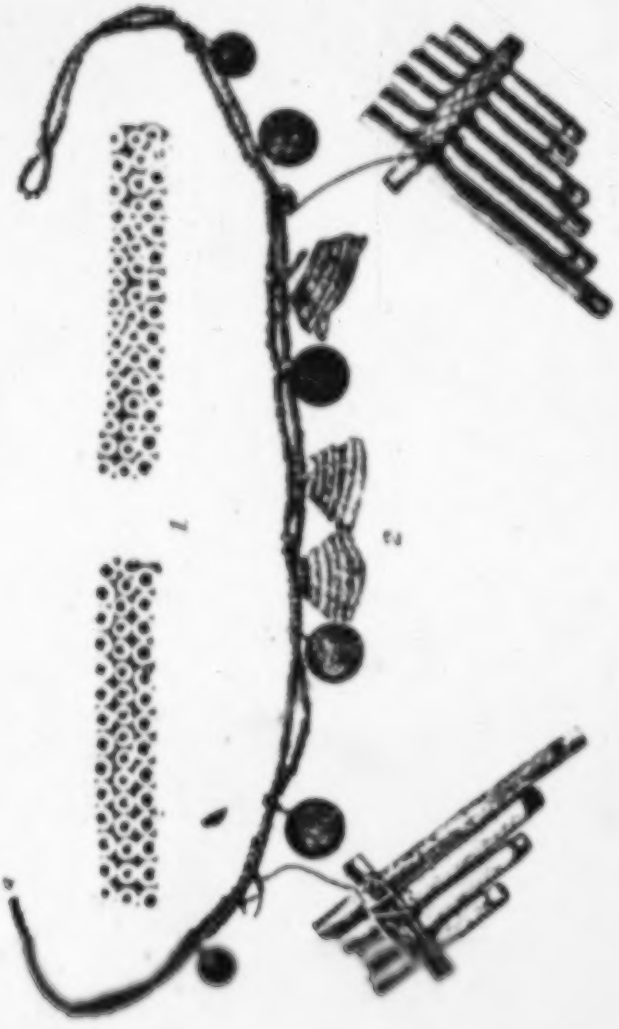
NECK ORNAMENT OF SEEDS

[p. 70(F)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

NECKLACES

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6



WRIST AND NECK ORNAMENTS

CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 70(n)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

With these pigments, especially with the black, are made a great variety of designs ranging from broad bands to very fine dots and narrow lines. As is shown in pl. XXXIX-LII, the designs employed in these face and body paintings are of almost limitless variety and combination; however, while the Cayapa have developed this phase of personal adornment to such a degree, they never recognize any special signification in the designs employed. The designs, as those on mantas, canoes, calabashes, and other decorated articles, are sometimes named, but in few cases was it found that any of them were intended to be graphic, and in no instance was any symbolic meaning attached to them: they are regarded as merely decorative and have no other special purpose. Furthermore, none of the designs is the particular property of any individual or group of individuals, hence the greatest liberty is exercised in their use; in fact, it is not uncommon to see the same person change the designs on his face or body from day to day during a fiesta, and there is no sequence or other rule governing their use. Both men and women thus decorate themselves, using a small mirror in painting the face. In large measure, of course, the designs employed have been handed down from ancient times, but now and then a person depicts upon his face or body some new device taken from an article of modern manufacture. Such a case is shown in pl. LII, 11, where a modern three-pronged iron fish-spear is shown painted on a man's leg.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Food and its Preparation

241 262 The territory of the Cayapa is abundantly supplied by nature with both vegetal and animal foods, the former being the more important. In addition, various introduced vegetal foods are now raised by the natives, the most notable of which are plantains, bananas, sugar-cane, yuca, pineapples, cacao, and sweet potatoes. There are also various introduced fruits, such as guabos, caimitos, sapotis, papayas, and, to a limited extent, cocoanuts. In addition to these, many species of wild plants and trees yield foods; especially is this true of the palms, such as chonta dura and palma real.

224 262 The jungle abounds in a great variety of mammals and birds, most of which furnish food for the Indians. The mammals mostly used are the guanta and the guatin, two large species of rodents, the peccary, the wild-hog, the deer, the jaguar, the puma, the ocelot, a small species of red squirrel, a large species of wood-rat, the sloth, the ant-eater, and the armadillo. The birds most used as food are two species of grouse, two species of wild turkey, two species of toucan, and several species of dove. The rivers abound in various kinds of fish, several of which are eaten by the Cayapa. A species of lobster is also plentiful in the streams, and there is a very small mussel-like bivalve which is consumed to a limited extent. Reptiles of all kinds are shunned, although the boa and certain other species of large serpents occur in the region. The iguana and its eggs are much prized as food, and numbers of these large lizards are taken in the season when they come down

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

DRIVING PLATFORM

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

to the river to lay their eggs. The large eggs of the alligator are also much in favor, and it is said by some that alligator flesh is edible. The eggs and flesh of another and slightly different species of amphibian, called tulicio in the local Spanish, are likewise used for food. In addition to these foods there are certain insects which, either full-grown or in the larval state, are much esteemed.

Various methods are employed in the preparation of these foods. The plantain, the most important food product of the Cayapa, is prepared in a variety of ways. It is almost invariably gathered while green, and is regularly eaten in that condition, though ripe plantain is frequently used for making a kind of gruel, and occasionally it is roasted. The usual method of preparing the green plantains is by boiling, the outer covering of the fruit having first been removed. They are thus cooked for from a half to three-quarters of an hour in a pottery vessel, or nowadays more frequently in an iron or a granite-iron kettle, closely covered with a green leaf called ti'tya hakt, which is very tough and is used in many ways in the preparation of food. It is impossible to cook green plantain so that it is tender, hence the usual mode of preparing it is to beat the hard, cooked fruit with a stone muller upon a mealing stone (pl. LXIII, f. 2), mixing and kneading it meanwhile with the hand. Usually this beaten plantain, which is called bala, is eaten without seasoning, although a little salt may be added; or it may be mixed with dried meat during the pounding. The boiled green plantain is also frequently eaten without

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

pounding. The ripe plantain, on the other hand, is generally prepared, after boiling, by macerating with a wooden masher, matcó'ka, in a wooden bowl, called batea in Spanish. In pls. LXI, LXII these implements are shown, the masher appearing in pl. LXI, 1-3, and the batea in pl. LXII, 4. In this form the plantain will keep for three or four days, and is a nourishing, concentrated food. It is, however, never eaten in this form, but is diluted with water into a very thin gruel, which is drunk more as a refreshment between meals than as a regular food. The plantain mush is also carried on short trips into the mountains or along the river, and is made into gruel as needed.

Both green and ripe plantains are also roasted over coals, the ripe ones generally with the outer covering, the green ones usually without it. When thus cooked also, the green plantain is preferred to the ripe. It is ordinarily roasted until quite dry, when it is mashed on the mealing stone with the muller. The pounding in this case is not the same as in making bole—the plantain is merely mashed flat, without any mixing with the hand.

Still another method of preparing green plantain, but one that is not applicable to the ripe fruit, is the making of a kind of tamales. With a small shell the plantain is scraped to a mushy consistency, and, after the addition always of a little salt and sometimes of pounded meat, fish, or certain species of insects, is rolled into a long, slender cylinder, covered with the tough green leaf, ó'ya bakí, before referred to. This preparation is then roasted before the fire for some

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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HARVEST OF PLANTAINS

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

minutes, usually until the leaf covering is largely, if 252
not entirely black. The covering is then removed and the tamale eaten in that form or after being mashed flat upon the mealing stone. When obtainable, a species of large black beetle (*Rhynchophorus palmarum*), [325]
called kū'perū, is used as one of the ingredients in the making of these tamales, and it is said by the Indians to be one of the most toothsome of all their foods.

The method usually employed in preparing other vegetal foods, such as yuca, sweet potatoes, etc., is by boiling in the ordinary manner. Meats and fish are [415]
generally boiled in pottery vessels without the covering of leaves above mentioned, and they may also be broiled or baked. Broiling is done in the ordinary manner, by simply placing the food over the fire. In baking, however, a special method is employed. After being properly prepared and cut into small pieces, the meat is wrapped in two thicknesses of the tough green leaf above mentioned. The flat package thus formed is then placed upon the coals, and hot ashes and coals are heaped upon it. Several minutes are usually needed for this baking, and sometimes it is necessary to replenish the coals or to turn the package over to insure proper cooking. This method is much employed in cooking all kinds of meats, fish, shellfish, and crabs and other Crustacea.

In this warm, humid climate, where meat keeps but 251
a very short time, drying and smoking over the fire is 352
much employed by the Cayapa when any considerable quantity of meat or fish is on hand. For this purpose

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

special racks are built above the fire-box, where strips of meat, or, if the animals or birds are small, the entire bodies, are placed to dry and smoke. Sometimes there are as many as three of these racks, one above another, each covering the same amount of space as the fire-box itself. Considerable time is necessary for drying meat in this way, and, when once dried, it must be kept either on the racks or near the fire in order to prevent molding. For drying fish there usually is employed the upper half of a large earthenware jar, which is turned down over the fire and the fish laid across the opening upon green sticks. Being thus close to the fire, a shorter time is sufficient to dry and smoke the fish, but when thus cured they also must be kept on the racks above or elsewhere near the fire-box in order to keep them from molding. A few vegetal products, especially medicinal herbs, are dried in a similar manner, as likewise are two vegetal foods. The inner covering of the tagua or ivory nut, which, when dried and then roasted upon the coals, has an excellent flavor, is used as food to a slight extent. Green plantain is cut crosswise into thin sections and dried thoroughly in the sun, when possible, or over the fire when necessary. It is then ground to powder and mixed with water into a thin gruel, which is used as food for babies when the mother is ill or for other reasons is unable to provide a proper supply of milk.

Boiling is employed also in the preparation of certain vegetal foods in cane juice. While practically all the product of the cane-field is used in making rum, some syrup and sweets are occasionally prepared. Yuca and

MASHERS, CHOCOLATE STIRRERS, AND FOOD PADDLES

[p.76(a)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

415

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

252
415

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 760]

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3

4

MEALING BLOCK AND STONES AND WOODEN TRAYS

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

plantain or other fruits are cut into fairly small pieces and boiled in the cane juice during the process of reducing it to syrup, thus producing a rich and toothsome conserve. Much labor is entailed in making this delicacy, but it is rarely prepared except as a secondary product of distillation. 252

A rather rare food, and one much prized by the Cayapa, is a large white, brown-headed grub, called kŏ′mucû, which is found in rotten trunks and stumps of fallen palms. Their presence is easily detected by their low, crunching sound as they eat the tough palm fibers within. Such a log is cut open and the grubs are carefully taken out, along with a considerable quantity of the rotted palm-wood. They are usually placed in burden-baskets and then stored in the house in a closely-covered olla until needed. The grubs have a very tough skin, and contain a considerable quantity of rich fat, resembling lard, which is used by the Indians in several ways. The kŏ′mucû may be eaten raw, but more frequently it is broken open, placed over the fire in a small pottery vessel, and fried in its own fat, so to speak, resulting in a very rich oily food. Another favorite method of preparing this food is to mash and make into a gruel some boiled ripe plantain, which is stirred into a pot of kŏ′mucû that has been made to boil with a small quantity of water. Most of the kŏ′mucû used in making this dish are left whole, but a sufficient number of them are broken to liberate a considerable quantity of fat into the receptacle. The result of this process is a rich food of the consistency of gruel, and it is relished, perhaps, above all others. 262 252

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

226 The Cayapa make frequent journeys to the ocean, chiefly for the purpose of securing shellfish and crabs, which are abundant along the beaches about the mouth of the river. There are several species of clams and mussels, as well as oysters in large numbers. Also crabs of several species are very abundant, and are captured usually by digging out their burrows. Both the shellfish and the crabs are brought alive up the river, the crabs being confined in coarse baskets. Oysters are usually heated over coals sufficiently to cause the shells to open, and are eaten directly from the shells with a bit of salt or lemon; but clams and mussels are generally boiled. Crabs also are almost always boiled, although sometimes they are roasted.

[182] 252 [263]

226 Inland, along the banks of the Rio Cayapas and its tributaries, are obtained three other foods of the same class. In the wet soil of the jungle live large numbers of a small, bright-red land crab, called nē'lū, or, more specifically, kaia'pa nēlū. This crab has one very large arm, which is the only part used as a food. The crabs are caught in great numbers, and the large arm is removed and roasted. In the waters of these streams are also large numbers of a small species of lobster or crayfish, called pi'cū, which is considered an excellent food. It is caught with a special dip-net, called cia, used almost exclusively for this purpose. The third food of this class is likewise obtained from the rivers. It is a very small bivalve, resembling a miniature mussel such as is found in the ocean, and is gathered at certain points along the streams where the rock walls of the banks or where bedrock affords convenient lodgment.

[252] [227]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

AGRICULTURE

As before stated, the Cayapa practise agriculture to such an extent that it may be considered their chief occupation, for by it are produced their chief food supply and also certain materials used in textiles. Under agriculture should be classed not only the introduced domesticated plants, but also certain indigenous vegetal growths which are cared for to a greater or lesser extent. These various products are in large measure raised for consumption by the Indians themselves, but some are sold in the settlements at the mouth of the river.

The regular Cayapa dwelling, as before stated, is situated near the bank of the river, and is almost always flanked, usually on both sides, by clearings and fields. Plantains, bananas, sugar-cane, cacao, cotton, yuca, rascadera, pineapples, yams, tobacco, corn, cocoanuts, rubber, and certain herbs are grown by the Indians. The first five of these are almost invariably found in the fields immediately adjacent to the house. Some of the other products mentioned, such as yams, corn, cocoanuts, and yuca, are not raised by all the Indians, and rubber is more frequently grown at some distance from the house, as it thrives better under special soil conditions. In addition to these nearby fields, frequently a favorable location for more or less extensive plantings in the hills is found along the banks of some estero and at a considerable distance from the river. By some of the Indians it is claimed that the plantain grows better at some distance from the main stream, as does also "pita," the plant which yields the tough

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

291 white fibers used in making one kind of string. In all cases, however, such fields are comparatively near some stream, thus enabling those who cultivate them to travel back and forth in canoes and to transport readily the product of the fields to their homes.

295 The most important vegetal product of the Cayapa fields is the plantain, the uses of which as a food have already been discussed. The plantain, like the banana, is grown from root-stocks, never from seed. After the planting of one of these root-stocks, nine to ten months of growth are required before the first racime of fruit is harvested; but while the stalk bearing this first racime is coming to maturity, several small shoots from the parent root-stock are developing, so that within a few weeks after the harvesting of the first racime a second is matured, and so on indefinitely. Thus when a field of plantain is once established, it practically never needs replanting, provided, of course, it is properly tended and cleared of the rapidly-growing brush and weeds. Each root in such a field will mature a stalk and a racime of fruit about once every four to six weeks the year round, there being practically no seasons or seasonal changes in this region. A stalk bears but a single racime, and this is so heavy that, as the young fruits make their appearance, a prop is always placed against the trunk of the plant upon the side on which the racime hangs. When the fruits are well filled, but while they are yet green, the entire stalk is chopped down with a machete. This is done for the reason that the stalk bears but a single racime and would therefore naturally die after

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the ripening of the fruit, and also to facilitate harvesting the heavy racime of fruit, which is usually from ten to fifteen feet from the ground. The fruit having been removed, the trunk is chopped up and rolled away from the newly growing shoots. Owing to its succulent character and to climatic conditions, the trunk decays rapidly.

Being the chief food of the Cayapa, plantains are grown in considerable quantities, often a single family having a field covering several acres. It appears, however, to thrive better in some places than in others. For instance, in the region about Punta Venado the land is comparatively low and wet, and complaint is made that the plantain does not do well. Along the Rio Onzole, on the other hand, better conditions are said to prevail, the land being somewhat higher and having better drainage.

The fields of plantain are in large measure tended by the women, though the men frequently assist in clearing the fields. The harvesting is done almost entirely by the women, who cut down the stalks as above mentioned. They strip off a wide band of the bark from the middle of one of the large leaves, which they use as a head-band in carrying the racimes of fruit from the field to the canoe, thence to the house. As before stated, the plantain is always gathered while green. Even if ripe plantain is desired, it is usually gathered green and allowed to ripen indoors. The gathering of the plantain while green is, first of all, a matter of necessity, since if it were left in the field to ripen it would be devoured by parrots,

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

rodents, and bats. Furthermore, the plantain has a much superior flavor when gathered green and ripened in a shady and fairly cool place. If allowed to ripen on the plant, the Indians claim that it is insipid.

The banana, which in some respects can hardly be distinguished from the plantain, is cultivated and harvested in precisely the same manner. Of this fruit there are three species: a large yellow, a small yellow, and a small red species; but they are almost never used as human food, being cultivated in nearly as great quantities as are plantains for the purpose of feeding the hogs, of which the Cayapa raise considerable numbers.

Sugar-cane, though introduced, has a native Cayapa name, e'lla, and is one of those products at present most grown by the Indians. Often immediately adjacent to the dwelling, and always within a short distance of it, is a cane-mill and distillery, called tapi'tci ya or ta'pi ya, usually surrounded by comparatively large fields of cane, which thrives especially in low, wet ground. In pls. I, II, are shown cane-mills which are immediately adjacent to the houses of their owners, and to the right in each case glimpses of the adjacent cane-fields may be had. In pl. VI is shown an isolated mill, flanked by its field of young cane. This mill is situated directly across the river from the dwelling of its owner.

After the original planting, a few months only are required before the cane is sufficiently mature to be cut. There are no regular times for the harvesting of the cane, which is usually governed by the necessity for a new

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

supply of rum. When it is deemed best to replenish 219
the rum supply, the whole family goes to the cane-field, and each with a machete and a hooked stick about three feet long, clears the field of all weeds and vines, and cuts as much of the matured cane as is needed. The stalks of cane are always cut close to the ground, and all the leaves are stripped off. The butt end of the stalk is then cut diagonally so as to leave a markedly beveled point, which facilitates its insertion between the rollers in grinding. This beveled cut is well illustrated at the lower end of the stalk of cane shown in pl. XV. This is a picture of Antonio Napa, or Pi'tcû apa according to his Cayapa name, chief of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa, at work in his cane-field, and exhibits a field of cane in process of harvesting. All the cane leaves which are stripped from the stalks, together with the vines and undergrowth, are carried to the side of the field and thrown into the brush, since if they were left on the ground, the vines especially would soon take root and grow as rapidly as before. As the mill is ordinarily 274
immediately adjacent to the field, the cane is carried to it usually upon the shoulders of the harvesters. If, however, it is situated at a distance of several hundred yards, [482]
the cane is generally carried to the bank of the river and thence transported by canoe to the mill. The stalks, cut usually into lengths of from four to six feet, are piled in a large rick in front of the rollers used for grinding. As shown in pl. LXIV, the cane may first be corded up on the ground in front of the mill, and later put on the floor in front of the rollers.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The mill proper, called tapi'tci, from the Spanish trapiche consists of two heavy rollers, usually about fifteen inches in diameter by thirty inches in length. These rollers, which are called by the same name as the entire mill, are set horizontally in a heavy upright frame and are usually at a height of about four feet from the floor. The upper roller is the continuation of a heavy squared shaft, from ten to fifteen feet in length, at the opposite end of which is a large wheel, called tapi'tci hyü'mi, sometimes as great as sixteen feet in diameter. This wheel as a whole really consists of two wheels of equal diameter which are set at a distance, along the horizontal bar, of from two to three feet from each other. Each of the separate wheels comprising the large wheel consists of spokes in the form of cross-bars that pass through the squared shaft and at right angles to it, and of a rim made from one of the many species of large vines common to the region. The rims of these component wheels are joined by many horizontal bars which complete the wheel as a whole and which serve as hand-holds in propelling the wheel. The upper and lower rollers have in turn each a set of cogs by means of which, when the upper roller is turned by the force exerted upon the wheel, the lower one is turned correspondingly in the opposite direction, thus drawing the cane between them and crushing it. Usually several persons are required at the wheel in order to drive the rollers. One person, usually a woman or a child, feeds the cane into the rollers, and another receives the cane on the opposite side. A single stalk of cane is fed at a

Jr. Barrett E-5 (1900-1969)1925
SDS Corps SDS

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

274

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

time, and each is followed immediately by the beveled point of the next stalk. Below the rollers and between the uprights which support the whole mechanism is placed a large canoe-shape wooden trough such as that shown in pl. xxiii, or in pl. xxv, into which the cane-juice flows. In case there is no such special wooden trough at hand, or the regular trough is otherwise in use, a small canoe is carefully washed out and used instead. When necessary, leaves of the hoja blanca or of the plantain are placed at the sides of this receptacle in order to prevent the juice from falling or splashing outside. These leaves are especially necessary when, as occasionally happens, a large pot instead of a trough or a canoe is used as a receptacle for the juice; in such an event a funnel is usually built up with leaves above the mouth of the pot.

When the whole sick of cane-stalks has been ground in this manner, the motion of the rollers is reversed, wedges are driven into spaces above the bearings of the uppermost roller in order to bring the two rollers more closely together, and the cane is rolled a second time. During this part of the process, however, two or three of the previously crushed stalks are placed one upon another and almost as much juice is pressed from each as was obtained in the first rolling. As the stalks are received from the rollers the second time, they are quite devoid of juice and are thrown out on the ground. Thus in front of each mill is heaped a large mound of cane trash, such as that shown in front of the mill in pl. vi.

During the grinding of the cane a large copper kettle,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

called pai'la, is kept filled upon a fire in another part of the building, and the juice is here boiled as rapidly as it comes from the rollers. This boiling is allowed to continue for from ten to twenty minutes, during which time the froth which rises to the top is skimmed frequently with a special perforated dipper or skimmer, usually attached to a long handle and called c'cūlya, or with a large calabash spoon called c'ū-kūncada, the latter part of which term is from the Spanish cuchara, "spoon." When the juice has reached the stage where it boils without producing froth, this part of the process is considered finished; it is then dipped out of the kettle with a long-handled calabash dipper like that resting across the end of the canoe-shape wooden trough shown in pl. LXIII, and that in pl. LXV, and called sū'mbū or i'ckala pī cūlnuntolmī, and is placed in one of the large canoe-shape wooden receptacles above mentioned, where it is allowed to cool for several hours. When thoroughly cooled it is put away to ferment in large pottery vessels, or ollas, of the form shown in pl. LXXXVII, 11. Several thicknesses of the leaf of hoja blanca are placed over the opening of such a pot and tightly bound about the rim. The juice is then allowed to ferment for from two to three weeks, when it is ready for distillation. The boiling and subsequent cooling of the juice before placing it in the ollas is said to be necessary to prevent souring.

Usually a sufficient quantity of the juice, called by the Spanish name guarapo, rendered wa'pū in Cayapa, is prepared at one time to fill several large ollas. While

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

STILL, CANOE-SHAPE DISH, AND DIPPER

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

233
342
824

PITA LEAVES FOR MAKING CORD

[p. 86(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

fresh from the rollers, as well as after boiling, in fact at any stage before it begins to ferment, the juice is called pĭ' wapû, literally "water guarapo," in contradistinction to the fermented juice, which is called sa'wapû, meaning "sour guarapo." The ollas referred to are especially made for the purpose, and are the most difficult work of the potter, as their size renders them not only inconvenient to form and handle while drying, but makes them also extremely hard to fire. They are almost invariably coated inside and out with brea (Cayapa, amû'ya), the wax of a small bee, which renders them impervious and prevents waste through seepage. The bases of these large vessels are comparatively small, therefore to prevent them from tipping, each is set upon a ring made of refuse cane. When sugar-cane was first introduced among the Cayapa, rum was not made, but the fermented guarapo was much drunk, and even at the present time considerable quantities are so used. To be sure, it is by no means so intoxicating as rum itself, but after it has fermented for two to three weeks it contains a considerable proportion of alcohol. The fermented guarapo is drunk not only about the home and during the process of distillation, but also to a certain extent at fiestas, to which it is brought in large ollas and consumed in place of rum and by some in preference to it.

The guarapo is finally distilled in order to produce the concentrated alcoholic beverage known by the Spanish name aguardiente and called by the Cayapa i'ckala. The still used in this final process is illustrated in pl. LXIII, from a photograph made while the distillation was in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

progress, and in pl. LXV from a drawing so made as to show the wooden "worm" as well as the outside of the still. Such a still is composed of five parts. Three of these consist of (1) a large olla of the form shown in pl. LXXXVII, 7, which serves as a caldron and which is supported over the fire by three stones; (2) a second olla or vaporizer which surmounts the caldron and which is of the form shown in fig. 10 of the same plate; and (3) a flat, inverted cone of copper which rests in turn upon the vaporizer. This copper top, called i'ckala lanō pai'la, as also the large copper kettle used in reducing the cane juice by boiling, is obtained through trade. These appliances are manufactured chiefly by metal-workers in Quito, and both are highly valued by the Cayapa largely because of the difficulties of transportation from Quito to the Rio Cayapas. The upper olla, or vaporizer, called kandyi-hū'lū, is without a bottom and therefore forms a large chamber into which the vapor from the boiling guarapo in the caldron below rises and comes into contact with the inverted copper cone, which is kept constantly cool by frequently changing the water in it. The vapor condenses on the under surface of this copper vessel, runs down to the point of the cone, and drips on a flat grooved board, called kandēlē'hō or kandyihūlū ta"pa, which forms the fourth element of the still, and which serves in a way the same function as the worm in the still used by civilized peoples. Its position and its relation to other parts of the still are well shown by the drawing in pl. LXV. This "worm" conducts the liquid out through an opening in the side of the vaporizer and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

part way through a bamboo tube, called i'ckala lanô pa'kkî, the fifth element of the still, down which the liquid finally runs to a small bit of cotton at its outer opening. This cotton is brought to a point at its lower end and serves to conduct the liquid directly to a receptacle, usually a bottle, below. Quite naturally it is necessary that the entire apparatus have joints which are practically air-tight in order that the vapor shall not escape. To effect this, all the joints are filled with scraped, green plantain, which, becoming heated as the caldron begins to boil, firmly cements the parts of the still together.

This apparatus for distillation requires constant attention. The fire must be kept carefully under the caldron and must be neither too hot nor too cool. If too hot, the guarapo will boil up into the vaporizer and pass out through the tube; thus in a few seconds a bottle of rum may easily be spoiled by being mixed with a small quantity of the guarapo. Also, the water in the copper top must be changed frequently in order to keep the top itself cool enough to condense the vapor on its surface. Water is kept usually in a large canoe-shape wooden receptacle near the fire-box, as shown in pl. LXV. The long-handled calabash dipper, above mentioned, is used to remove the heated water from the copper top and to replenish it with cold. When care is exercised in the boiling and the cold water is replenished at proper intervals, the rum passes down the cotton tip into the receptacle in a small but constant stream. A caldron containing from ten to fifteen gallons of guarapo yields from four to six quarts of clear liquor and requires from

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

two to three hours in its distillation. This liquor is as clear as water, has a very pungent odor, a vile flavor, and contains from ten to twenty per cent of alcohol. The distillation of four or five caldrons of guarapo is considered a good day's work.

According to Cayapa belief, the success of a distillation does not depend entirely on the care with which the boiling is done. In transferring the guarapo from the storage pots to the caldron, a small pot, such as that on the fire-box shown in pl. LXV, with a capacity of a gallon to a gallon and a half, is used. With a hemispherical calabash dipper, or mate, such as that shown in fig. 13, the guarapo is first dipped from the storage pot into this smaller vessel and is then carried to the caldron. The pouring of it into the caldron, however, is a most important matter, since certain people have "much better hands" than others. That is to say, if the guarapo is poured into the caldron by a person with a "good hand," the yield of that caldron may be increased even as much as two or three quarts of rum over the yield resulting if it is poured by someone else. It is a common practice to honor a guest who happens to come during a distillation by inviting him to pour the guarapo into the caldron. Especially is this done if he has the reputation of having a "good hand." In such a case it is customary to bring the pots of guarapo to him. He receives them at the caldron and pours in the contents.

As before stated, the rum is usually caught from the spout in bottles, although it is almost immediately poured into a large storage vessel, usually a demijohn,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

of from five to ten gallons capacity. To use the large demijohn as a receptacle directly at the spout would endanger a large quantity of rum, for whenever a caldron boils over it is necessary to return the mixed rum and guarapo to the next caldron to be distilled.

When the boiling of a caldron first begins, the product is much purer than later in the process. No fixed length of time can be given for the distillation of a caldron, since the strength of the rum must be determined by testing each bottle as it is filled at the spout. The whole process, therefore, is one of fractional distillation, the strongest of the rum coming off in the first bottle taken from any given caldron. When at last the rum becomes sufficiently weak, it is considered that the distillation of that particular caldron has proceeded far enough and it must then be refilled with fresh guarapo.

Before refilling the caldron, the fire is first drawn from under it. A mouthful of water is then spurted in a small stream upon the now hard and dry plantain which cements the parts of the still together, thus softening it and permitting the parts of the still to be separated. The copper top is given a thorough cleaning and is scoured with ashes until bright, and the upper pot, or vaporizer, is also cleaned if necessary. The guarapo remaining in the caldron is dipped out with a long-handled dipper, and the caldron is finally refilled with fresh guarapo. If the result of the last distillation has been very successful, it is believed that the hand of the person who poured the guarapo into the caldron still holds its "luck," and he is usually expected to fill the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

caldron a second time. If, however, a contrary result has been effected, someone else will usually "try his hand." The whole process of rum-making is one in which the women do fully as much work as the men, and they also have "lucky" and "unlucky" hands in distillation.

Usually the ordinary distillation above described is considered sufficient. If, however, an exceptionally good rum is desired, as for use at certain feasts, a special process of fractionation is resorted to and the product of the ordinary distillation is redistilled. A special flavor is imparted to the rum at this time by putting into the caldron with it several of the large leaves of an aromatic herb which abounds in the region and which possesses an anise-like odor and flavor.

As previously stated, the chief use of sugar-cane is for making rum, but, as before described in speaking of foods, the Cayapa occasionally make syrup and also a kind of preserves. On the other hand, they never make sugar, as do the negroes of this region. Much raw cane is also chewed. The fibrous though tender stalk is, of course, not swallowed, but it yields a large quantity of rich, sweet juice which is highly relished. The cane is also frequently roasted in the coals; and in boiling cane-juice to make guarapo for distillation, stalks of raw cane are frequently cut up and thrown into the kettle to boil with the juice. The result of either the roasting or the boiling is a rich food with a flavor resembling that of maple, and is even more palatable than the raw cane.

Cacao (Cayapa, kaka'bō), from which chocolate is made, is extensively grown by the Cayapa, although

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

almost exclusively for the sale of the dried seeds. The planting of a grove of cacao requires considerable care. The seeds are planted in calabashes or boxes at the house, and the young plants are not set into the ground until they have attained a height of from four to six inches. They are carefully protected when first planted in the open ground, a joint of large bamboo being set down around each. This precaution is necessary chiefly on account of the prevalence of ants, which would soon devour the young plants if they were not thus protected. When encased in this tube of bamboo, although it is open at the top, the young plant is rarely molested. From four to five years are required to bring one of these trees into full bearing, but even with the crude Cayapa methods of horticulture, a large tree sometimes produces as much as two or three hundred pounds of dried cacao in a year.

The brown, ovate seeds, which are contained in a large red or yellow egg-shape pod, are each surrounded by a whitish or translucent fleshy covering. The pods are gathered when ripe, brought to the house, and cut open with the machete. The seeds with their fleshy coating are then placed in a large wooden tray, such as that shown in pl. LXII, 4, some water is added, and the mass is kneaded and worked thoroughly with the hands, thus removing all the fleshy covering and leaving the seeds ready for drying. As a by-product of this process, the outer covering of the seeds, when mixed with water, forms a liquid of the consistency of thin gruel and with a pleasant, slightly acid flavor. This liquid is very re-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[273] freshing and is drunk with much relish by the Indians.
[257] The seeds themselves are spread upon mats on the drying platform of the house and are carefully watched during the next couple of weeks to prevent them from being wet by the frequent rains. After this period they are sufficiently dry to be stored away until the next trip down the river, when they are sold to traders. Cacao is
[439] one of the most important exports of Ecuador, whose territory is the source of a considerable part of the chocolate of commerce.

274 Although the Cayapa cultivate so much cacao, they
272 drink it only now and then, usually at fiestas. It is prepared by first thoroughly grinding the dried cacao upon a mealing stone such as is used for grinding plantain, and then boiling. For this purpose the Cayapa make a pot of special form, such as that shown in pl. LXXXVII, 9. The boiling chocolate is stirred at intervals with an implement of special form called tcōkōla'te tcall, illustrated in pl. LXI, 6-7. The result of this process is a comparatively thick, very rich and oily liquid, quite unlike the beverage prepared from the ordinary chocolate of commerce, since the chocolate prepared directly from the seeds as above described retains all the natural oil. It may be drunk in this form, but if sugar is available it is usually added.

249 Pineapples (Cayapa, tcī'lya), the only use of which is as
[262] a food, are grown to a limited extent by some of the Cayapa. The green tops of the fruits themselves are planted close together in rows, and from these the plants grow. When once established, such a plant requires

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

very little attention until time to gather the fruit, which 247
in this region is of excellent flavor, especially when allowed to ripen thoroughly on the plant.

The fleshy roots of the yuca (Cayapa, kū'tcū) are 244
considerably used as food. The yuca is started by 262
means of cuttings, and requires from seven to nine months to produce the edible roots. These roots are [262]
usually boiled in the regular manner when used as an ordinary food, but, as above mentioned, they are also frequently boiled in sugar-cane syrup to make a kind of preserves. The yuca is a very nutritious food, has an excellent flavor, and by many is much preferred to either potatoes or yams. It is never baked.

Potatoes (Cayapa, pū'lyū) do not thrive at this low 244
altitude, owing to the heat and humidity, although they 434
grow well in the valleys of the higher Andes. On 262
rare occasions they are obtained from the Indians of these interior valleys who make journeys to the coast for trading and other purposes. They have also been procured in more recent years from the traders about the mouth of the river, but the Cayapa seldom purchase commodities of this class.

Another food of a similar kind which is grown by the 244
Cayapa to a limited extent is the red yam. It is started 262
by cuttings in the ordinary manner. In preparing them 252
for food, the yams are boiled, but are never roasted, as is so frequently done by aboriginal peoples.

Of this class also is the root-stalk of the rascadera (Cayapa, tū'a), a species of caladium which is grown to a limited extent by a few of the Cayapa. This is also pre-

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

pared exclusively by boiling. Rascadera and yuca are grown to a much greater extent by the negroes who live along the river than by the Indians.

According to their own tradition, the Cayapa, having been formerly a mountain people, in earlier times subsisted largely on maize or Indian corn (Cayapa, pi'cū), which is still one of the principal foods of practically all the Indians of the higher Andes. On moving to the lower altitudes, the Cayapa brought the maize with them, and even yet a small quantity is grown by them. The plant itself it comparatively small, and the ears are very small, rarely exceeding six or seven inches in length. When gathered for food it is almost always taken green and is prepared in one of three ways. Frequently, the husk having been removed, the ear of green corn is simply roasted over coals, when it is considered quite a delicacy, though it lacks the rich flavor of our sweet corn. The products of the other two methods of preparing it are gruels. The first stages in making both kinds are the same, and the process is as follows: The necessary number of husked ears of green corn having been procured, the women chew the kernels from the cobs, depositing them in a large wooden tray, or batea. Since the introduction of various articles of commerce some households use a large tin grater for removing the kernels from the cobs. The kernels are then placed, handful after handful as needed, upon a mealing stone (pl. LXII, 1, 2) and ground with a stone muller such as the one shown resting on the mealing stone shown in fig. 2 of the plate mentioned, a small amount of water being added from

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

time to time. This thick paste is then placed in a cooking-pot or kettle with the requisite amount of water and boiled, the consistency of the gruel of course depending upon the amount of water added. The thick gruel is eaten with the fingers, or frequently nowadays with a spoon, and is eaten as ordinary food. The thin gruel, which is more frequently made and which usually is sufficiently liquid to be called a beverage rather than a mush, is drunk from small hemispherical calabashes. It is flavored with a little salt, or preferably with sugar. This food is called champo (tcambō'se in Cayapa) and is used almost exclusively at feasts, where it is served in canoe-shape wooden vessels, called tcambō's kūle, made especially for the purpose. These utensils are from two and a half to three and half feet long, their ends are made like the prow and stern of a regular canoe, and they are elaborately ornamented with the same painted designs as are used on large canoes. These little vessels may be set upon the feast table, but often they are carried about among the feasters, in which event one of the masters of ceremony takes the prow and another the stern and pass throughout the house, being careful that everyone is served. On the surface of the beverage float from two to four or five small calabash dippers, or mates, with which the champo is drunk.

A sufficient amount of maize to provide seed for the succeeding year is allowed to ripen on the stalk each season. The ears are gathered, the outer husks bent back, and tied together in bunches of a dozen or more

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ears each. These bunches are then hung from the roof to prevent attacks by rodents. Wherever possible the corn is hung where the heat from the fire will keep it from molding.

The foregoing are the chief agricultural food products of the Cayapa. Excepting the maize and the potato, all were introduced since the Spanish conquest and are now systematically cultivated. In this connection should be mentioned certain palms which provide food of one kind or other, and which, while they cannot be strictly classed under the head of agriculture, since they are not planted and tended as are the other plants mentioned, are of considerable economic importance.

One of these palms is that commonly known by the Spanish name chonta dura and called kanō'tci by the Cayapa. One variety of this produces a cluster of red fruits, another a cluster of yellow fruits. The Cayapa name for the fruit of this palm is ka'imbi. Both ripen in the late summer months and are much esteemed as food. By means of a long hooked bamboo pole, these clusters are torn from just below the crown of the palm, which is usually quite tall. The fruits are boiled in a cooking-pot or kettle; the tough skin is then easily peeled off, leaving the yellowish mealy meat ready to eat. In the center of this, in turn, is a very hard nut which, when cracked, yields a toothsome white meat with a flavor resembling that of ripe coconut. The mealy yellow meat is usually eaten with a little salt, but is especially good when eaten with a thick syrup made from cane juice. It is also frequently boiled in this syrup, the result being a kind of conserved fruit.

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

While the fruit of the chonta dura is never eaten raw, there is another palm that produces a fruit similar in form but of a grayish yellow color, which is considerably esteemed in its raw state. Neither of these species of palm is purposely planted by the Cayapa, but when found they are carefully protected, and the fruits are harvested year after year.

One other species of palm, a very tall, slender one, produces a fruit which is eaten raw. To secure this the palm is usually cut down with a machete, which is always carried by everyone going into the jungle.

One of the most important of the natural products of this part of Ecuador is the tagua, or ivory nut. These palms, called ti'ñ tcí or ti'mō bōlō, are scattered throughout the jungle and are carefully conserved by the Indians, especially where a grove of them is found near a dwelling. The importance of this palm applies both to the Indians and to the negroes and whites. The ripe nuts, timbū pū'ka, or timō pōka, are an article of commerce, and their exportation to the United States and to Europe, where they are extensively used in making buttons, is an important industry. To the Indians, however, the tagua serves at least three other uses. When its green burs approach maturity, they are gathered and taken to the house, where they are cut crosswise with a machete. These burs are covered by an outer shell, called ha'ñda kika. They are very hard and can be cut only with difficulty. Each of the nuts in this stage of its development is an almost transparent gelatinous substance, called tcapi ta'ka, which may

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

262 either be scooped out with the fingers or sipped. The nut is not used as a regular article of food, but more as a confection, its use being much restricted by the supply and the difficulty of opening the bur.

262 Another food derived from the tagua is the yellow,
262 mealy and comparatively thin covering, called pim bŭkŭ, or ya ŭ'kŭ, which surrounds the ripe nut itself. This is peeled off and roasted over coals, if it is to be used immediately, or dried on the smoking rack above the fire if to be used later. The flavor of this roasted meat is similar to that of crisp, baked, fresh pork-rind. It is also frequently eaten raw, but in this state it has a rather unpleasant flavor, similar to that of raw acorns.

[illegible] The gathering, curing, and use of the tagua leaf, which is almost exclusively employed in thatching houses, are described in the discussion of building construction.

222 A very good food is obtained from the palma real,
[262] called ŭya'-tcĭ. This is a very large species and in form is perhaps the most beautiful of all the palms. Its very straight trunk, which sometimes reaches a height of seventy-five to a hundred feet, swells considerably at a point about midway of its height and resembles an entasic column surmounted by a huge umbrella-shape crown of leaves which wave gently in the breeze. In a large specimen of this species the trunk is from three to four feet in diameter at its base, swelling uniformly to a diameter perhaps one-third greater at the middle, and again decreasing toward the crown to a diameter somewhat less than that of the base. The mature leaves reach a length as great as twenty feet.

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The crisp, pure white, young leaves from the center of the crown of this palm are much esteemed as a food by the Cayapa. To secure these, however, it is necessary to cut down the whole plant, which is done with a machete or preferably an ax. The large, mature leaves of the crown are cut and pried away until the inner part of the trunk is reached. These outer, old leaves of the crown are even more fibrous and resistant than the trunk itself, and as it is almost impossible to cut them away with a machete, an ax is usually necessary. Owing to their great weight, and especially to the interlacing of the hard and very strong fibers at the bases of the leaves, a couple of chisel-pointed sticks, six feet or so in length, are needed to pry away the outer leaves after the mid-ribs have once been cut through with the ax. This inner trunk and those inner leaves which have already begun to unfold are next cut away, until the very young, succulent leaves, which as yet have not commenced to unfold and which appear in the form of a solid, slender cone of pure white, are reached. This cone often measures at its base as much as ten to fifteen inches in diameter, and may be even ten or twelve feet in length. It is a solid mass of crisp white matter, finer in texture than the innermost part of a head of cabbage and with a flavor resembling that of almonds. It is ordinarily eaten raw, either with or without salt, although a very good dish is also prepared by boiling it.

The palma real yields another useful product. The tough fibers, called nitteú'a, which grow along the sides of the base of the mid-rib of the mature leaf, and which,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

as above mentioned, interlace with the fibers of adjoining leaves in such manner as to make it necessary to pry the leaves apart with wooden bars, are strong and pliable, and are woven into burden-bands by which heavy loads are carried. These fibers often attain a length of about four feet and are possessed of tensile strength sufficient to enable their use as strings on the wooden harp which is now made to a very limited extent by the Cayapa. This instrument was borrowed by them from the Indians of the interior, who in turn copied it from the Spanish conquerors.

Another palm, found to a limited extent along the river, is the coconut, called after the Spanish, kō'kō-tcī. It does not, however, thrive at any considerable distance from the ocean, consequently few palms are found even at so short a distance up the Rio Cayapas as the mouth of the Onzole. Pl. CXXXI presents a view looking up-stream at the confluence of the Rio Onzole with the Rio Cayapas, and, upon the projection of land between them, the hacienda of one of the more prosperous of the negroes of the region. Several coconut palms appear in front of the house. Coconuts grow well along the immediate coast, and there are here large groves, the nuts being shipped to nearby villages and to points even as far away as Esmeraldas. They are purchased to a certain extent by the Indians, by whom they are used in very limited quantities as food, more especially for the so-called coconut-milk which is made from the ripe nuts.

In addition to the foregoing food-producing plants,

3: Barrett E-S (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[illegible] by the foregoing [illegible] 298
there are various others that are valuable for other materials which they produce. One of these is cotton, called kó'a. The Cayapa are expert weavers and in 286
large measure produce all their own material. Their [139]
textiles are made almost entirely of cotton, the only wool used being that obtained from the Quichua of the higher Andes, or in these days from the yarn of commerce. The yarn used by the Cayapa is always red or blue, and is employed for the sake of the colors, not for the material itself. They grow a white and also a brown cotton, the 248
former being, according to their statements, an introduced species, the latter an indigenous one. These, [384]
together with the green and lavender dyes and the two colors of yarn, give them a total of six native colors. Cotton is usually grown from the seed, and requires little attention when once the plants have attained a fair size. Only a few plants of either the white or the brown cotton are grown by any one family, but they bloom perpetually and are sufficient to produce all the raw material needed. The cotton is allowed to mature completely, that is until the bolls have opened and the ripe cotton is nearly ready to fall. It is then gathered (being in the condition shown in pl. CVII, 11), thoroughly dried, and stored away in packages (such as that shown in fig. 12 of the same plate), and wrapped in leaves of the Loja blanca, until needed for spinning. To a limited extent also the [272]
cotton plant is used in making a beverage, the leaves being boiled after the manner of tea.

Tobacco is considerably used by the Cayapa, but never 276

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

to excess as among some other peoples. It is almost never grown by them, their supply coming from their negro neighbors or through trade. The Indians claim that tobacco was not known to this region in aboriginal times, but that it was introduced considerably later than the Spanish conquest. This statement is borne out by the fact that the name for tobacco is ta'kō, which is evidently an adaptation of the Spanish term tabaco. They use neither pipes nor cigarettes, but confine their smoking entirely to cigars made by themselves. They procure the half leaves of tobacco in bundles, which are stored away until a smoke is actually wanted, when each person rolls his own cigar. The habit of chewing tobacco appears to be unknown.

In addition to smoking for pleasure, tobacco is used ceremonially. When it is desired to drive out malevolent spirits from a certain spot, a medicine-man is called in, and, assisted by the ordinary people present and perhaps by another medicine-man or two, he performs a ceremony which makes the place untenable for the spirits. Each participant provides himself with a cigar and a small calabash of a decoction made from the leaves of a certain herb, and all make a systematic tour of the infested place. As they go slowly along they wet everything about them with the decoction, blowing it from the mouth in a fine spray. Interspersed with this spraying is the blowing of tobacco smoke into the air and on any objects with which they come in contact. The head medicine-man sings or whistles certain songs and waves a special banner from time to time as the party proceeds, and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

these acts, combined with the spraying and smoking, gradually drive the spirits from the locality.

Another important product of this region is pita, called sa'nō, by the Cayapa, a plant resembling somewhat the yucca of the Southwestern desert region of the United States, but with leaves which sometimes reach a length of fifteen or sixteen feet. It is usually grown at some distance back from the river, and seems to thrive best in the dense shade of the jungle. When once well started it requires very little attention other than the cutting away of undergrowth and clearing of the field which is incidental to the harvesting of the leaves. These leaves yield long, very strong fibers, called sañ bu'tyū, which are twisted into two-ply strings. These are much used in net-making, in binding the selvage of textiles, for fish-lines, and for a variety of other purposes where very strong cord is required. The leaves are cut close to the ground and brought to the house in bundles such as those illustrated in pl. LXVI, where a large and a small bundle of the freshly cut, long leaves are shown leaning against the side of the house. Each leaf yields a large number of fibers, the laborious preparation of which will be discussed in speaking of string-making.

While pita is the strongest material and is considered the best from all points of view, there is another material, called in the local Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa señgi'lya, which is used especially where string or rope of large diameter and of moderate strength is desired, such as for hammocks. This material is derived from the bark of a tree and is obtained by heating in a manner

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

similar to that used in making the bark cloth of the region. When the fibers are beaten out and prepared for twisting into cordage, they are usually stored away in bundles, such as that shown in pl. CXIX, 2, until needed.

An important economic plant of the Cayapa country is that from which is made the bark cloth called by the local Spanish name damajaua and by the Cayapa name tû'ckī. This is beaten from the bark of an indigenous tree called tû'ckītcī. The tree is felled and a section of the bark the length desired, usually six to eight feet, is carefully removed, being split along one side only. The bark may then be beaten immediately upon the same log, but it is ordinarily rolled up and taken to the house where a log is kept especially for this beating, which is done with a short maul, called tatcī wima'so, such as that shown in fig. 6. One side of the maul, at least, is cut diagonally with grooves and corresponding ridges. The beating must be done within a few hours after the bark is taken from the tree, or before it dries considerably. Placing the strip of bark crosswise upon the log, it is beaten with considerable force with the grooved side of the maul, which is held at an angle of about forty-five degrees to the length of the bark. After beating one short section of the bark in this manner, it is moved across the log far enough to bring a new section into place, and in this way every part of the bark is reached.

FIG. 6—Beater for bark cloth

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Having beaten the entire surface with the bark in this position, it is then reversed and placed lengthwise of the log and again beaten, the maul being held at about the same angle. This beating crushes into pulp the succulent portion of the bark, but, if properly done, it does not break the long, interlacing fibers themselves. As a result of this first beating the bark is usually about one-half wider than when taken from the tree, though it is very little if any longer. It is next placed in a canoe half-filled with water and allowed to soak for several hours, usually over night. It is then thoroughly wrung, thus removing a large part of the juice and the pulpy portion of the bark, after which it is returned to the log and beaten again in order to remove the remaining pulp. Again it is thoroughly washed and wrung, and is finally spread out to dry. Just before being dried it is folded in the proper manner and creased along the lines of the folds in such a way that when dry it will readily fold along these lines and make a package with a surface about ten by eighteen or twenty inches. Pl. CVI, 3, shows one of these bark cloths partly unfolded. This is a large specimen and is folded three times lengthwise and three times crosswise. The four crosswise sections formed by the three folds are here visible. The full width of the cloth is thus seen, while only one-fourth of the length is shown. Bark cloth is usually from six to eight feet in length and varies in width from about four feet to perhaps eighteen inches, according to whether it is to be used by one or more persons at a time. The surface of the specimen illustrated plainly shows the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

287 imprint of the maul (fig. 6) with which it was beaten as numerous sets of short parallel lines, all at an angle of about forty-five degrees with the perpendicular. Bark cloth is never decorated in any way and is strictly utilitarian. It serves almost exclusively as a sleeping [352 513] mat, and constitutes, together with a mosquito canopy and a thin cotton sheet used as a cover, all that is considered necessary for a bed. It is used occasionally for wrapping a dismantled loom or for some other special purpose.

The beating of the cloth must be done very carefully in order not to cut or tear apart the fibers, thus making holes in the cloth which render it practically worthless. The fibers naturally criss-cross and interlace in such a manner that when the beating is carefully done the result is a cloth which, while very thin, is at the same time very firm. If for any reason, however, a hole does appear in the cloth during the process of beating, it may be mended by simply placing over it a piece of bark of sufficient size to somewhat more than cover it and beating this in. The beating mixes the fibers of the patch with those of the main fabric in such manner as to make the patch almost as firm as the cloth itself.

415 249 177 At the present time some of the most characteristic utensils of the Cayapa are made from calabashes. They claim that in their former life in the mountains these utensils were of pottery and that the calabash came into use among them only after their arrival on the Rio Cayapas. It is said also that there was originally a calabash tree native to this region, but that the two

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

species now used, the one producing a globular fruit called wa'iyū, and the other an ellipsoidal fruit called cū'lya, were introduced here from Colombia. Every house is provided with one or more of these trees, and usually at least one of each of the two species. These large gourd-like fruits are produced in considerable numbers by such a tree and find a variety of uses. They are gathered when just ready to turn from green to ripe and are immediately hollowed out into utensils of several kinds. The details of manufacture and the uses of these utensils are treated on pages 166–173.

Another fruit, some species of which are said to be indigenous and some introduced, which is found abundantly in this region, is what is called by the local Spanish name guabo or guaba. This requires no cultivation, but the trees are carefully guarded against destruction. It is rarely if ever purposely planted, but grows from the accidental dropping of seeds. In the vicinity of almost every house there are several trees of one or more of these species. The fruits, which grow in long pods, are much esteemed and are almost invariably eaten raw. Each variety has its own special name, as follows:

Cayapa	*Spanish*
mactē'-pa cīlyū,	guabo de macheton (machete guabo, so named on account of the shape of the pod).
ni'ñga cīlyū,	guabo de tacoano.
pī' cīlyū,	guabo dulce (sweet guabo). The Cayapa name signifies "water guabo."
sa' cīlyū,	guabo agria (sour guabo). The Cayapa name also signifies "sour guabo."
pū'cīlyū,	guabo.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Of these species the one most commonly found about the houses and the most used is pū' cīlyū, a wide-spreading tree reaching a height of about forty feet. A general view of this species is shown in pl. v, in which the broad, branching top of one of the trees is shown prominently against the sky toward the left of the center of the picture. The habits of growth of the other varieties are similar to this.

247 301 [527] A species of small Compositæ, called lu'lyū, which somewhat resembles the marigold, is grown with considerable care, its special use being to provide decorative flowers for fiestas. The flowers are made up into long garlands which are draped about the altar of the church or are worn about the necks of those celebrating the fiesta. They are also sometimes inserted in the hair, over the ears, or about the clothing.

249 Upon the drying platform attached to the house there is almost always a fragment of an old canoe or some broken pots or other utensils in which are grown several of the various species of medicinal herbs, such as limoncillo, or of other plants valued for the scent of their leaves or seeds, or plants used as teas.

In addition to those already mentioned in greater detail, there are several other introduced fruits, such as the papaya, the caimito, the orange, the lemon, the lime, and the sour sap, which are grown so rarely by the Cayapa as to make them almost negligible in a consideration of the vegetal products of the people. They spring up almost always by the accidental falling of seeds in favorable soil, rather than by intentional

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

planting. They are, however, all eaten raw and to a limited extent by the Cayapa whenever obtainable.

Hunting

In the Cayapa region, where game of various sorts is so abundant, hunting is a practice of considerable importance. This is now done almost entirely with old-fashioned muzzle-loading shotguns, which have supplanted blow-guns almost entirely. In aboriginal times the blow-gun was the chief weapon employed in hunting, and a few of them are still in use, especially by the boys in hunting small birds. In addition to the blow-gun the Cayapa say that they formerly had lances made entirely of the wood of certain hard palms, and that more recently they used the bow and arrow. They maintain that they originally did not know the use of the bow and arrow, but that they became acquainted with these only after coming down from the high mountains to the vicinity of their present abode, which was then occupied by another people. The bow and arrow appear to have been comparatively little used at any time by the Cayapa, but formerly the lance was much used in hunting wild hogs and one or two other species of game. In fact it is still used by some in hunting the guanta, a species of large rodent which lives in burrows.

The blow-gun, called by the Cayapa pitcū'ə, is a slender tube varying from about six to nine feet in length, made of palm-wood wrapped with pitigua and the whole covered with brea, the black waterproof wax used especially for calking canoes. The blow-gun tapers

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

slightly toward its point, the opposite end being provided with a flaring mouth-piece two to three inches in diameter. It is made a follows: The innermost part consists of two pieces of palm-wood, each containing a groove, and forming, when placed together, a perfectly even-bored tube about three-eighths of an inch in diameter and with a wall half to three-quarters of an inch thick. The two halves of this tube are bound firmly together at from three to five points along its length by means of thin, narrow strips of pitigua, or with one of the stout fibers from the base of the leaf of the palma real. This binding is merely to hold the two halves of the tube together while they are being completely wrapped, which is done with strips of pitigua about one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness and one-quarter of an inch in width. It is wrapped tightly and very evenly from end to end in such manner as to completely cover the wood. This spiral wrapping of so long an object [284] requires a great length of these narrow strips. As the end of one strip is reached, the end of the next is inserted in such a manner as to be held firmly in place and to make each strip bind the next. This pitigua wrapping is in turn covered and made waterproof by a coating of brea, or wax, as above mentioned. On some of the blow-guns a hump is made in the brea at a point a short distance in front of the mouth-piece. This serves as a kind of sight by which to take aim, though obviously it is not a very accurate gauge, consequently the aiming is largely a matter of calculation by the hunter, and accuracy is acquired only by long practice. The

3: Barrett E-5 (1903-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

224
411

mouth-piece of the blow-gun is made of a more or less funnel-shape piece of wood which fits to the larger end of the gun. The implement is shot by blowing the breath suddenly, though not too forcibly, through this mouth-piece.

In this tube are shot very light palm-wood darts, called mō'*te* or hambi tsū'ta, a foot or so in length and not much thicker than a heavy knitting-needle. Their lightness is overcome and the darts are given force by means of a weight of clay, called ya'tū'mita, placed near the point. To make them fit in the tube in such a manner as to be airtight, and thus give the air an opportunity to exert its force upon them, a small wad of cotton, called kūmi *tē*'na, is wound about the dart near its middle. One of these darts is shown in fig. 7, *a*. Near the point may be seen the pear-shape clay weight, and about its middle the cotton wad. Such a small shaft would be of little service even

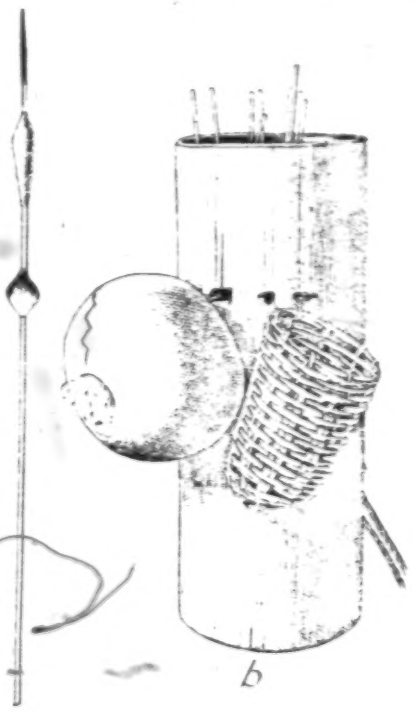


FIG. 7.—*a*, Dart of blow-gun; *b*, Quiver for blow-gun

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

in killing small birds if it were not for the fact that its tip is poisoned. The tip is sharply pointed and is covered for perhaps three-quarters of an inch back from its point with a vegetal poison called ha'mbĭ, consisting of the juice of a large tree growing in only a few places in the vicinity. This sap is gathered after the manner of rubber milk or the sande juice used in making torches. It is very viscous, and runs very slowly from a cut in the tree; in fact it is claimed that a few ounces only may be obtained from a tree in the course of a day. The juice dries within a few days, becoming solid and black or dark-brown in color. To get this into such a consistency that it may be applied to the points of the darts, a few drops of lemon or lime juice are added on one side of the receptacle in which it is kept, and a small amount of the poison worked up with this juice into a paste by means of a small paddle. The points are then dipped into this and revolved in order that they may be completely covered with it. They are then carefully laid out with a low support just back of the point so as to keep the poison from touching anything, and sufficiently low to prevent the paste from flowing back from the tip to any extent. The paste dries evenly around the point in about an hour and finally becomes very hard. When in this condition it will not rub off with ordinary friction, but immediately it comes into contact with liquid it dissolves. Thus, when a dart enters the body of a bird, a small mammal, or even a man, the poison quickly passes into the circulation. It is said to be very virulent poison and that

dart. -- Analyst

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

death ensues within a few minutes, even in men or large mammals. The palm-wood from which the darts are made is very tough and ordinarily would break with difficulty, hence one of them shot into the body of an animal, especially a man or a monkey, could be easily withdrawn. To overcome this, two slight incisions are made around the shaft, just back of the poisoned tip, about a quarter of an inch apart, so that if the shaft enters a body it is almost certain to break with the force of the blow at one or the other of these incisions. In case the dart does not break of its own accord, it is quite sure to break if an attempt is made to extract it, and in either event the poisoned tip is left in the flesh of the victim. Great care must be exercised in making and in handling these darts in order that the owner himself does not get even a small amount of the poison into his system through an abrasion of the skin or by pricking himself with one of the sharp points, for it is claimed that such an accident would almost surely prove fatal. However, without thorough experimentation with this poison it is impossible to vouch for the extreme virulence attributed to it by the Cayapa. There seems, in fact, some reason to doubt its very rapid action on the larger mammals, though in the case of small mammals and birds it is undoubtedly very effective.

A small carrying case, or quiver, called ha'mbī pa''kī, such as that shown in fig. 7, *b*, is made especially for blow-gun darts. It consists of a bamboo tube, about an inch longer than the darts, which is filled with soft fibers from the young leaves of a certain species of palm,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

224
411

the fibers being placed vertically in the tube. This filler is called hambi yata'pi. The palm fibers protect the points of the darts and also prevent abrasion of the clay weights. The rear or unpoisoned ends of the darts project an inch or so above the filling, the projecting end serving as an easy means of extracting the darts as needed. In the above-mentioned illustration the ends of some of the darts are shown projecting above the rim of the quiver. In actual use the ends of the darts are usually below the level of this rim and are thus afforded all possible protection. In making the drawing for this illustration it seemed desirable to show the ends of some of the darts, hence they were pulled up into view above the rim.

The usual method is to poison the points and make the incisions above mentioned directly back of the points, and then to place these incomplete darts in a mass in the center of the quiver. Attached to the quiver is a small receptacle, called *tō'kūbi*, usually a little wickerwork basket, in which clay is carried. Also there is attached to the quiver a small calabash or other receptacle for cotton, called hambi kō-a'iū. These appurtenances enable the hunter to put the clay weight and the wad on the darts as fast as needed. This is necessary, since if they were prepared in any considerable numbers and not used, the clay and the cotton would be of no service later. Usually three or four darts at a time are weighted and wadded ready for use and then carefully placed, each one by itself, near the outer margin of the palm-fiber filler. The quiver is suspended upon the hunter's back by

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

means of a string, called yā'tcua, which passes about the neck.

The blow-gun is carried over the shoulder or in the hand, but always with the point forward, since if it were reversed there would be danger of the mouth-piece being broken in passing through the jungle. When not in use the blow-gun is carefully kept in such position that no uneven strain comes upon any part of it, causing it to bend and thus to spoil its efficiency. It is frequently placed in the thatch under the eaves or in the loft of the house, but often it is suspended vertically by means of a string.

The blow-gun is an excellent and effective weapon for hunting all sorts of mammals and birds which live in trees or otherwise above the ground level, but for those which live always upon the ground and for birds on the wing this instrument is of little use, since it is not feasible to shoot horizontally or, in fact, at any considerable angle to the perpendicular, owing to the deflection due to gravity. Especially is this the case if the object shot at is small. The best results are obtained by getting almost directly under the object to be shot at and by this means practically overcoming the influence of gravity. Thus the blow-gun is especially used in shooting those mammals and birds, such as monkeys, squirrels, guatins, parrots, toucans, and a variety of other species, which are almost always to be found in trees.

The Cayapa were at all times inclined to be peaceable, but wars were sometimes forced upon the most peace-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

living. It is said that on those rare occasions when the Cayapa engaged in hostilities, the blow-gun was used as a weapon, though the lance, called tsū'ta, seems to have been preferred. This weapon, six or seven feet in length, is made entirely of palm-wood, with a simple, very sharp point. A rude lance is used even at the present time in hunting certain mammals, especially the guanta (Cayapa wala'mbū), a large rodent which lives in a burrow. Armed with a lance, the hunter sits near the entrance to one of these burrows until the guanta comes out to feed, when he is able to spear it. On rare occasions also the lance is still used in hunting the wild hog and the peccary, which are both still fairly abundant in the jungle.

The bow and arrow, the use of which is claimed to have been derived by the Cayapa from their old enemies, the former inhabitants of the Rio Cayapas, is not very clearly remembered by them, for the reason that it has not been in use for many years. The arrows are said to have been about a yard in length with shafts made from a species of wild cane, called by the Spanish name caña brava and by the Cayapa nya'nyi. The points were made of hard palm-wood. The bow and arrow appear, however, to have been comparatively little used by them at any time, and almost never as an implement for hunting. No names other than the Spanish terms for these two weapons could be learned.

No nets or snares are used by the Cayapa in the capture of mammals or birds, and only one form of trap is employed. This is the small deadfall shown in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

fig. 8, used for catching small mammals, such as wood-rats, which abound in almost all parts of the jungle, and especially in places which have been recently cleared or about the edges of an old clearing. In large measure the boys build and tend these deadfalls, one or two boys sometimes having as many as half a dozen of them. They are constructed as follows: Two rows of upright sticks of almost any material are set just far enough

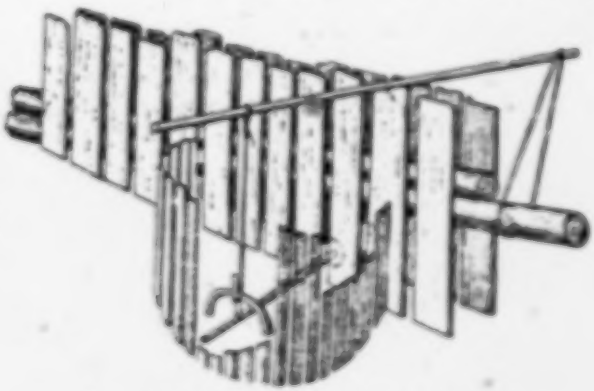


FIG. 8.—Deadfall trap for small mammals

apart to permit the free rise and fall of a log or a heavy section of the stem of a plantain or banana palm. These two rows of sticks form what may be termed the fences of the trap. To one end of this log, which is usually from four to six feet in length, is attached a cord or a piece of pitigua, which in turn is fastened to one end of the stick used as a lever. One of the upright sticks in one of the fences above mentioned is so notched as to receive this lever, which passes diagonally across it and out so that its other end is opposite a point about one-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

224 third of the way down the log and perhaps a foot to one side of the fence. Another string or piece of pitigua is attached to this outer end of the lever and passed down to a small trigger by which the trap is sprung. The drawing for the illustration here given was so made as to show the manner in which the trigger and the bait-arm are set. This was done by cutting away in the drawing a part of the semicircular fence erected at the side of the trap to protect the trigger apparatus from being set off by some animal prowling about outside. A twig is set into the ground in a semicircular arch directly below the lever arm above mentioned. Through this arch passes the outer end of the bait-arm, the inner end of which extends through the fence which runs along the side of the log. This inner end bears, directly under the log, a piece of plantain or other bait. To hold this bait in its proper position, which is an inch or two from the ground, the outer end of the bait-arm is stuck into the ground very lightly. Its position must be firm enough to hold it sufficiently so that the pressure of the trigger upon it will not force it out of place and spring the trap; but it must not be too firm, lest the nibbling of the game at the bait will not move it sufficiently to release the trigger. The trigger is set vertically under the arch, and with its lower end resting upon this bait-arm, as is shown in the illustration, in such a manner that a very slight movement of the latter will release the trigger, which, operating through the lever, allows the log of the deadfall to drop upon the game. Often two or three rats are caught at one time with this device, which is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

made more effective, in case the single log above mentioned is not sufficiently heavy, by superimposing upon it another which not only adds weight and enables the trap to kill larger animals, but accelerates its action and diminishes the possibility of the game escaping after the trap is sprung but before the log can fall. Such a second log is usually a foot or so shorter than the other.

Fishing

The numerous streams of the Cayapa region are well stocked with various kinds of fish, many of which are used as food by the Indians. They are at present caught by six different methods. There are three types of nets, the "re," or large set-net, the atarraya or conical casting-net, and the small dip-net, used incidentally in connection with the set-net. These are all used to a considerable extent, especially the set-net; but the "corral," or impounding trap, the pole and line, and the "gig," or fish-spear, are much more generally used. Of these six devices, four only, the set-net, the dip-net, the corral, and the gig, appear to be of aboriginal origin.

The re, called in Cayapa wa'kō, is, like the other two nets used by the Cayapa, made of pita fiber string and is used especially in catching a very excellent species of shad (Spanish, sabalo), called by the Cayapa awī'l. For this purpose it is made with a mesh of about three inches, and varies in length from about twenty to sixty feet according to the width of the particular estero in which it is to be used. Usually near a house there are one or more esteros where shad are fairly abundant,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

but they cannot be taken at all times. When the river is in flood, the shad go in large numbers up the estero in search of certain vegetal foods which are made available by the flow of the water, and it is customary to set a net across the mouth of an estero at about the time the flood commences to recede. As the water level lowers, the fish endeavor to return to the main stream, but are impounded near the mouth of the estero by the net, which is securely fastened at both ends and is weighted down with stone sinkers called cŭ'pŭka or cŭ'pŭka (literally stone), along the bottom, these being wrapped in the tough leaf called ŭ'tya hŭki to prevent them from wearing the cords by which they are tied to the edge of the net. These sinkers are usually water-washed pebbles ellipsoidal in form and weighing not more than a few ounces each. The sinkers are trampled into the mud in order that no openings are left through which the fish may escape into the main stream. The upper edge of the net is kept up to the surface of the water by means of floats, called wallŭ de''pŭka, consisting of variously shaped blocks of balsa, a species of very light wood, and is supported also by one or more vertical poles stuck securely into the mud at the bottom of the estero and to which the upper edge of the net is tied. This last precaution is necessary because with the recession of the water there comes a considerable amount of small drift-wood and leaves which would gather about the floats of the net and finally sink its upper edge, at least in places, thus allowing the fish to escape.

When the water has sufficiently subsided so that the

3: Barrett E-5 (1903-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

fish have nobly all returned to the mouth of the estero, the owner of the net, accompanied by all available members of his family and by any friends present, goes to the estero with a second net of the same kind. This net is carried up-stream to a point where the water is very shallow; it is then placed across the stream and moved carefully down as a seine, the fish being driven before it. In this way the fish are at last impounded between the two nets in a space from twenty to twenty-five feet long and of the width of the estero. Ordinarily, in bringing the net down to this point, a considerable number of fish are caught by hand, for while two or three persons attend particularly to the moving of the net, others are diving in the water ahead of it and catching by hand any fish which may have sought refuge in hollow logs or in crevices in the banks. Also many are caught as they strike the seine in an attempt to run back up-stream. Such a fish will usually push several times in succession at about the same point in the net, thus giving to one of the fishermen ample indication of its whereabouts. As each fish is brought up by a diver or is caught by one of those tending the seine, the top of its head or the back of its neck is bitten, thus stunning it, and it is either thrown into a canoe kept at hand for the purpose, or cast upon the bank. When the nets are finally brought close together so that the remaining fish are impounded in the small space above mentioned, conical dip-nets are used by the divers to catch them. As the dip-nets are brought up, they are passed to a man in the canoe, who empties them of the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

fish and kills with a club the larger ones which might flop over the gunwale. Finally, all the fish possible having been taken in this manner, the set-net and the seine are taken up and brought back to the house. Both are carefully washed and cleaned at the river after having the stone sinkers removed, and are then hung up on a long bamboo pole, especially provided for this purpose, over the drying platform at the side of the house. When thoroughly dried these nets are each carefully folded and then compactly twisted, in such fashion as is shown in pl. cxx, 2. The stone sinkers are unwrapped and stored away in a basket until again needed. The floats used on the net here shown measure about four by eight inches by three-quarters of an inch. In many other cases the floats are of various other forms. They are quite often cylindrical.

Nets called atcī wa′kū, of the same kind but with smaller meshes, are made for catching certain other species of fish. In general, however, the use of the seine is confined largely to catching shad, as above described.

The atarraya, which name is corrupted by the Cayapa into a*t*a′ia, is a large conical casting net heavily weighted about its mouth with lead or, when this is not available, with stone sinkers. In pl. cxx, 1, is shown one of these nets weighted with lead sinkers weighing in the aggregate about twenty-five pounds. In this illustration it is shown folded at about its middle, while the upper end or apex of the cone is wrapped around the remainder of the net. To the point of the cone is attached a long, heavy cord, the end of which is held in the hand when

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the net is thrown. To cast this net well requires much practice. It is always done by a man standing in the prow of a canoe propelled by a paddler at the stern. He watches the water and throws the net at any point where the fish appear to be moving or jumping. In making such a cast, the line and the upper part of the net are coiled in the left hand, while one edge of the sinker-lined opening is caught between the teeth. The greater part of the weight of the sinkers is swung by the right hand until a sufficient motion has been secured to give force to the cast. Then the coiled net and cord are liberated by the left hand at the same moment that the right hand throws the heavy weight of sinkers. The edge of the weighted opening is held between the teeth an instant after the cast is made, thus causing the net to open in a wide circle as it descends through the air. The heavy weights sink the entire net very rapidly in the water, thus imprisoning any fish which are within the circumference described by the sinkers and the edge of the net. The net is allowed to sink to the bottom and is then pulled in: this must be done very carefully and in such manner as not to raise the sinkers from the bottom of the stream too suddenly. They must be dragged along until they have all come together in one point, and the fish, if any have been imprisoned, have been driven into the upper part of the net. The net is then carefully pulled up beside the canoe, the sinkers meanwhile holding the opening sufficiently well closed to prevent the escape of the catch. By simply pulling on one side of the net, the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

fish are allowed to fall into the bottom of the canoe or into a basket, and the net is then ready for a second cast. This net serves only for taking small fish, and is not very much used by the Cayapa. Apparently their knowledge concerning this form of net was acquired from the negroes. At any rate their knowledge of its use is comparatively recent.

The dip-net, called by the Cayapa cī′a, above referred to, is a small-meshed conical net and is used not only for fishing, as above described, but especially is it employed for catching the small lobster, or crayfish, called by the Cayapa pī′cū or a′bīcū, which is so abundant along the banks of the river and especially along the banks of the esteros tributary to the river. The opening of this dip-net is held in shape by a hoop made of a pliable vine simply bent around and its two ends tied firmly together. Thus one end of the hoop is rounding and the opposite end, the one used as a handle, is fairly sharp-pointed. The dimensions of this opening are perhaps fifteen to twenty inches by thirty to thirty-six inches, and the distance from the rim to the point of the cone of the net itself is from twenty-four to thirty inches.

All nets are made from pita-fiber string, the details of the making of which, as also of net-weaving, are treated in the discussion of cordage and netting.

A corral, or impounding trap, such as that shown in pl. LXVII, is used by almost everyone living along the tidewater portion of this river system; and, owing to the level character of this coastal plain, the tidal rise

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

226

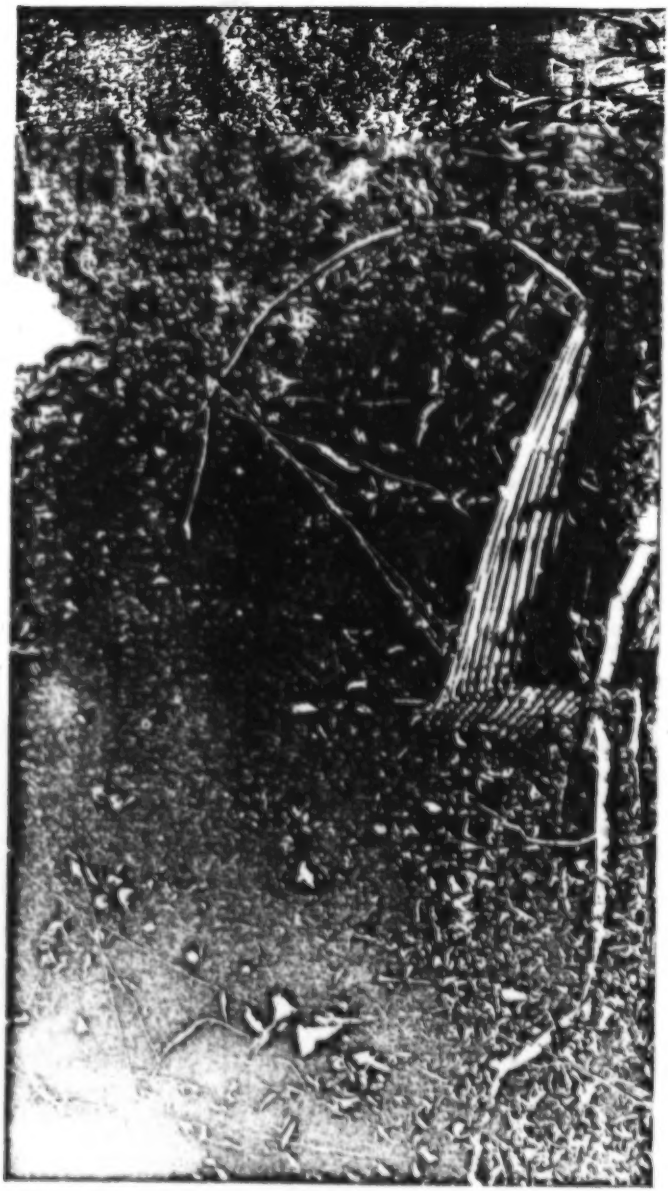
IMPOUNDING TRAP FOR SHAD

[p. 126 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

224

PL LXVIII



NEAR VIEW OF SPRING TRAP

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 126 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

and fall are felt many miles from the river mouth. The success of this form of trap depends particularly on the peculiar habits of the shad. As above stated, this fish subsists entirely on vegetal foods, which it hunts along the river banks at high tide and usually at night, keeping at other times in the deeper midstream waters. At times of flood, as mentioned in speaking of the use of the set-net, the shad abandon the main stream and visit the esteros. Obviously, therefore, the corral is a device suited especially to those parts of the river where the water level rises and falls with the ocean tide, and obviously also it is of no service when the river is in flood.

A point properly protected from strong currents at times of flood, and otherwise suitably situated along the river-bank, is selected, and a pole, to which some plantains or other vegetal foods are attached, is placed in the water near the bank in order to give assurance that the point selected is one specially frequented by shad. The shad come almost exclusively at night, and if it is found that the bait has been taken on several successive nights, it is selected as the site for a corral. Care must be used in selecting such a site, for if it be chosen along a part of the river-bank where the current is rapid, the corral is likely to be carried away during a freshet. A desirable site having been found, two sides are built by setting firmly in the mud bamboo or palm-wood sticks, these being bound firmly together by means of cross-bars running horizontally and braced by others extending diagonally. These two sides proper are

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

226 usually much wider than the third side, or that which faces the river, and which may be termed the end of the corral. The opposite sides are not parallel, but converge as they leave the bank. The fourth side of the trap is formed by the river-bank. The three sides which project into the water are of sufficient height that they emerge from four to six feet above the surface at high tide. The front side or end of the corral is often very little wider than the gate situated at its bottom. This opening varies in size according to the dimensions of the corral, but it is always at least three feet wide and equally high. Two smooth, straight poles are placed vertically just inside this front wall, and upon these the gate, which is usually made of palm-wood poles bound by pitigua to cross-bars, slides up and down. The gate is always weighted with heavy stones, which cause it to drop quickly, and it is held up and open by a pitigua cord that passes over a rounded transverse bar overhead and then back to a blind on the bank from which the trap is sprung. At a point just outside the gate there is usually placed a vertical pole to which is attached a small amount of bait which serves to entice the fish to the gate itself, through which they later enter the trap where they espy more bait fastened to two or more vertical poles at some distance in from the gate. These poles, being quite slender, shake easily as the fish nibble at the bait, and it is the motion of the upper end of the pole that gives warning of the presence of the fish to the watcher on the bank. The corral is usually watched only at comparatively high tide, for

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

it is then that the shad travel near the bank in search of food. Furthermore, the opening of the trap is ordinarily somewhat above water at low tide, as is shown in the illustration above mentioned, the photograph for which was taken at very low tide and when the whole corral was entirely above the water line. The greatest of care must be exercised in watching one of these corrals, since the fish are easily alarmed and any noise or unusual movement about the corral is likely to frighten them away. Frequently, in order to render the surroundings more realistic and natural, some palm-leaves or some branches of trees are placed in or along the bank about a corral. The trap being sprung, the fish are impounded until the tide ebbs, when they are left in very shallow water, or even in the mud itself, and may be easily taken from the corral. The catch in one of these corrals is, of course, very uncertain, but frequently several fish are taken at one time, and while shad are especially sought, various other fish are impounded as well.

Fish-spears or gigs are of two kinds. That at present in use for large fish is of the ordinary trident form, called a'sta in Cayapa, and is strictly an introduction of civilization. Its head nowadays is made by blacksmiths at the coast. The pole on which this head fits is from ten to fifteen feet in length. One end of the pole is split and the flat tang of the spearhead is inserted, the joint being securely wrapped with pita string, which is water-proofed and protected by means of beeswax. As an additional precaution against loss,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

several stout strands of pita cord are fastened securely to the head at the point where the prongs branch off from the tang, and these are attached to the pole at a point a few inches up from the head. Thus in case the head should pull out of its socket it is still securely fastened to the pole and cannot be lost.

The other form of fish-spear, called in Cayapa pūtyū'lya, is made usually with a long, slender, palm-wood pole not more than half an inch in diameter, the prongs being made from heavy fish-hooks which have been straightened out. The point of the pole is fairly flat and about an inch in width. From two to four straightened fish-hooks are bound to this flat point by means of pita cord, which is then thoroughly covered with brea to make it impervious. This form of gig is suitable only for catching very small fish. While the gigs of the present time are thus made of iron, the aboriginal spears were similarly shaped but were provided with points of hard palm-wood.

Another gig, made in the same manner as the last, but usually with a heavier pole and heavier points, is used for spearing water-turtles, which are fairly abundant here. This gig is called pūtyū'lya, as well as hwe'ska or te'ska, and the only marked difference between it and the fish-gig just described is that its points have no barbs. It is said by the Indians that it is impossible to pierce the shell of a turtle with a barbed gig, but that the barbless point passes through the shell easily. The terrapins, or land turtles, having harder shells, are always caught by hand.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

At the present time the hook-and-line is very much used in fishing, though this was introduced by the whites. Strong, slender, fish-poles, called wañgū-tca'lī, seven to ten feet in length, are made from the upper branches of the large bamboo. They are gathered when thoroughly matured but while still green, and are hardened and straightened by heating. The lines, called wañgū-tcū'a, or sañ-dō'a, are made of native pita string and are usually quite fine. The strength of the pita fibers makes it possible to use a very fine line for comparatively large fish. Such a fish-line, provided with a special pottery sinker and an ordinary steel fish-hook, is shown in fig. 9; it is wound in this case on a cylindrical piece of balsa. This line is called tcūndyē'pū and is used in the hand after the fashion of a troll. In case it should be dropped or pulled overboard, it is saved by means of the balsa float. Ordinarily all lines are provided with lead sinkers, but the pottery cylinder especially made as a sinker is an old type and was formerly very much used. Hooks, called weñgō'la, are now obtained from traders at the coast, although it is

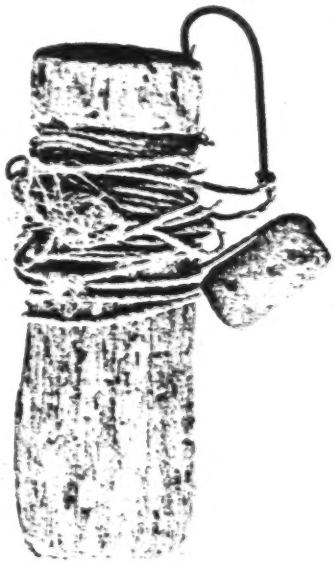


FIG. 9.—Fish-line with pottery sinker

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

said that when this method of fishing was first introduced through contact with the early Spaniards, crude hooks were fashioned by hammering out pieces of iron.

At the present time this method of hook-and-line fishing is so much in vogue that almost every man has his special little canoe and a special short paddle which are used almost exclusively for fishing. It is customary to paddle for some distance against the tide or current and then to fish back down with the current along the bank. In this way little effort is required in paddling, and a sculling motion of the paddle with the left hand is sufficient to keep the canoe in its desired course. With a pole and line go a small, hemispherical, calabash dish of angle-worms, a small bottle-shape basket (pl. XCIII, 3) of grasshoppers, or a calabash of a certain small reddish fruit, all of which are used as bait, each according to the kind of fish sought.

On rare occasions the trot-line, called weñgūtcū'a (?), such as that shown in pl. CXIX, 1, is used. The main line, called señgi'ri, is made usually of the coarser string fiber called by the Spanish term cosadera, while the small "leaders," called simply sañdō'a, to which each separate hook is attached, are made of pita string.

WAR

The Cayapa maintain that in ancient times they rarely went to war, and then only on the greatest provocation, as, for instance, when they were harrassed by the former inhabitants of their present domain until forbearance was no longer possible and they descended from their

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

old mountain home at Pueblo Viejo and wiped their enemies out of existence.

In the only instance of war which the Cayapa describe fully, it appears that they organized themselves into war-parties and systematically invaded the enemy's territory. Predatory raiding was never practised by them, perhaps on account of their isolated position as well as by reason of their non-militant character.

The lance was the chief weapon used in war, though the bow and arrow seem to have been used to a slight extent in more recent times. The blow-gun with its poisoned dart was also used in war to some extent. It is claimed that the pre-Cayapa inhabitants of this region used throwing-stones with good effect. The sling, however, appears to have been unknown, the stones being simply thrown with the hand.

MANUFACTURES

Canoe-making and Canoeing

The rivers of the Cayapa region provide practically the only means of travel until the limit of navigation by canoe is reached. In fact, the streams provide almost the only means of travel at all, owing to the density of the jungle and to the fact that practically all of the Cayapa live along the rivers below the limit of navigation. The few trails through the higher mountains are almost never used except when journeys to the interior are made. On the other hand, there are various short trails extending back into the hills

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[487] along these rivers—these are used for hunting or for
484 short trips from the rivers. All the permanent habitations are situated along the banks of the rivers, and to pass from one to another of these, as well as for making trips of greater length, the dug-out canoe, called kū'le,
502 is used. In fact, the canoe is one of the most prominent features of Cayapa life. Everyone begins in early childhood the training which makes him an expert canoeman, and is perfectly at home in a dug-out, whether it be along the smooth sluggish waters of the lower course of the river, in the rapids of the upper course, or out on the ocean coasting to some nearby point.

396 From the important place the canoe holds in the life
824 of the people, it is natural that much care should be given to its construction and that the art of canoe-making should have reached a high state of perfection. Of the many species of trees in the jungle, only a few produce woods which are hard and tough enough to be suitable for canoe-making. These qualities are found in certain species which have what may be called a criss-cross grain, that is, an interlacing of the wood fibers which makes splitting almost impossible. Though a considerable degree of hardness is required, too great hardness is not desirable. Certain woods, therefore, such as the guayacan, are too hard and heavy to be suitable.

396 Having found a tree of the desired kind, it is felled
[313] with an ax and the canoe is roughly fashioned from a portion of its trunk, as is shown in pl. LXX, and finally this section is cut loose from the remainder of the tree.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

396

CANOE-MAKING

p. 134 (A)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

3: 6

CANOE-MAKING

p. 134 B7

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

It is then roughly hollowed out with the ax, the sides and bottom being left considerably thicker than is desired in the finished canoe. Frequently it is necessary to do this part of the work at a considerable distance from the river, and even at a considerable elevation above one of the small creeks or esteros tributary to the river. Such was the case with the large canoe shown in pls. LXX, LXXI, which was made at a distance of nearly three miles from the river and two and a half miles from the navigable waters of the nearest estero. Furthermore, the tree from which the canoe was fashioned grew near the top of a ridge about three hundred and fifty feet above the floor of the narrow valley of the estero, and the sides of this ridge were so steep that it was necessary to snub the canoe down to the estero by means of a couple of stout cables. Having worked out such a canoe to approximately its final form, it is turned up on one side and bound to one or two vertical stakes, as shown in pl. LXX. At the same time it is raised a few inches off the ground by means of blocks in order to prevent rotting. It is then allowed to dry and cure in the shade for several weeks.

Finally the owner invites a number of friends to join in hauling the canoe to a point where it may be floated. This task may be a comparatively simple one if the canoe is practically on a level with the river, but if it is at a considerable elevation, much care is needed. Also, the size of the canoe is an important factor. A small canoe may be hauled by one or two persons; but a large one, say one twenty-five or thirty feet in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

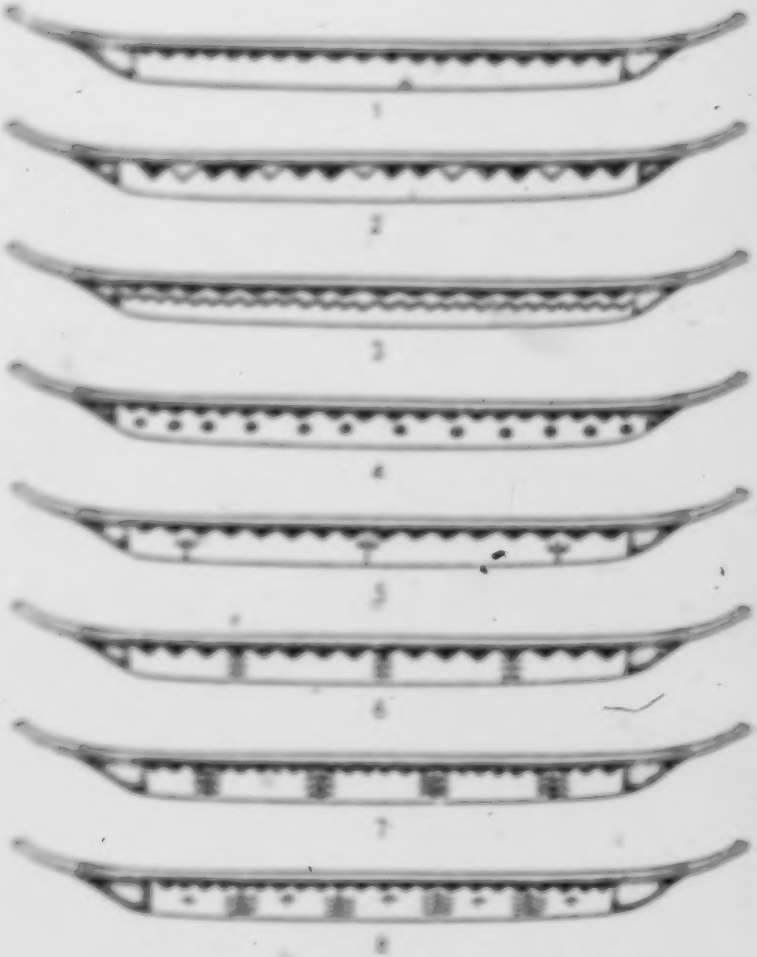
length, requires the labor of ten or a dozen persons. In the case of the large canoe shown in the illustrations three pairs of small holes were cut into its gunwales—one pair near each end and one at the middle—and to these were fastened three green wooden bars about an inch in diameter and projecting six or eight inches on each side of the canoe, thus serving as grips or handles for the haulers. The process of cutting the holes for these cross-bars is shown in pl. LXXI. Such bars must not be bound tightly to the gunwales, but of such looseness that they may be slipped in and out of the lashings, as is often necessary in passing close to a tree. A trail is carefully cut through the jungle, the trunks of small trees being thrown across it at intervals of a foot to four or five feet, in order to keep the canoe above the ground, thus greatly reducing the friction as the craft is moved along.

If the site of the construction of the canoe is at a considerable elevation, it must be let down carefully to the lower level by way of an incline. To accomplish this there are first wedged in at the prow and stern of the canoe two short transverse bars just below the level of the gunwales. From a large tough vine or aerial root, said to come from a plant called in the local Spanish matamba, and in Cayapa bi'ta, are twisted two-ply cables, such as that shown in pl. XCI, 5, and often as much as sixty or seventy feet in length. One of these is tied with a simple knot to each of the transverse bars above mentioned. The forward cable is passed with a half-hitch about the prow of the canoe and is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

PLACING OF CROSS-BEAM FOR TRANSPORTING THE CANOE

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6



DECORATIVE PATTERNS PAINTED ON CANOES

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

bound securely at the point at which the cable crosses itself in making the half-hitch in order to prevent this from slipping off the prow. The one at the stern passes directly over the notch which is always present at each end of the canoe, and is bound to the point of the stern in such manner as to prevent slipping to either side, thus keeping the stress of the cable directly upon the short cross-bar and avoiding the danger of wrenching the bar loose by a sidewise pull. By snubbing with these cables, a large canoe may be lowered with comparative ease down a very steep incline. To accomplish this, a single turn is taken with the rear cable about the trunk of a tree, and by slacking off the canoe is let slowly down until the end of the cable is nearly reached. Meanwhile the forward cable has been passed about a tree and snubbed in the same manner to prevent accident to the rear cable. Having finally neared the end of the rear cable, the forward cable is made fast and the canoe held in position while the rear cable is taken down-hill and passed about a tree near the canoe in the same manner as above described. Then the two cables are paid out again until the end of the forward cable is reached, when the canoe is again halted and the forward cable taken down the hill as was the rear one. Thus, by this process of snubbing with the two cables, the probability of losing control of the heavy craft is eliminated. All this time, of course, the haulers are at the sides of the canoe helping to steady and guide it. One person only is needed to pay out each of the cables. Care is taken in snubbing a canoe down in this manner to see that

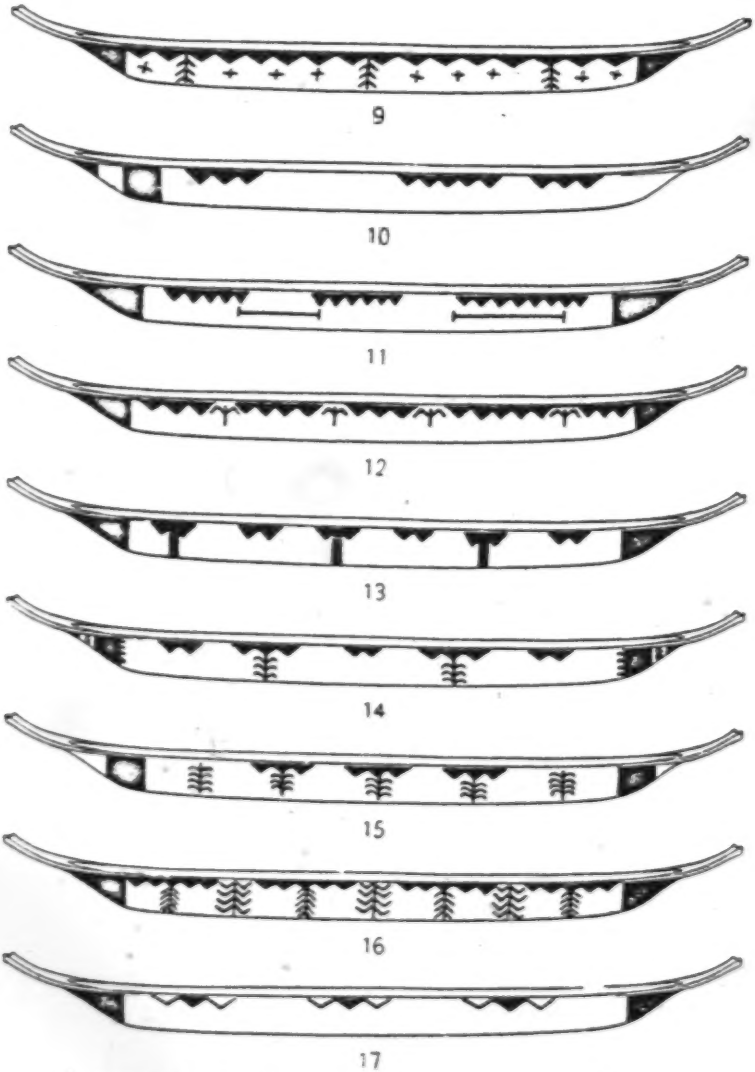
3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

it does not slide from its course and strike a tree. Finally, when the bottom of the incline is nearly reached, both cables are released and the canoe is allowed to take its course over the remaining short distance to the floor of the valley, its momentum usually carrying it for some yards out on the plain.

Having reached the level of the estero or river, the hauling is now done entirely by hand until the canoe is finally launched. If launched in a small creek, it is often necessary still to haul it by hand for a distance down the creek, since it must be passed over sand-bars and even lifted over large logs, but small ones are always cut away. At last a point is reached where there is sufficient water to float the canoe down to the river. Sometimes, however, it is deemed advisable to haul the canoe only as far as a point on the estero known to be reached by floods; it is then tied to a tree until such time as the back-water of the river extends far enough to allow the canoe to be paddled down to the main stream.

In either case the canoe is finally taken to the house. If it is small, it may be taken into the house, but if a large one, it is more frequently placed under the house or in a nearby grove of palms or trees. It must then be worked and smoothed by means of adz and planes until reduced to the required thickness, and the desired form and finish are obtained, when it is placed in a dry, shady place to season thoroughly before being calked and painted with brea. In adzing the canoe it is placed in a normal upright position and the inner surface

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6



DECORATIVE PATTERNS PAINTED ON CANOES

[p. 158 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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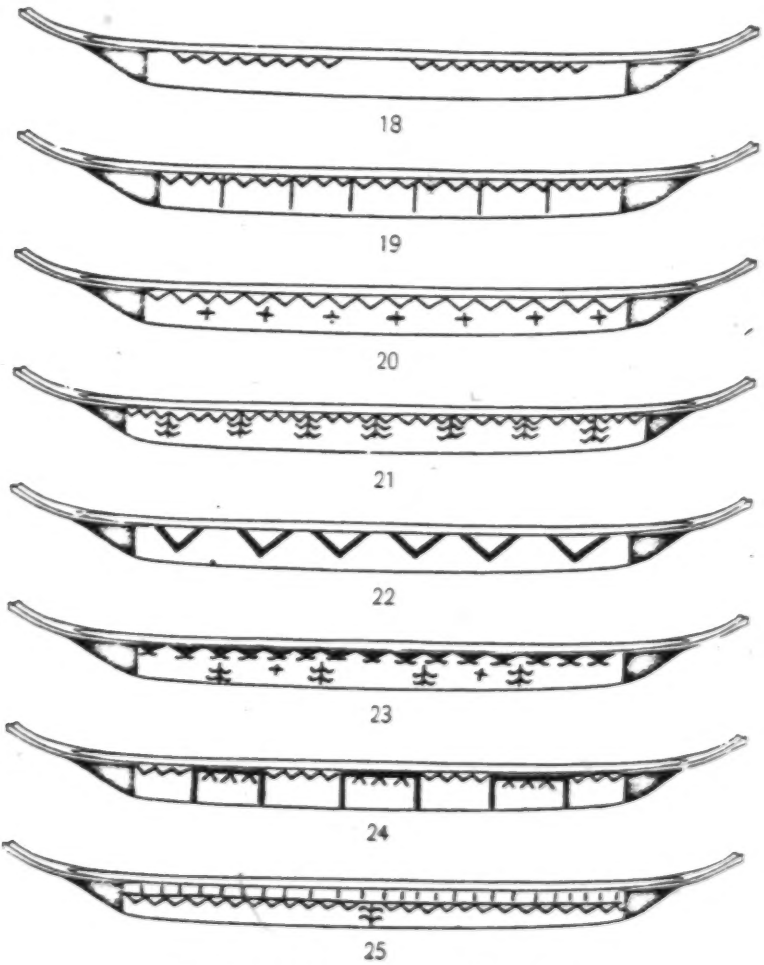

DECORATIVE PATTERNS PAINTED ON CANOES

[p. 138(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

adzed first. The inner sides are adzed first across the grain and then diagonally to it, and finally the bottom is adzed in a similar manner. This work is done with a hand-adz such as that shown in fig. 10.

This tool is of modern introduction, as indeed are the canoes themselves, as well as the method of their manu-

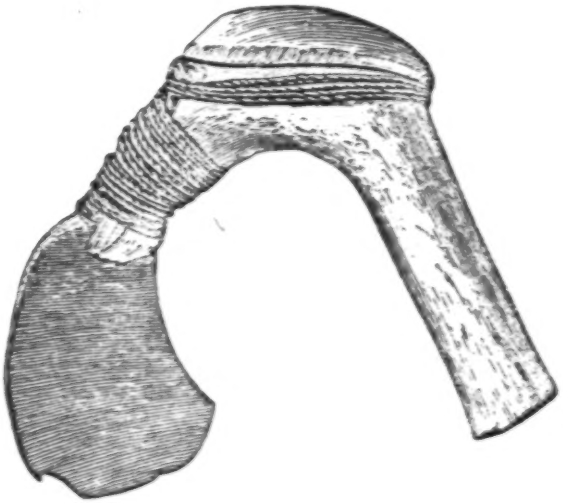

FIG. 10.—Modern adz used in making canoes

facture. The blade of the adz is of steel and is made by local blacksmiths down the river. The wooden handle, shown in fig. 11, is made by the Cayapa, and is so constructed, with the large projection above and with the notches below, that the blade may be securely bound to it, as is shown in fig. 10, by means of pita-fiber string. The blade is concave, and its edge is usually quite regular and curved, so that, while its full width may be

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

412 as great as four inches, generally not more than an inch of the edge is in actual play when a blow is struck. The particular adz here shown has a very uneven edge, due to chipping.

[177] The adz is called aswē'la and kū'le mûcte, both of which terms are derived from the Spanish, the second term signifying "canoe machete." The adz handle is called aswē'la tyapī.

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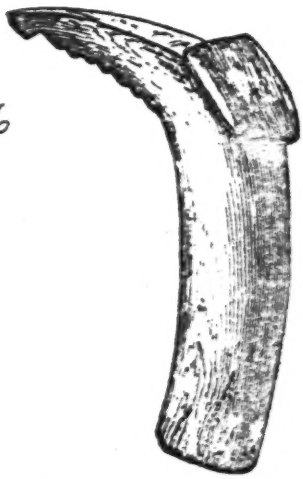

FIG. 11.—Handle of adz

With this hand-adz repeated light blows are struck along one line after another, the lines being parallel, and perpendicular or diagonal to the grain of the wood. By this means the wood is reduced to uniform thickness and the surfaces are rendered comparatively smooth. The final smoothing of the inside of the canoe is done with the adz, but upon the outer surface and along both the inner and outer edges of the gunwales the adzing is followed usually by more or less smoothing with planes, called sepī'ō or sepī'lyū, made after the fashion of the ordinary carpenter's plane. The sides of a large canoe are thus usually reduced to about three-quarters of an inch in thickness, the bottom having a thickness of between two and three inches. The prow and stern of the canoe are carefully cut to the exact form desired and finished with the adz, no plane being needed at these points.

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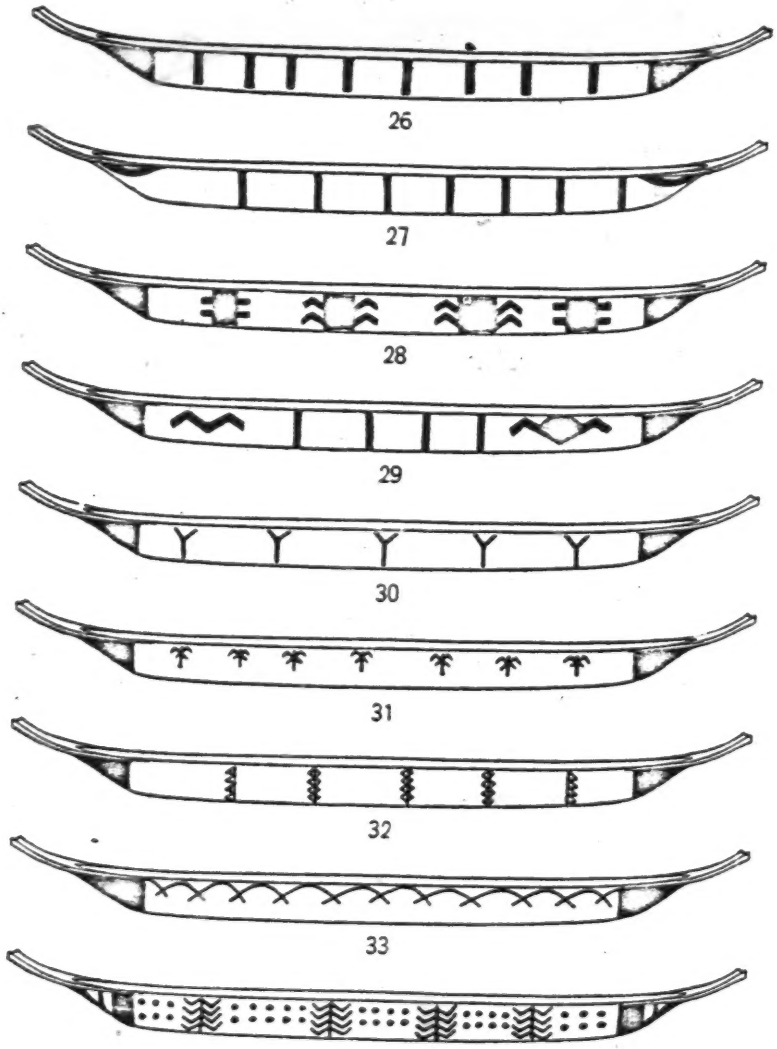
BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

PL. LXXV

SD 53



DECORATIVE PATTERNS PAINTED ON CANOES

[p. 140(A)]

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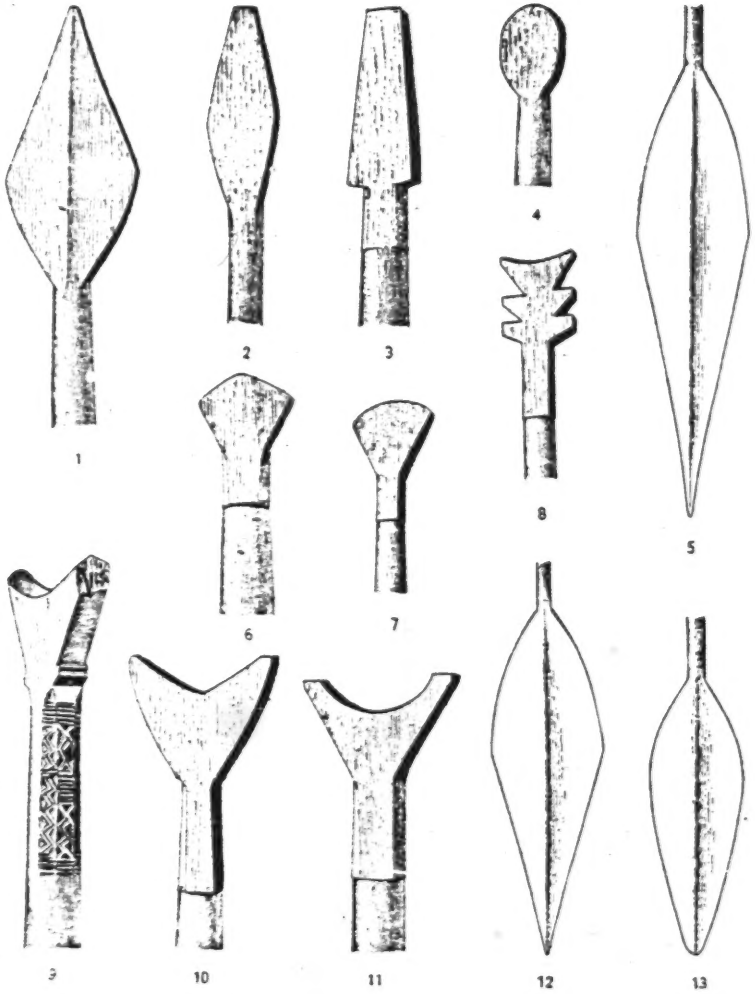

PADDLE HANDLES AND BLADES

[p. 140(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

these points. The form of the prow and stern are characteristic, being very narrow and always very concave on the upper surface of the extreme point, as compared with the negro and the Cholo canoes of this region, thus giving this part somewhat the appearance of a pair of ears. These features are clearly illustrated in the canoes shown in pl. LX. At a distance of from five to seven inches from the extreme point of the prow, there is left a slightly raised line on the upper surface, while on the under surface, at a distance of about three inches from the point, appears a decidedly convex line. The Indians say that the former has no special use, but that the latter serves as a hand-hold in hauling the canoe when landings are made. These two features, together with the hole through which the small mooring cable passes, constitute the only differences between the prow and the stern of the Cayapa canoe.

In general the desired form of a canoe is exactly determined by sighting along it with the eye; but the prow and the stern are carefully measured in order that they may be perfectly symmetrical, and the height of the sides and the thickness of the bottom are similarly measured in order to give the vessel its proper balance.

Having completed the adzing and planing, the canoe is placed under the house and thoroughly dried before calking and painting. Treated in this manner it is of course less liable to check and is more durable. However, canoes are frequently used when green, and those made for sale in the settlements are in most cases only slightly seasoned.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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396 The beeswax for calking and painting the canoe is boiled until of the proper consistency and adhesiveness; this is tested by dropping a small amount of the boiling wax into water and then pressing it between the fingers and also chewing it. The hot wax is applied with a [142] brush about two inches in width, called kū′kū sapa, made of a chisel-edged section of the outer fibrous covering of the coconut.

396 The purpose of the wax thus applied to a canoe is 531 strictly utilitarian. Along the outer surfaces of the gunwale, however, are placed various designs in wax for decorative effect. For this purpose certain stamps made of the light soft balsa wood are used. These stamps are of two forms: one, triangular, with a beveled end, is used for line figures and outlines of triangles and other solid devices; the other is cylindrical and its end is used for making dots. The former is called pī ke′ndū, the latter tsū ka′nū. The wax must in all cases be applied while very hot, when it soaks into the wood. In order to keep the wax at the proper temperature, the pot containing it is frequently re-heated, fresh wax being added as this is done. The painting with the coconut-bark brush may be done rapidly and requires little skill; but the making of designs with the dies must be done carefully in order to insure uniformity in size, shape, and spacing. Many canoe-makers, of course, use comparatively little care in this painting, especially on canoes intended for sale. However, a man who takes pride in his work is always exact in applying the ornamentation and spares no time or pains

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

in his craftsmanship. The less particular artisan simply paints rude designs with a small coconut-bark brush.

The designs, called kū′m bīlya, used upon canoes are varied. They are largely geometric, consisting chiefly of dots, lines, and triangles, although sometimes animal figures are employed. These last, however, appear only on those canoes made by the Cayapa for sale. On pl. LXXII-LXXV are shown most of the designs used by the Cayapa on canoes made for their own use. They bear no special symbolic significance, none of them is typical of any special group of people, and no individual ownership is connected with any of them. In large measure they bear no names other than the generic kū′m bīlya, literally "canoe design."

As before mentioned, brea is the wax made by certain small bees common to the region. It is called amū′ya, and is of two kinds, black and yellow, the latter being much preferred. The particular bees which produce the brea are of four different species. A small black bee, which lives in hollow trees and is called paba ta′nda, makes the wax of the best quality and in greater quantities than any of the others. Another small black species, called ta′nda also, lives likewise in hollow trees and makes much more honey than wax, but a certain amount of its wax is used. A third species is called ciñemi′skī; it is also black, but builds its nest in the ground and its wax is used to a limited extent. The fourth species is a small yellow bee called amūī a′ma; its wax is black.

Brea is obtained by smoking out the bees and chopping

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

open the log or chopping down the tree. None of these species of bees makes honey of any particular value, hence they are sought almost exclusively for the wax. The bees are very vicious, and therefore a certain amount of danger attends the process of obtaining the brea. In smoking out the bees, ordinarily a wide strip of green bark, about three feet long, or the large blossom bract of a large species of palm, is used as a case in

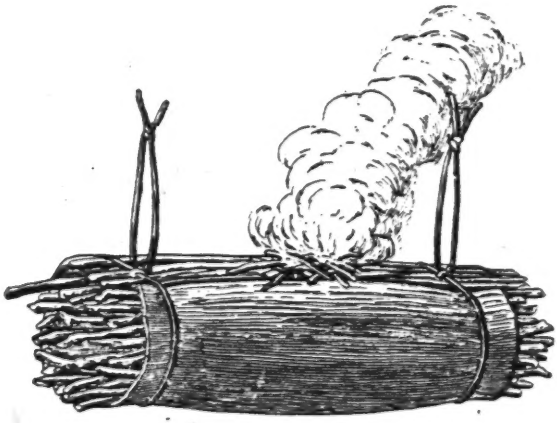

FIG. 12.—Device for smoking out bees

which to place the green or wet wood and coals used to make the smudge. Near its ends this bundle is securely bound by two pieces of pitigua which project enough to make loops about fifteen inches in length, by which the apparatus may be carried about. When completed, this smudging device (fig. 12) is about ten or twelve inches in diameter and three feet in length. It is taken by a man, who has wound about his head and the other exposed parts of his body handkerchiefs or other pieces of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

cloth, and is placed near the opening at which the bees enter and leave the tree or log. The smudge apparatus is then fanned until a volume of smoke is produced, which in time drives away or stupefies the bees and makes possible the taking of the brea. The wax is found in large blocks, usually at the bottom of the nest, and is cut out with an ax or a machete. It keeps indefinitely, and is stored either in the house or is buried in the ground until needed.

Shortly before or sometimes just after painting the canoe with brea, a hole is cut in the middle of the prow at a point just back of the slightly raised transverse line upon its upper surface, for the cable by which the canoe is moored. This cable, called kondō′pī, consists usually of from two to four strands of carefully selected pitigua twisted together. Such a cable of three strands is shown in pl. XCI, 1. The length of the cable usually varies according to its diameter and the number of its strands, governed by the size of the canoe for which it is made. For very small canoes, frequently a single strand of pitigua is sufficient, but in most cases a two-strand cable is required; very large canoes have three-strand and sometimes even four-strand cables. In making a cable it is necessary first to twist each of the pitigua strands separately, the bark of the strands first having been removed. By means of this twisting the strand is rendered pliable, as well as stronger, since the fibers, which ordinarily would be parallel, are forced to twist around one another. The twisted strand is now wound round a hooked stick, such as that used in cleaning the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

396
283 cane and plantain fields, and is allowed to dry for a few hours, usually over night. The two or more strands to be twisted into the cable are next tied in a simple knot at one end and the strands passed, one or more, on each side of an upright support. Six or eight feet of pitigua are then unwound from the hooked sticks, and each stick is taken by a person and the pitigua twisted, all strands, of course, being twisted in the same direction. After a sufficient amount of torsion has been secured in these strands, another person takes up the knotted end of the cable and begins to twist the strands together on the opposite side of the upright. In reality he does not himself twist these strands together—he merely pulls sufficiently to bring them out on his side of the upright so that the accumulated force of torsion in the separate strands twists them together into a two- or three- or four-ply cable, as the case may be. This is done very slowly, the worker twisting and pulling here and there in such manner as to cause the strands to twine round one another evenly, producing a cable of uniform size and strength throughout. The strands are unwound from the hooked sticks as rapidly as they are twisted together on the opposite side of the upright, until finally, when the ends of the strands are reached, the cable is prevented from untwisting by another simple knot or by a more or less intricate weaving of smaller strands of pitigua about the main strands of the cable, as shown in the illustration above mentioned and in a manner similar to that represented in greater detail in pl. CIII, 19, 20. This last is the more usual form of

3: Barrett E-5 (1903-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

securing this end of the cable, since it is necessary to have one end small in order to pass it through the opening in the prow of the canoe or for whatever other purpose it may be used. Ordinarily the cables are not tied about the prow of the canoe, but are simply passed up through the hole in the prow above mentioned, the knot in the cable below the prow holding it securely.

For ordinary purposes of travel and for carrying regular loads the canoe above described is sufficient. If, however, an excessively heavy or bulky and unstable cargo is to be transported, it is necessary to increase the buoyancy or to steady the canoe by means of outriggers, called by the Spanish name balsas, Cayapa na'na. In this region the term *balsa* has four significations. It is primarily a raft or float of any kind, and is the term naturally applied to the rafts of logs or bamboo which the Indians float down the river for sale at the settlements. The same term is applied to the outriggers used on canoes, as also to the tree and its wood from which these are made. This wood is very light, even when green or water-soaked, and when dry it is as light and soft as cork, qualities which make it very useful in numerous ways. The chief uses of balsa wood, however, are due to its buoyancy: it will carry in water much more than its own weight, and it is therefore used in rafting such heavy timber as guayacan. In this process, as many logs of balsa are procured as are necessary to sustain the weight of the guayacan, and these are lashed together into a float, the guayacan timbers being lashed on top of them. The guayacan timbers

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

505 313 are rafted down-stream for use as house-posts, but the balsa logs are also readily sold in the settlements for making outriggers, since they are much used on the imbaburas, or very large canoes, employed to lighter cargoes to and from sea-going vessels.

501 505 Among the Cayapa such outriggers are sometimes used, but ordinarily the Indians travel with a cargo so light that the outrigger is not needed. When, however, it is necessary to increase the carrying capacity of a canoe in this manner, logs of balsa from four to eight inches in diameter are cut the proper length, and their forward ends are brought to a form more or less like that of the prow of the canoe. At the middle of the canoe is bound, by means of the two small holes in the gunwales (mentioned as being used in the hauling of the canoe from the woods to the river), a cross-bar of sufficient length to project far enough on each side of the canoe to permit the binding of these logs to it. In binding the logs to this middle transverse bar a block of wood, three or four inches in thickness, is inserted between the upper surface of the log and the bar, thus forcing the log farther into the water at this point. The forward and after ends of the log are each lashed to a similar small hole in the gunwale near the prow, and the stern respectively, these ends being brought up nearly to a level with the gunwale itself and thus three or four inches higher than the middle of the log. In the case of very large canoes, and especially of the imbaburas above mentioned, sometimes as many as three of these logs, as much as a foot or more in diameter, are lashed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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LEAVES USED TO RUB DOWN PADDLES

[p. 148(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

side by side to each gunwale, thus really converting the canoe into a raft. With canoes of ordinary size, however, one log on each side is sufficient. If more than one log is used on each side, it is necessary, instead of binding the forward and after ends directly to the gunwale of the canoe, to bind them also to transverse bars which pass across the prow and stern in the same manner as above described in lashing them at their middle points.

In pl. LXXVI, 5, is shown a typical new blade of a man's paddle just after completion. A comparatively short time only is required to wear down the sharp point until it has more the appearance of the point of the blade shown in 13 of the same plate. The general contour of the blade shown in this illustration is one rarely seen among the Cayapa, but it is common among the negroes of the region. In fashioning a paddle of either type a pronounced ridge is left down the middle of each surface. Along this line the blade reaches a thickness of about three-quarters of an inch. At each side of these medial lines the blade is hollowed out very much after the fashion of a hollow-ground razor; otherwise its thickness is fairly uniform. The thickness of the blade decreases slightly toward the edge, so that the edge itself at the greatest width of the blade rarely exceeds three-sixteenths of an inch in thickness, and it may be as thin as an eighth of an inch.

The handles or poles of the paddles are ordinarily from an inch to an inch and three-quarters in diameter and are almost perfectly cylindrical. They taper slightly from the blade to the upper end, or what may

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

be called the grip. In a woman's paddle this end may be truly called the grip, and it is usually notched in more or less of a fish-tail form, shown in pl. LXXVI, 9 to 11. This notch is quite smooth, and is actually gripped by the hand. In the case of the man's paddle, however, a purely ornamental tip is put on the end, which is almost never touched in paddling. A few of the typical forms of these ornamental ends are shown in figs. 1 to 4 and 6 to 8 of the same plate.

Occasionally various simple figures are carved either in relief or in intaglio near the upper ends of the paddles. An illustration of such carving relief is shown in pl. LXXVI, 9. Such ornamentation is seen frequently on women's paddles, but only occasionally on those of the men.

As a finishing touch to paddles and in order to make them perfectly smooth, especially along their handles, they are rubbed down with the under-surface of a dry leaf called iya'pic hakî, which is covered with minute but very hard spines that serve the purpose of sand-paper. A bunch of these palmate leaves is shown in pl. LXXVII.

Although on a long journey a woman may act as pilot of the canoe, a man sometimes serves in this capacity while the woman sits forward and paddles, as shown in pl. LXXX. Again, it is customary for the woman to use the short paddle on all occasions, but now and then she may be seen using the man's long paddle. Such an instance is shown in pl. LXXIX, where the pilot of the canoe in the foreground is a woman using one of

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CANOEING ON THE RIO CAYAPAS
[p.150(8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CANOE PILOTED BY A WOMAN

F.150(B)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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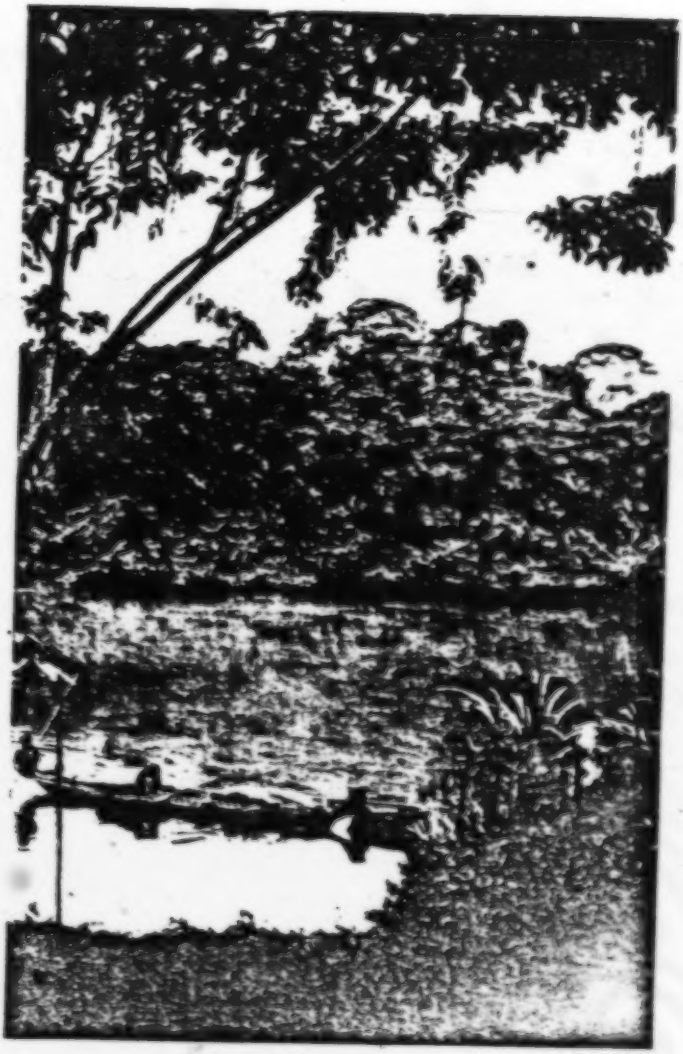

CANOE PILOTED BY A MAN

[p. 150(c)]

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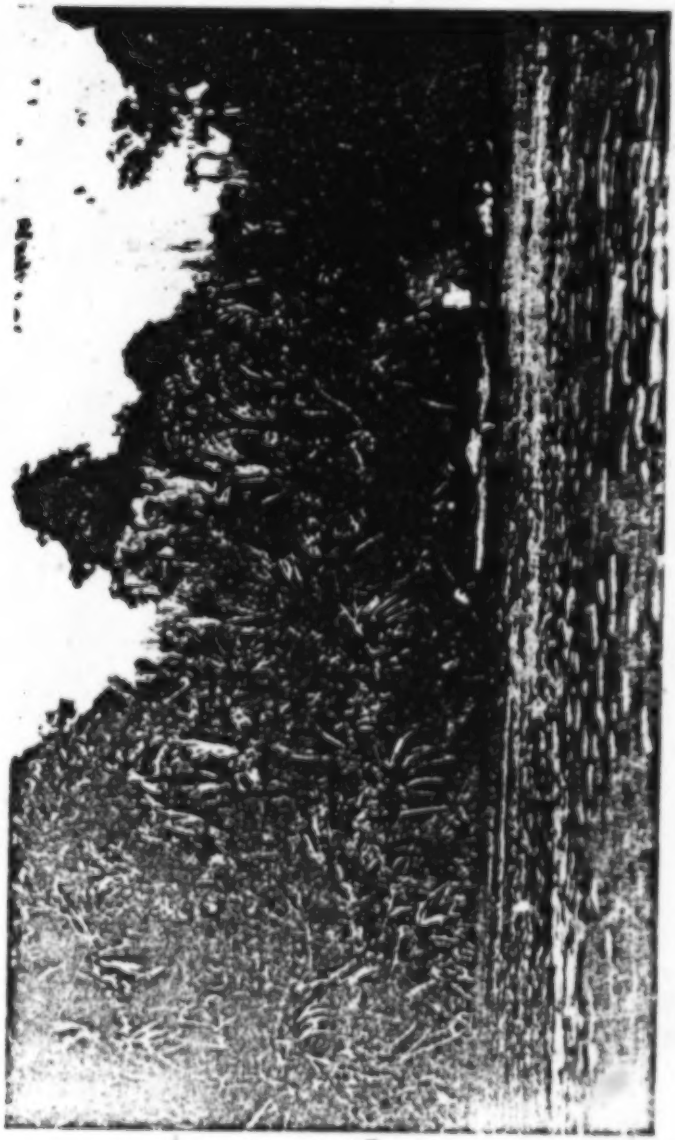
PL. LXXXI



CANOEING ON THE RIO CAYAPAS

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 150 (0)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the long paddles, and the woman sitting forward is paddling with one of them. From these illustrations may also be gained a good idea of the custom of loading a canoe. While in some regions the Indians and also others using canoes endeavor to place the load fairly well aft in order that the prow will point considerably upward, the Cayapa aim so to load their canoes that the ends will practically balance and the canoe will ride as nearly as possible level in the water. They claim that their canoes ride more easily and swiftly when laden in this manner, and also that if it is necessary to load the canoe in such manner that it is not well balanced, it is better to place the cargo forward rather than aft, since if the stern is too low in the water it impedes progress.

As above mentioned when speaking in general of the sizes and uses of canoes, the one used on long journeys and with a carrying capacity of several people is necessarily of considerable length, while on the other hand the man's special fishing canoe is often not more than ten feet in length and frequently does not exceed twelve or fifteen inches in width. All the canoes shown in pls. LXXVIII-LXXXII are of the large type, or what may be termed family canoes, which range from eighteen to thirty-five feet in length.

Some families go very rarely down to the coast; indeed on the extreme upper waters of the Rio Cayapas and the Rio San Miguel there are a few individuals past middle age who, it is said, have never seen the ocean. Most families, however, go at least once a year, while

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Most families, however, go at least once a year, while
505 those living on the main Rio Cayapas and its tributaries
484 to the limit of tidewater, which is just above the con-
[439] fluence of the Rio Camarones with the main river, usually go down to the coast several times a year, each time taking with them a load of various commodities such as plantains, tagua, rubber, and cacao, for sale. For such a journey from two to several days are required, and each member of the family must take along his mosquito canopy, his strip of bark cloth which serves as a bed, and other necessary personal articles, while the party must be provided by the women with cooking utensils and food for the journey. Each member is usually bedecked in his best clothing and necklaces, and it is customary also to paint elaborately the exposed parts of the body, as is done on the occasion of a fiesta.

For the protection of the small children, a mat, such as that shown in pl. CVI, 2, is placed with its two ends just inside the gunwales of the canoe so that it bows up in the form of a canopy. Such a protection is shown in pl. LXXX. The cargo of the canoe is always protected from rain with hoja-blanca leaves, or now and then with large plantain or banana leaves. In the Cayapa country, where it rains practically every day, a downpour never hinders one from making a journey. An ordinary rain is met without protection, but if it is very severe one may be well sheltered by holding up a large plantain or banana leaf on the windward side.

505 It is unnecessary to provide a camping outfit in this
484 region, since hospitality is a custom of the country;
514 consequently in making a journey it is necessary only

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

to reach some house for the night. It is immaterial whether the resident is an old acquaintance or a perfect stranger, for the traveler is assured of a welcome.

Under ordinary conditions a journey down-stream with the current is easier and more rapid than one up-stream. However, the effect of the tide retards down-stream travel to some extent, but this is compensated by the aid which it gives while one journeys up-stream. It is in all cases customary to travel with the tide, either up or down stream. When going with the current the middle of the stream is taken, as shown in pl. LXXIX, where a canoe is illustrated going down-stream in the middle of the river; but when necessary to travel against the current, the side of the stream is taken. In the illustration mentioned is shown a second canoe making its way along near the bank and against the current.

For ordinary propelling under all such circumstances the paddle is exclusively used, though a man's paddle with its long handle may be temporarily converted into a pole when shallow water is reached. When a strong current is encountered, as is the case along the upper courses of the streams or when going against a flood, regular poles, such as those already described, are needed to propel the canoe. Every person in the canoe, including the children, carries his own paddle and is expected to use it almost constantly throughout the journey. Ordinarily in the large canoes not more than two poles are carried, and for a moderate current the pole would be used only by the man in the extreme prow, who frequently stands out on its flat surface as shown in

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

pl. LXXIX, instead of down in the canoe itself. A paddler standing down in the canoe ordinarily bears his whole weight upon one foot, the other foot being placed upon the gunwale and thus serving both to steady him and to counterbalance the tendency of the canoe to list toward the side on which he is paddling. The stroke of the man's paddle is, by virtue of its length, a long, slow sweep, the blade only being immersed. On reaching the end of a stroke, the paddle is swung in an arc out from the canoe over the surface of the water and again dipped gently and without splashing. The stroke of the woman's paddle, on the other hand, is, by virtue of the shortness of its handle, a short and rather jerky stroke, and she ordinarily takes three or four such strokes and then rests for a moment before taking the next three or four. A man, even when sitting and consequently using only a short length of the handle of his paddle, takes regularly timed strokes, and his whole act of paddling is even and rhythmic.

Wooden Implements

Implements and various other objects of wood are made to a considerable extent by the Cayapa. These will be treated here as a class, although it will be necessary to include under this head objects devoted to many different uses.

Perhaps the most interesting of the various wooden objects used by the Cayapa are the seats or benches called tcūmbū'lya. These are of several different types, as shown in pl. LXXXIII, 2–6, 8. They are usually

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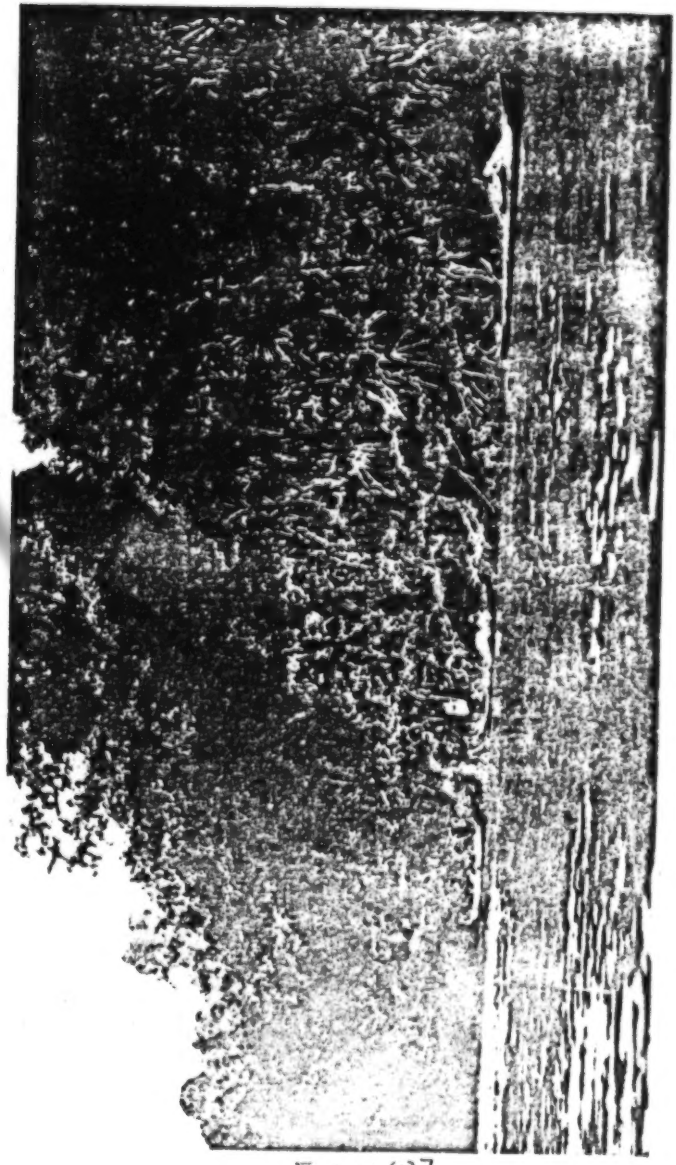
PL. LXXXII



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CANOEING ON THE RIO CAYAPAS

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p.154-(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

352

WOODEN SEATS AND BASES

[p. 154 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

about six inches and never more than eight inches in height, are from six to nine inches in width, and from a foot to two feet in length. They are always hewn from a single block of wood and generally have two supporting surfaces. 322 352

In the most common form these supporting surfaces are narrow lines running with the grain of the wood and therefore along the long sides of the seat. This type of seat, an example of which is shown in fig. 6 of the plate, is made by simply hollowing out the under-side of the block so that the upper part of the seat proper is from an inch and a half to two inches in thickness, while the sides upon which the seat rests extend to the floor and are usually not more than from one-half to three-quarters of an inch in thickness at their bottoms.

A second form is that in which the supporting surfaces are transverse to the grain of the wood, and are made by cutting out from the middle of the under-part of the block a section of the required length. Examples of this type of seat are shown in figs. 4 and 5 of the same plate. Fig. 5, in which the under-side of the comparatively thin upper part of the seat is perfectly straight, shows the more common of the two forms.

A third form is practically the same as the last mentioned except that the thick transverse supporting surface is cut out in its middle so as to form four cylindrical posts or legs. Such a seat is shown in fig. 8 of the plate. This is an exceptionally long seat and is quite sufficient to support two people.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

352 In these three types of seats the upper surface is
171 perfectly flat, but in the two types shown in pl. LXXXIII, 2, 3, this upper surface is more or less concave. Both have forms somewhat suggestive of the large stone seats which are such a unique feature of the archeology of the province of Manabi. This is especially true of the form shown in fig. 2. Here are two long supporting surfaces which rest upon the floor and support two upright pieces which in turn support the upper curved part of the seat. If this is compared with certain of the Manabi stone seats,[13] a striking resemblance is found. Instead of the under-part being cut away, as in the case of this wooden seat, the Manabi stone seat is solid. It has, however, a broad, flat footing comparable with the two long wooden strips upon which the Cayapa seat rests. Upon this broad footing is a very much narrower supporting column on the top of which rests the concave upper part of the seat. This narrow column is carved into an animal form, so that the resemblance of this seat to that of the Cayapa wooden seat is not so great when viewed from the front as it is if seen from the rear. There is now, of course, no means of determining whether there is any connection between these two forms of seat, but the fact that these two similar types exist, the one being part of the remains of an ancient culture and the other a type of seat made and used at present by the Cayapa, is very interesting.

[13] See Saville, M. H., The Antiquities of Manabi, Ecuador, *Contributions to South American Archeology, The George G. Heye Expedition*, vol. II, pl. xxxv, figs. 1–3, New York, 1910.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The wooden seat shown in pl. LXXXIII, 3, is in all essentials the same as that shown in fig. 2 of the same plate, except that the broad support of the two narrow strips at the bottom is not present. The bottom of this seat, like those of the seats shown in figs. 4 and 5, is made by cutting out a transverse section from the middle of the block so that the two supporting surfaces are sections which run transversely to the grain of the wood. In the seat shown in fig. 2, on the other hand, the center is cut out in the opposite direction, that is, with the grain of the wood. Neither of these types of seat with the concave surface is very commonly used.

These wooden seats are found in almost every Cayapa house, although they are not used so frequently as might be expected. Ordinarily if a man wishes to sit down he uses the hammock, which serves primarily as a baby cradle. It is so swung that its ends are not more than ten to twelve feet apart, and he is able to sit almost erect and lean back against the end. Also the raised platforms at the sides of the house serve as seats. The women and children usually sit upon the floor, although occasionally a bench may be used by one of them, especially by a woman who wishes to spin. In large measure, however, such seats are used by visitors or by the men of the house when it is necessary to sit at some particular kind of work, such as sharpening machetes, adzing and planing paddles, and the like.

A wooden device similar in form to these seats is the base upon which the whetstone used for sharpening

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

412 the machete is mounted (pl. LXXXIII, 7). Practically the only difference between this object and a seat such as that shown in fig. 6 of the same plate, is in the presence of the handle at one end. Both the whetstone base and the wooden seat is called tcūmbū'lya.

[439] The whetstones, called tōla'ha, are made of a fine-grained sandstone and are purchased from the settlements down the river. A stone of almost any size is used, but one six by eight or ten inches is most usually employed. It is not fastened to the base, but simply rests upon it in order to bring the stone a few inches from the floor and to make it possible to place the hands on either side lower than the stone when necessary. With this simple apparatus and a hemispherical calabash of water to wet the stone a man will sit and sharpen machetes for a couple of hours at a time, especially when the cane-field is being cleaned or a new area in the bush is being cleared.

352 In fig. 1 of the plate last referred to is shown another wooden object similar in form to the seats. This is the special wooden base used as a rest upon which to set an earthenware pot as it is being coiled and shaped. Ordinarily these bases consist merely of a flat board of rectangular form. The one here shown is much more elaborate, being circular in outline and having four legs which slant outward from its perimeter; it is also hewn from a single block of wood, as are all the objects represented in this plate.

524 532 Another interesting class of wooden objects is dolls, called nawa'wa, made for the amusement of children.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

These are carved from single blocks of wood and represent a variety of animate objects. Chief among them are human figures, both male and female; next follow mammals and birds, and now and then alligators are represented. In pl. LXXXIV, 1 to 5, are shown typical dolls representing human figures. The simplest of these, shown in fig. 4, is a cylindrical block of wood with carved head and face. From such simple forms dolls range through various stages of detail to well-carved figures such as that shown in fig. 5, in which the parts of the body are carefully represented and an attempt is made to imitate the cropped hair of the men by carving a raised band about the head, although the doll is evidently intended to represent a woman. The fact that the hair is thus represented is perhaps due to the inability of the workman to carve the long flowing hair of a woman.

Animals and birds of various kinds are carved more or less perfectly. Examples of these are shown in pl. LXXXIV, figs. 6 and 8. Fig. 7 of this plate represents a well-made figure of an alligator. Some of the figures, as for instance this alligator, are made of very hard wood, dressed and smoothly rubbed.

Dolls are about the only playthings, other than small pots, baskets, and other utensils, that the children have, for, as already stated, the Cayapa have practically no games.

In pl. LXI are shown several implements of wood, all of which are used primarily in cooking. In figs. 1 to 5 are illustrated typical mashers, called matcō'ka,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

used especially for crushing ripe plantains in making the gruel already described. Some of these mashers are perfectly plain, consisting of a cylindrical stick with a large flat end (fig. 4), but most of them are more or less ornate, especially at the upper end. The simplest type of this ornamentation is that shown in fig. 2, in which the upper end of the masher is of a form similar to that of the lower end, but is considerably smaller. Various other forms of ornamental ends, with or without notches, are made; two of these are shown in figs. 1 and 3. Occasionally also some ornamentation is found along the handle, and especially toward its lower end, as shown in fig. 5.

Another wooden implement of special use is the chocolate stirrer, called tcōkōla'te tca'lī, two specimens of which are shown in pl. LXI, 6, 7. These stirrers always are provided with lateral projections at their lower ends, by means of which the stirring is done, the implement being twisted rapidly back and forth—between the palms of the hands. Chocolate is rarely used by the Cayapa, but when prepared as a beverage it is usually boiled in a pot somewhat similar to that shown in pl. LXXXVII, 9. The chocolate stirrers also are sometimes ornamented at the upper extremity, as shown in fig. 7, or directly above the four lateral projections at the lower extremity, as in the one illustrated in fig. 6. In the latter case the ring of small ridges projects almost if not quite as far as do the four lateral projections, hence the ridges serve to stir the chocolate as well as do the projections. Whatever useful purpose this ring

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

of small ridges may now serve, however, it seems to have had its origin in a desire to ornament the stirrers, since most of them are plain at that point (as is the one shown in fig. 7), and because various stirrers of this form have carvings at that point which are similar though much smaller and are obviously purely ornamental.

A second form of stirring implement is the food paddle, called kûwi'ñgī, two specimens of which are shown in pl. LXI, 8, 9. These are used for stirring all kinds of foods while cooking, but especially ripe plantain gruel and a kind of gruel or mush made from green corn. In many cases these paddles are perfectly plain, as is the one shown in fig. 9, but now and then they are embellished with notches or incised ornaments as is the case with the one shown in fig. 8.

A utensil in common domestic use is an elliptical wooden bowl, copied after a type made by the whites and negroes of the region and bearing only the Spanish name batea. They vary more or less in their elliptical form, but a typical specimen is shown in pl. LXII, 4. They are always provided with a projection at each end to serve as handles. They are hollowed out from a single piece of wood, and range from a foot to three feet in length. Bateas serve a variety of purposes, but they are used especially for the preparation of certain foods, such as ripe plantain gruel, corn gruel or mush, and the like. They are used also as trays for washing meats or other foods, and frequently are employed in mixing and working clay during the process of pottery-making.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

pottery-making. A shallow wooden tray, like that shown in fig. 3, is sometimes, though much more rarely, made by the Cayapa for similar purposes. It also is called batea.

Somewhat similar in form to the batea is the canoe-shape dish, called tcambŏs kŏ'le, used in serving the drink or gruel called in Spanish champo and in Cayapa tcambŏ'se, which is made from green corn. This is made exactly after the fashion of a canoe, with the characteristic prow and stern ends, and ordinarily with the painting along the gunwales as well as upon the prow and stern. It is usually from two and a half to three and a half feet in length, and is much wider in proportion than the river canoe, being ordinarily from ten to twelve inches in width. As mentioned in speaking of the uses of corn, the champo dish is used only at fiestas for containing champo and on rare occasions the ripe plantain gruel called ma'la.

Another wooden utensil is a heavy mealing block used especially for pounding green plantain to make the food called in Spanish bala and in Cayapa panda lŏ'ta. Such a mealing block, shown in pl. LXII, 1, may be compared in form and size with the average stone used for the same purpose. In fact, these blocks are much less frequently used than mealing stones, such as that shown in fig. 2. The mealing blocks are usually more or less elliptical in form and about eighteen inches in length. With such a block is always used a stone muller.

Various other implements are made of wood, but

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

524

[p.162(a)]

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413

MUSICAL TOPS

p. 162 (b)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

most of these have been or will be discussed in other sections of this paper. Among these objects are hooks for suspending various commodities and for use as a fish-pole rack; spinning and weaving implements; mesh sticks used in the manufacture of cordage and netting; mauls for beating out bark cloth; the condensing board or "worm" employed in distilling, and stamps for body decoration and for canoe painting.

Stone Implements

The stone implements used by the Cayapa are confined almost entirely to the mealing stone and the muller. The former is usually a flat stone from eight inches to a foot in width, from a foot to two feet in length, and five or six inches in thickness. The upper side is slightly hollowed by means of pecking with an old ax or other heavy iron implement. Very few of these mealing stones are made at the present time; indeed few modern mealing stones are now in use. A similar type of stone was used by the former mound-building inhabitants of this region, and from these mounds and old village-sites the Cayapa now obtain practically all the mealing stones needed for their use. In pl. LXII, 2, is shown one of these stones of the typical, modern, Cayapa form, in which the depth of the hollowed upper surface is comparatively slight, but usually the mealing stones obtained from ancient sites are hollowed to a somewhat greater depth. The hollowed portion extends over almost the entire upper surface. Along the sides and generally at one end there is left a ridge to

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

retain the foods which are crushed and pounded upon it. Usually at the opposite end there is no such ridge, the opening serving especially in grinding green corn.

With this mealing stone, and also with the mealing block (pl. LXII, 1), is used a muller consisting usually of a cobblestone from five to seven inches in length, three to four inches in width, and two or three inches in thickness. Sometimes such a muller is shaped artificially. A typical muller is shown in place as it is used on the mealing stone in fig. 2.

The mealing stone and muller are used primarily for making what in Spanish is called bala, boiled green plantain mashed and pounded. From one to half a dozen green plantains are put on the mealing stone, then rolled lightly and mashed with the muller, after which they are pounded with considerable force with the muller held in the right hand while the left is used between strokes to return the fragments of plantain, which have been thrown off by the force of the blows, to the center of the mealing stone. From ten to fifteen strokes of the muller result in a mass of fine-grained but soggy plantain of a light-yellow color. This resembles in texture a piece of half-baked bread-dough and is much esteemed by the Cayapa and also by the negroes. The women and girls usually prepare the bala for the men and boys, and serve it on plates, or, in the more primitive fashion, upon the cooking leaves called ū'tya haki. After the men and boys have been served, the women and girls then make bala for themselves, which they eat directly from the mealing stone. After the meal, the muller is laid upon

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the floor and the stone inverted over it to keep its grinding surface away from the dogs. When again needed it is cleaned by taking a cooked plantain, grinding it upon the stone, and rolling it around thoroughly over the grinding surface. This process takes up all the fragments of plantain left from the previous grinding, and thoroughly cleanses both the mealing stone and the muller. The ridges on the two sides and one end of the mealing stone help to keep the plantain from flying off during this grinding. The lack of a ridge along the second end, however, is of advantage in grinding green corn, which process has already been described.

Now and then the mealing stone and muller are used for treating other products, such as the inner pulp of the fruit of a tree called ma'iñ-tci, which is ground and mixed with balsa charcoal to make the black face-paint called ma'lyû.

The only other native stone implement is that used as a sinker on the seine and the casting net. These sinkers are simply waterworn pebbles ranging from two to four inches in length and from an inch to two inches in diameter. They are called cûpû'ka, a general term signifying stone, and appear to have no special name. In large measure these pebbles, unworked, are rolled in the leaf called û'tya haki and tied directly to the lower edge of the net; but now and then are found sinkers of such form that they are likely to become detached from the net, hence these are provided with rough notches or even surrounding grooves.

Certain smooth stones, and especially black ones, are used in treating the sick.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Calabash Implements and Utensils

A class of implements which appear to have come into use since the Cayapa moved to the river valley are made from calabashes, the gourd-like fruit of a tree grown quite commonly along the river. It is said by the Cayapa that in former times pottery was used largely for the many purposes which the various utensils made from the calabash now serve, for the reason that this tree does not grow in their former mountain home. They say that the particular species of calabash which they now grow and use so extensively is an importation from Colombia, but that there is indigenous to this section another and smaller species. The Cayapa maintain that the Indios Bravos, who formerly inhabited this region, used this indigenous calabash and made receptacles similar to those which they themselves now make.

As before described, there are now grown two different forms of calabash, the one globose (called wa'iyū), the other ellipsoidal (known as ca'lya). These fruits grow to about the size of a man's head, though sometimes they are considerably larger, and a tree produces a large number in the course of a year.

The calabash, for whatever purpose it is intended, is always gathered while green, but it is not at its best until it commences to ripen. On the other hand, if allowed to ripen completely it becomes too hard for use. The globose form is much more used than is the ellipsoidal, since the latter yields usually but one type of utensil: the spoon, of which six or eight are obtained from a single

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

calabash. Now and then a small cu'lya is cut into halves and used in the manner of the hemispherical calabash dish called in Spanish mate. The globose calabash yields seven types of utensils. Of these the water-calabash (used as a receptacle for storing water), the small trinket calabash, and the cotton-wad calabash (used with the blowgun), are made from the whole fruit and are therefore globose in form. The mate, the sieve, the dipper, and the skimmer, are each made from half of one of these fruits, and consequently are hemispherical.

The spherical calabashes, such as those shown in pl. LXIII and pl. LXV, are called wa'iyū and are used for carrying and storing water. They consist almost invariably of the large, entire, globular fruit, with a small opening made at or near the stem for filling and pouring. Such a calabash sometimes measures a foot or more in diameter, and each of the women and girls of the household has usually two at least in number, which she keeps filled and on the water rack near the fire-box. Even little girls have one or two small calabashes, which they regularly fill and use in connection with the cooking, in which art they learn to assist while very young. This smaller spherical calabash is used as a receptacle for various other articles: those measuring from two to four inches in diameter are used to hold such trinkets as fish-hooks and the like, while the smallest ones, called le'meta, are for containing the red and yellow achote used as face-paint.

When gathered green, calabashes are filled with a mass of fairly hard white seeds and pulp, which are removed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

with considerable care, especially from the globose water-calabashes (the wa′iyû) which have such small openings. By repeatedly striking the shell of the calabash gently with the point of a machete or other sharp-pointed implement in such manner as to chip the shell away little by little, an opening of the desired diameter is made: this is usually at or near the point at which the stem of the fruit was attached, and its size depends on the size of the calabash, but it rarely exceeds an inch and a half. With a long implement (wai-be′rû, or wai-be′û; from wa iyû, calabash, and be′rû, hook), such as that shown in pl. CXVII, 1, the seeds and pulp are removed. It has one end shaped like a chisel, the other being fitted with a piece of coconut-shell in the shape of a hoe-blade. The chisel end is first inserted and the mass of pulp cut and worked into as small pieces as possible, a small quantity of water being added from time to time. The greater part of the pulp having been thus removed, the implement is reversed and the inner walls of the calabash are scraped with the hoe-end until they are smooth and clean. This process is usually performed in a canoe at the river where an abundance of water is available. Finally the calabash is turned with the opening downward over a stick, outdoors, until it has thoroughly dried. This curing in the more or less direct sunlight changes the color of the outer surface of the calabash from light-green to dark-brown.

Calabash receptacles are frequently ornamented with incised lines or figures, or with grotesque figures of mammals, birds, and human beings. A variety of these

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

designs is shown in pl. LXXXVI. This decoration is accomplished by cutting with the point of a machete or a knife while the calabash is green, and results, when the utensil is dried, in a white linear figure on a brown background, since it is only the thin outer skin of the calabash that turns brown in the curing. After several days of curing in the open, excepting during rain, the calabash vessel is ready for use. It is rarely put into service immediately, however, since a considerable supply of these utensils is always kept on hand; more frequently it is stored away to season thoroughly and become more durable. A small cross-stick attached to a piece of pitigua cord is inserted in the opening of a globose water-calabash, which is then suspended from a rafter of the house to season. Ordinarily several of these calabashes are thus hung in a cluster. The opening is always plugged with a piece of hoja blanca, or of the leaf ũ'tya hakĭ, used in cooking, in order to protect the calabashes from the ravages of cockroaches.

A second type of calabash utensil, called in Spanish mate and in Cayapa cs'lya, is usually hemispherical and is made ordinarily of the globose form of fruit. Now and then, however, an ellipsoidal calabash is used for this purpose, in which case the mate is elliptical in horizontal cross-section. Fig. 13 exhibits a hemispherical mate resting on a typical woven ring, made to keep it in an upright position, especially when used to serve liquid at feasts. About the rim and on the sides of the mate are shown incised decorations. By cutting the fruit exactly in two, through the stem, a single calabash of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

415 [442] course provides two mates. The cutting is almost always done with an old machete, the edge of which is serrated by striking it with another machete at intervals of about an eighth of an inch. With this crude saw the shell of the calabash is carefully cut along a line marked usually by a string tied tightly around it. The removal

[285 531]

FIG. 11.—Calabash vessel and woven ring

of the pulp is in this case a simple matter. It is first scooped out in large pieces with the point of a machete or a knife, and then, when the inner surface of the shell is reached, it is scraped carefully and smoothly with a small, smooth-edged clam-shell. The drying also is a more simple process than in the case of the water-calabash, since the inner surface is more exposed to the air.

When dry, the mate is used for a multitude of purposes, such as dipping liquids, serving foods, and so on. If permitted to lie for a long time in any liquid, the cala-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

bash absorbs the moisture, causing it to soften and ultimately to decay; but if kept in a dry place when not in use, it may be of service indefinitely. Although the walls of one of these calabashes are not more than a sixteenth to an eighth of an inch in thickness, they bear a considerable strain, as when used in bailing canoes. Inasmuch as canoes are always left over night in the river, they often become more or less filled by rain during the night, consequently the need of calabash bailers is very great. On arising in the morning it is the duty of some member of the family, if the day is fair, to go to the river with a mate and bail out all of the canoes, both those of the members of the household and those of visitors.

The advantages of a mate over a pottery or other heavy vessel are apparent: it is easily made, fairly durable, and very light. Its lightness and portability are of special advantage in traveling by canoe, when every pound saved is important; moreover, it will not sink should it be dropped overboard. In fact, advantage is taken of the lightness of the mate in the following interesting manner: Some canoes are very long, and when fully loaded in their center it is impossible for a person in the prow to pass anything, such as food, to one in the stern. Therefore, in event of such need, it is necessary only to place the article in a mate, set the mate in the water, and as the stern of the canoe passes it, it is picked up. To pass any small object, such as a knife, it is usually placed on the blade of one of the long paddles and passed over the cargo. Obviously this could not be done with a round-bottomed mate, especially if it contained liquid.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The mate[1] has still another special use—that of a woman's cap. With it is worn a piece of light-weight black cloth or a double bandana handkerchief, which passes over the head and shoulders and hangs down the back as a protection from the sun. Usually this cap is decorated with incised lines and figures, and occasionally it is used as a drinking-cup in traveling, but it is never put to any of the ordinary uses in which common mates are employed. On long canoe journeys the women usually carry special mates for use as urinals.

By means of two small perforations at each of two opposite points, a hemispherical mate is bound to a long handle to serve as a dipper, especially in the distillation of rum. Such dippers, called sūmbū and ūīkala pī cūīnūnt-sū′mī, are shown in pls. LXIII and LXV.

Further, the bottom of a mate may be perforated to adapt it as a sieve or strainer, called cī′culya, in making green-corn mush and ripe plantain gruel. Attached to a long handle, such a strainer is employed for skimming the froth which rises in boiling cane juice preparatory to fermentation.

The third form of calabash implement is the spoon, called ci′ñ kūtcada, from Spanish cuchara. This implement is always made by cutting narrow sections from the side of an ellipsoidal calabash with the saw-like machete above mentioned. One of these fruits ordinarily provides material for six to eight spoons, varying in length from three or four to as much as fifteen inches. The large spoons are commonly used for stirring food while cooking, and both the large and the small

[1] [i.e, a hemispherical gourd container.---Analyst]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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DESIGNS ON CALABASH UTENSILS

[p. 172 (4)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

274
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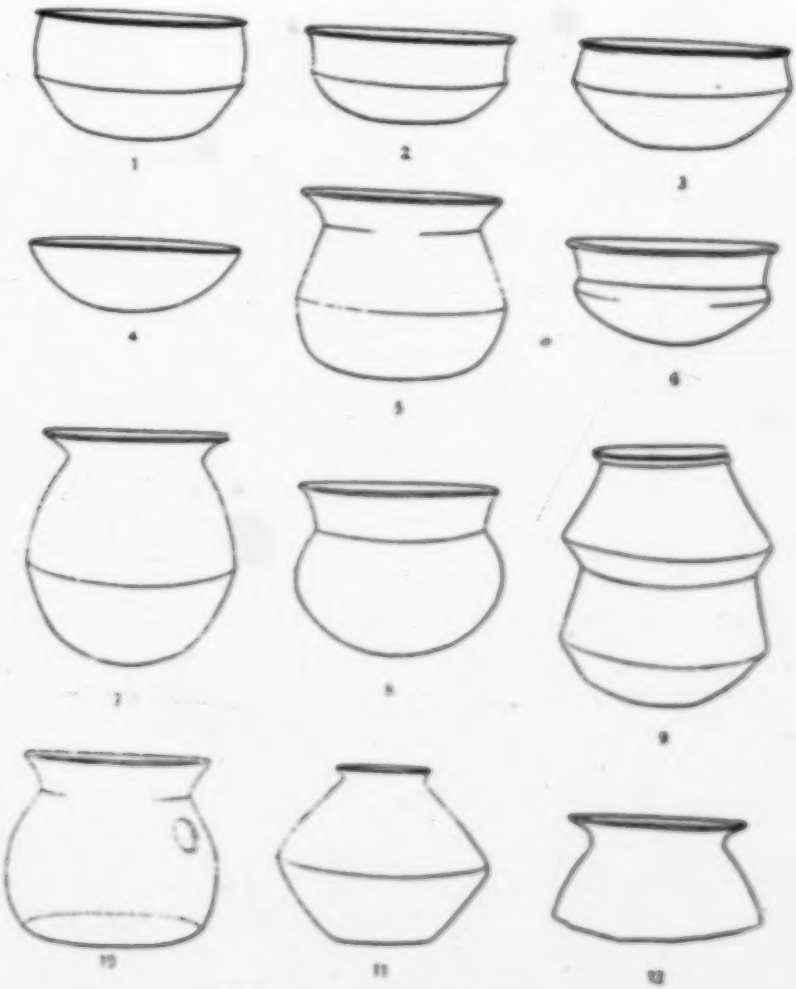

FORMS OF POTTERY VESSELS

[p. 172 (6)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ones are used to a certain extent in eating, although for this purpose they have been largely superseded by iron spoons. Calabash spoons, like the mates, are often ornamented with incised lines.

Pottery

The Cayapa make a rather crude, heavy pottery vessel, entirely undecorated except in a few forms in which incised lines and dots are impressed in the rim or the shoulder; but no painting, slipping, or glazing is used. The generic name for pottery is pia'ma, or bla'ma.

There are in all ten forms of pots, eight of which are in general use among the Cayapa. All are shown in outline in pl. LXXXVII. These types are: 1, A shallow plate form (fig. 4), called specifically tō' palatō. 2, A somewhat deeper cooking-pot (figs. 1–3), the sides of which, under ordinary circumstances, are comparatively straight, while the rim is without a lip. 3, Another cooking-pot (fig. 6), with a more or less hemispherical base, a pronounced shoulder around the side, and a prominent outcurving lip. 4, A small, flat-bottomed pot (fig. 5), somewhat of the form of an inverted truncated cone and with a more or less outcurving lip. 5, A somewhat globose form (fig. 8), with wide neck and outcurving rim. 6, A large storage olla (fig. 11), called specifically bū'lūm blama, with slightly oval bottom, more or less conical sides, and narrow neck with outcurving rim. 7, A large pottery caldron (fig. 7), which forms part of the still. 8, The condensing chamber (fig. 10), without bottom, used in distilling rum. Pots of the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

forms shown in figs. 1–2, 6, are without special name, being known by the generic term pĭa'ma. Those of the forms represented in figs. 5, 7, 8, are called kanda'rō.

To these earthenware vessels may be added a ninth form, though it can not strictly be considered as a separate type, since it is made by breaking off the lower portion of one of the other forms (fig. 12). It is set over the fire and serves as a kind of chimney to direct the smoke and heat upward to the fish that are laid upon sticks across its mouth for curing. There is also used, though rarely, for making chocolate, a pot with reëntrant sides like that shown in fig. 9.

The clay, called tū or ū, used in pottery-making is yellowish-brown in color and is dug from the banks of certain esteros. Usually a considerable quantity is gathered at a time and brought by canoe to the house, where it is worked over to remove stones, sticks, and other impurities. It is then wrapped in leaves and put in a shady place until needed, being moistened with water from time to time. For tempering the pottery there is mixed with the clay a bluish, gritty earth, called lu'c tū, meaning literally "blue earth or clay," which also is found in a few places along the river.

In making pottery, the woman takes a quantity of cleaned clay and again works it over to remove any remaining foreign substances, water being added if necessary to make it plastic. When the clay is of the proper consistency, the bluish, gritty earth above referred to is thoroughly kneaded into it, in quantity equaling perhaps one-tenth that of the clay. This

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

323
415

POTTERY VESSELS SET TO DRY

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 174(a)]

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

[illegible]

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

tempering material is called tā ya'ndā. The mixing of a small quantity of clay is a mere matter of rolling and kneading it in the hands; but if a considerable quantity is required, as in making a large olla, it is usually mixed in a large wooden tray such as that shown in pl. LXII, 4. After thorough kneading, handfuls are torn from the side of the mass and thrown back violently on top of it. This process completed, a small lump of the clay is taken, or a very small, crude pot is made, and immediately baked in the fire-box in the house as a test. 323

To make a small plate-form utensil, one about four inches in diameter, a lump of prepared clay is rolled carefully between the hands to form a smooth sphere. The right thumb is then inserted and the ball of clay is turned about it in such manner as to make a depression in the center. Then by constantly pressing between the thumb and the fingers as the ball is rotated, the depression is gradually enlarged until finally the bottom and sides of the pot, of even thickness, are formed. If the vessel is very small, this work may all be done upon the palm of the left hand, but if it is of medium or large size, a board, ten or twelve by fifteen or eighteen inches (pl. LXXXVIII), or other flat object is used in order that the vessel may readily be turned. Occasionally the wooden base is elaborately made, as that shown in pl. LXXXIII, 1, which is circular, has four legs, and resembles in some respects the wooden benches before described. Its special use, however, is that of a rest for the larger pieces of pottery, and it is claimed by the Cayapa that it was rarely or never used as a seat. [413] 352

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

323 The bottom and sides of the small receptacle having been formed, the edge is trimmed and made of uniform thickness by placing the thumb on the inner surface at the edge, the end of the first finger on the edge itself, and the ball of the second finger on its outer surface. By passing the fingers, held in this position, back and forth over a space two or three inches at a time, the edge is gradually reduced to uniform thickness and all unevenness is removed. Places thinner than desired are patched with a small quantity of clay carefully worked in and smoothed like the rest. Should there be a place that is too thick, a pinch of the clay is taken with thumb and finger before the smoothing is commenced. The edge is finally smoothly finished with the inner surface of a small piece of green banana or plantain peel.

[443] There is always a certain roughness on the inner and outer body surfaces of a pot at this stage; this is removed by means of small instruments, called tŏmbĭlya'mba, made usually from sections of broken calabash dishes or spoons, the edges of which are ground on a stone until they are uniform in outline and sharp. The smoothing of both the surfaces and the edge having been completed, the pot is set in the shade to dry and harden. This requires, in the case of a small, thin-walled pot, only a few days, when it is ready for firing. Care is taken not to dry a pot too rapidly, and that it dries uniformly, on account of the danger of cracking due to differential shrinking.

The base of a larger pot is made from a lump or mass of clay in the same manner as that above described, except that the edge is not smoothed so carefully. This

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

PL. XC

323
415

POTTERY AFTER FIRING

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p.17c(1)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

323 base is set in a cool, shady place to dry partially, then the remainder of the pot is built up by the coiling process. A base is shown in the foreground of pl. LXXXVIII, in which an unfinished pot of medium size is seen on the board used as a rest and which enables the potter to turn the vessel about easily and without pressing it out of shape. Such a base is dried, for a length of time depending on its size and the thickness of its walls, until it is hard enough to bear the weight of the first coil upon its edge. A pot six or eight inches in diameter will dry sufficiently in two or three days to permit of the application of the first coil, but a large and correspondingly heavy olla requires several days to dry.

The coils are made by rolling out between the palms of the hands a rope of clay of a length equal to the circumference of the pot and of a thickness, for a pot of medium size, usually not more than a half to three-quarters of an inch, and for a large pot not more than an inch. A groove is made with the ball of the first finger the full length of the coil of clay, which is then placed with the groove downward over the edge of the pot, any surplus being nipped off with the thumb and finger at the point where the ends meet. These two ends are then worked together with the thumb and fingers, and the edges of the groove in the coil are next pressed down upon the edge of the portion of the pot previously completed. While this finished portion of the pot is more or less dry and hard, it is not hardened sufficiently to render it unpliable, hence it is easy to mingle the new clay of the coil with the old clay of the formed portion. The upper

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

part of the coil is now worked out with the thumb and fingers until it is of the same thickness as the lower portion, after which its edge and sides are smoothed as were those of the portion of the pot already completed.

This one coil is usually sufficient to complete a plate-form pot of medium size, but in pots of other forms and sizes the number of coils varies. After the addition of each coil, the pot is set aside to dry somewhat before the next coil is added, since the moist clay is not sufficiently stiff to support a considerable weight.

This method of forming the bottom and lower part of the sides applies only to the small and medium-size pots. In making the bottom of a large pot the following method is employed: An old pot or other object of approximately the size and form desired for the bottom of the pot to be made, is covered with thin leaves or with a piece of cloth in order that the clay may not adhere to the rigid surface. A large lump of clay is then worked out into a thick disc, which is laid on the form and patted and worked in such manner as to cover it uniformly and of the required thickness. While still on the form, it is allowed to dry, since the clay required for this part of such a vessel is of such quantity that it could not stand alone. Such a form with the bottom of a large olla upon it is illustrated in pl. LXXXVIII. The fresh clay is shown here formed upon the cloth-covered bottom of a large cooking-pot, the black cloth appearing below the edge of the clay. At last, when the bottom is sufficiently dry, it is removed from the form and its sides and edge are smoothed as above described in speaking of smaller receptacles. Hence-

1: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

forward the process of building a large pot. coil upon coil, is the same as that employed in making small ones. 32.3

The largest earthenware receptacles made by the Cayapa are the storage ollas (pl. LXXXVII, 11), used for the fermentation of cane-juice, these vessels being sometimes of a diameter and height of three feet. These large ollas are highly prized, as it is difficult to build up successfully, with the comparatively narrow coils of clay, such large vessels without a flaw in joining the coils. It is also hard to get the clay used in the various coils always of exactly the same consistency, and it is especially difficult to dry the olla properly without checking or other mishap. But the greatest difficulty of all is in the firing; indeed, although a considerable proportion of such large vessels fail in the early stages of their construction, probably ninety percent of those successfully built up and cured, crack in the firing. On the other hand, comparatively little difficulty is experienced in modeling and firing small or medium-size receptacles of varying shapes.

As before stated, the only decoration found on Cayapa pottery consists of small incised dots and lines on the edge of the opening or the shoulder, and even this simple ornamentation is rarely used. The vessel is decorated after being only partly dried. The lines are incised with the sharp-edged calabash instrument used for smoothing the surfaces of the receptacle, while the dots are made by means of the serrated edge of the shell of a small bivalve. The decoration consists almost invariably of a simple row of parallel lines placed vertically or obliquely. Now and then a zigzag is used. 323 531

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

323 After a pot has become fairly dry and hard, its surface receives the final smoothing, and in some cases it is given [824 almost a polish. This is done by means of a large 413] discoidal nut, called mūlūmbū mūñge'nū, indigenous to the region. The same nut is used in making tops and also the spinning handles for tops. In pl. LXXXV, 1, 4, it is shown used in these two ways. In smoothing pottery the edge of the nut is wet with saliva and is rubbed back and forth repeatedly over the vessel, thus smoothing the surface and making it more impervious by filling the pores. No slip or paint of any kind is used.

The vessels are now ready for firing. A quantity of wood is gathered and the pots are carried to an open place near the house. Here they are stacked one within another or arranged on the ground in any convenient manner, and a kiln is made by carefully piling wood around and among them. Coals are brought from the fire-box in the house, the pile is ignited, and the fire is carefully watched and more wood added as required. A pottery kiln is shown in pl. LXXXIX, the photograph for which was taken just after the fire was lighted. This firing process requires from twenty minutes to an hour, depending on the number and size of the pots, and the quantity of wood used. As the fire dies down, the pots are left as shown in pl. XC, being now thoroughly fired. The earthenware is generally removed with a pole while still hot, and is tested by tapping gently to detect any possible cracking. If badly cracked the vessels are [356] immediately thrown away, but in the case of large pots that are only slightly cracked, they are often kept and repaired with wax (brea).

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

If possible some ripe-plantain gruel, called ma'la, is poured into the newly-fired pots, which are returned to the embers where the gruel is soon cooked. This cooking serves to fill the pores of the pottery, rendering it practically impervious. If it is not practicable to boil the gruel immediately, the inner and outer surfaces of the receptacles are later rubbed thoroughly with green plantain for the same purpose. This method, however, is considered inferior to the other. 323

All pottery used for ordinary cooking and serving is completed with the firing and the filling of the pores with plantain. Those pots, however, designed for use in fermenting cane-juice in making rum or for the storage of liquids, rather than for use over the fire, are given a coating of brea, usually inside and out, which renders them impervious. It would be useless to apply the brea to pots that are to be placed over the fire, since it melts at a low temperature and readily ignites. Also, if a pot is not intended for storing liquids, there is no reason why it should be entirely impervious, since all earthenware will hold liquids for a short time without allowing moisture to pass through it to any detrimental extent. 323 415

So far as is known, fired clay serves but one other purpose among the Cayapa, that of making small sinkers, called wengötca'll, for fish-lines. These sinkers are either globose or cylindrical, with perforations through the center, and are fired in the same manner as ordinary pots. A line with its sinker is shown in fig. 9 (page 131). 323 227

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

INDIAN NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 40

A SERIES OF PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES

THE CAYAPA INDIANS OF ECUADOR

BY

S. A. BARRETT

PART II

NEW YORK
MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN
HEYE FOUNDATION
1925

[F-17a (a)]

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THIS series of INDIAN NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS is devoted primarily to the publication of the result of studies by members of the staff of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, and is uniform with HISPANIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS, published by the Hispanic Society of America, with which organization this Museum is in cordial coöperation.

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[p. 182 (3)]

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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THE CAYAPA INDIANS OF ECUADOR

BY

S. A. BARRETT

PART II

[p. 182 (c)]

[p. 182 (d) is blank]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

CONTENTS OF PART II

MANUFACTURES—*Continued*

PAGE
Textile Arts 183
Basketry 184
Materials 184
Technic 191
Wickerwork 192
Twilling 197
Ka'pū Technic 207
Tcī'nde Technic 217
Dō Technic 223
Bandilas Technic 228
Forms and Uses 232
Basketry Handles 236
Burden-bands 238
Fans 239
Mats 248
Spinning 251
Weaving 259
Cordage and Netting 274
Decorative Art 285
Soft Textile Designs 289
Table of Manta Design Names 293
Glossary of Manta Design Names 307
Government 312
Birth 317
Names 318
Puberty 320
Marriage 321
Death 330
Kinship 334
Ascending Relationship 334
Collateral Relationship 335
Descending Relationship 336
Relationship through Marriage 336

[p. 182 (2)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

CAYAPA INDIANS

PAGE

Composition of Terms 337
Qualifying Terms 337
Modifying Concepts 340
Medicine Practices. Shamanism 344
Religion 352
The Universe 352
Creation 355
The Soul 357
Spirits 360
Thunder 360
Lightning 362
Cave Spirits 363
Indios Bravos 369
The Giant Aslaû'hmû 371
Ura''tû 372
Kû'me 373
Pî''tcûlya 374
Paiû û'hmû 375
Pehûrû pû'tyû 376
Pa'ta'mbele 376
Peje Bravo 377
Pî pî'nî 379
Invisible Treasure 381
Mythology 381
Ceremonial Observances 383
La Fiesta de Semana Santa 384
La Fiesta de Noche Buena 394
La Fiesta de Agosto 395
Boda 397
Physical Anthropology 408
General Characteristics 408
Measurements 416
Numeral System 448
A System of Mnemonic Writing 457
Index 464

[p. 182(F)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

		FACING PAGE
XCI.	Rope coils and brushes	186
XCII.	Baskets of pitigua and chapil	187
XCIII.	Light baskets	190
XCIV.	Basketry technics	191
XCV.	Basketry technics	192
XCVI.	Elements of a design in twilled basketry	193
XCVII.	Border finish of a twilled basket	204
XCVIII.	Border finish of a twilled basket	205
XCIX.	Border finish of a twilled basket	206
C.	Border finish of a twilled basket	207
CI.	Border finish showing return of diagonal elements and wrapping	216
CII.	Tci'nde border with elements returned below	217
CIII.	Handles of baskets and fans and burden-bands	236
CIV.	Fans	237
CV.	Mat and fan designs	246
CVI.	Mats and bark cloth	247
CVII.	Girdles, fillet, and spinning materials	252
CVIII.	Spinning and winding cotton thread	253
CIX.	Loom	260
CX.	Diagram of loom	261
CXI.	Woven fabric being stretched	266
CXII.	Manta or skirt	267
CXIII.	Detail of manta pattern	268
CXIV.	Manta or skirt	270
CXV.	Detail of manta pattern	272
CXVI.	Moches or trunks	274
CXVII.	Scrapers, torch, lance, and hook	275
CXVIII.	Pita fibers, plies, and cords	278
CXIX.	Trot-line, bundle of pita fibers, and cordage	279
CXX.	Fishing nets	284
CXXI.	Carved face-painting sticks	285
CXXII.	Carved face-painting sticks	288
CXXIII.	Cloth designs: Human and mammal figures	289
CXXIV.	Cloth designs: Mammal, bird, and insect figures	296

[p. 1FA (2)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

CAYAPA INDIANS

PAGE IN TEXT

CXXV. Cloth designs: Mammal groups and geometric figures 297
CXXVI. Cloth designs: Geometric figures 302
CXXVII. Cloth designs: Geometric figures 303
CXXVIII. Musical instruments 326
CXXIX. Kinship chart 336
CXXX. Settlements of whites and negroes along the Rio Cayapas 354
CXXXI. Hacienda of a negro in a grove of coconut palms 355
CXXXII. Easter festival, Punta Venado 386
CXXXIII. Firing "salvos" in the plaza 387
CXXXIV. Music in a rancho 388
CXXXV. Procession circling the plaza 389
CXXXVI. Pantomime of the angel descending to the tomb 390
CXXXVII. Procession reëntering the church 391
CXXXVIII. Castigator with cat-o'-nine-tails 392
CXXXIX. The ceremonial whipping 393
XL. Cholo boys 414
CXLI. Cholo girls 416
CXLII. Young man of the Cholo tribe 417

FIGURES

14. Splitting pitigua for basketry 187
15. Twilled trinket basket 200
16. Twilled trinket basket 200
17. Twilled trinket basket 201
18. A unit of ka'pü technic 210
19. Component parts of a unit of ka'pü technic 211
20. *Pentagonal opening at one corner of bottom of a* basket of ka'pü technic 213
21. Detail of tcï'nde technic 219
22. Component parts of dö technic 224
23. Initial unit at the bottom of a basket of dö technic 224
24. Details of lan technic 245
25. Pita fibers tied to prevent tangling 277
26. Mesh-sticks or gauges for weaving nets 281
27. Net weaving and detail of knot 282
28. Technic of cording on cat-o'-nine-tails 393
29. Mnemonic characters 439

[p. 182 (in)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

THE CAYAPA INDIANS OF ECUADOR

By S. A. Barrett

MANUFACTURES—*Continued*

Textile Arts

824
28

THE Cayapa weave many useful articles from the native materials that abound in their territory. These objects comprise various types of basketry, one type each of fan, mat, cloth, and three of nets. Their finest textile work is the cloth woven from cotton and wool in elaborate patterns. The only other decorated textiles are fans, mats, and a few types of baskets. This class of decoration is due largely to the materials and to the technic of the articles manufactured, all of which are made from strips of the bark of one or another of five endogenous plants. These strips have different natural colors on their two surfaces, and by bringing their light or their dark sides uppermost, simple geometric patterns alone are worked out without further coloring. Such technic makes possible only a limited number of patterns, as has been pointed out by Dr. Max Schmidt.[14]

[14] Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien, Berlin, 1905. Besondere Gedächtnisart der Indianer im Ucayaligebeit, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, N. F., VI, H. 4, 270–281. Braunschweig, 1907.

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

BASKETRY

Cayapa basketry may be classified according to the materials from which it is made, its technic, and its forms and uses.

Classification according to materials is recognized by the Cayapa themselves, as is shown by the following terms:

MATERIALS

Pitigua = te'tcûa (the root of an aerophitic plant); te'tcûm pickalyí = basket made of te'tcûa.

Rampile = pi'tcûa (a species of palm); pi'tcûm pickalyí = basket made of rampile.

Hoja blanca = fi'ba hakí; fi'bañ pickalyí = basket made of hoja blanca.

Hoja negra = e'lûñ hakí; e'lûñ pickalyí = basket made of hoja negra.

Chocolatilla = tcûkûla'te; tcûkûla'te pickalyí = basket made of chocolatilla.

Crinande = viñga'tcí; viñga' pickalyí = basket made of crinande.

Hoja de chapil = kûla'hakí; dic-pûnûntsû'mí; kûla' pickalyí, kûla'pô pickalyí = basket made of hoja de chapil.

The word picka'lyí, which strictly signifies any kind of basket other than the burden-basket or the hamper-shape basket, is here used as a general term meaning baskets of all kinds. All considerations of technic, form, and use are omitted in the above classification, material only being taken into account.

The basket materials used by the Cayapa may be divided into three classes. First, the heavy strips or splints of the inner fibers of the aerial root called pitigua, used for making the more durable baskets such as those shown in pl. XCII, 1, 3, 4, 6–8, and in pl. XCIII, 1, 3, 4, 12.

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

In the second class of material may be included the thin bark of five species of endogenous plants: rampile, hoja blanca, hoja negra, chocolatilla, and crinande, which are used for making the lighter and less durable baskets, especially the hamper-shape baskets such as those shown in pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 6, 10, 11, as well as diminutive trinket baskets like those in figs. 15-17 (pp. 200-201). These materials, especially rampile, are used also in making baskets of other forms, but requiring no great durability or strength. Baskets of this class are shown in figs. 7-9 of pl. XCIII. Rampile is also extensively employed in making fans and mats. In the third class of materials is the leaf of the palm known in Spanish as chapil, sometimes also called milpeso, and, by the Cayapa, kŭla'pă. Two forms of basket, one conical, the other square-sided (pl. XCII, 2, 5 respectively), are made of this material. Such baskets are suitable only for temporary use, since after a day or two the material becomes dry and brittle; while green, however, it is pliable and fairly strong. The conical basket (fig. 2) serves a ceremonial as well as a utilitarian purpose, being employed by shamans in their medicine practices.

The most important of the various basketry materials is the pitigua. This durable fiber is derived from the long roots of a single species of aerophitic plant which usually grows in the upper branches of trees and sends its long, slender roots to the ground. Pitigua is much sought for various purposes by the negroes and whites of the region, as well as by the Indians, so that along the lower course of the Rio Cayapas it has become somewhat scarce. When the plant is found, however, its roots are

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

easily gathered, since by simply pulling on them they usually break off at or near the plant itself, and often a root seventy-five or even a hundred feet in length is obtained. It is employed not only for basket-making but for many other purposes, such as for binding together the parts of a house-frame (figs. 3-5), for binding the palm-leaf thatch upon the roof (pl. VII), and indeed wherever material for tying or binding is needed. It serves also the many purposes for which civilized people use string and rope, as for mooring canoes, securing animals, etc. Pitigua fiber is practically indestructible so far as dampness is concerned, and may even be kept wet for a considerable time without rotting. If kept from direct contact with water, however, it will last for years even in this humid climate, as is shown by the bindings on the frames of some of the Cayapa houses that have been in use for ten or fifteen years at least.

When gathered these roots are usually made up into large coils (pl. XCI, 4) and laid away in a dry place until needed. To render them pliable they are soaked over night in the river. In two forms of baskets the warp elements are made of the smaller whole roots of the pitigua, otherwise the material is always split into strips or splints, which are prepared as follows:

The bark of the root being first removed, its inner woody portion is split into long, thin ribbons. The individual fibers of the root are extremely long and straight, hence when once started a ribbon can be split the full length of the root with almost perfect evenness. Usually one end of the root is taken up and split with a knife or machete, for a distance of an inch or two, into

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283
285

[illegible] COILS AND BRUSHES

[p. 186 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285
415
482

BASKETS OF PITIGUA AND CHAPIL

[p. 186(2)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

as many strips as it will yield. This split end is then grasped with the left hand at a point five or six inches from the cuts described, and is bent with the right hand down over the thumb of the left, or in the opposite direction over the fingers (fig. 14). This tension on the fibers causes them to cleave uniformly along the planes started by the preliminary splitting. A new hold is then taken farther down and the bending repeated, which results in the splitting of another section. In this manner it is possible to split rapidly a long root throughout its length. A root will sometimes yield as many as half a dozen strips suitable for basket-making. Before these are used, however, any rough or uneven places, due to chance cleavage of the fibers along these planes, are removed by scraping and sizing.

FIG. 14.—Splitting pitigua for basketry

The scraping is done by holding vertically to the ribbon a knife or other sharp-edged instrument while the ribbon is drawn over the edge of the heel or across the side of the knee. Obviously the width of such strips varies according to the part of the root from which they come. On the other hand, the root differs so slightly in diameter throughout that the variation in the width of a strip is very slight. For the finer basketry all splints are

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 trimmed to approximately equal widths, but for ordinary baskets this is not deemed necessary.

222 285 824 In case the pitigua root is not available, there are other parasitic plants which send aerial roots to the ground that may be used for temporary baskets.

Of the less durable and lighter materials used for making hamper-shape baskets, the most important is rampile, which comes from the bark of the petiole of a fan-leaf palm which produces thin strips from one-eighth to one-half inch in width and from three to twelve feet in length. In splitting off this bark, the circumference of the end of the stem is cut with a sharp instrument into as many segments as the desired width of the strips demands. Usually the strips on several stems are started at one time and then the bark of each is split off by pulling with the fingers one strip after another. In splitting the bark in this manner, a certain amount of the inner succulent fiber of the stem is taken with it. To remove this a number of strips, perhaps twenty, are grasped between the great and second toe in such manner that one end of the bunch of strips reaches almost to the body. Thus held, the strips are taken in turn and the succulent portions cut transversely at a point a couple of inches from the end. The strips are now taken rapidly one by one and the bark is peeled from the succulent fibers. It remains only to size the strips, that is, to bring them to an even width. This is done by splitting, since in this material, as in the pitigua, the fibers are long and straight, so that when once started they part evenly the full length of the strip. It is rarely necessary to do any special cutting and trimming to make these strips of proper widths.

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The material of this class next in importance to the rampile is that obtained from the petiole of the hoja blanca, called by the Cayapa fi'ba haki, signifying, as does the Spanish term, "white leaf." This plant has a long pinnate leaf somewhat similar to that of the banana, but with a long, round, slender, and fairly hard petiole. It derives its name from the fact that the under-surface of the leaf-blade has a thick coating of white bloom. The strips of this material used in basket-making are obtained from the petiole of the leaf in the same manner as are those of the rampile, except that before splitting off the bark it is scraped. This removes a thin, succulent outer coat of light-green, and leaves the inner creamy-white bark which is hard and tough, though very thin. This hoja blanca bark is used chiefly for making small hamper-shape baskets (figs. 15–17) used as receptacles for trinkets, though it is frequently employed in making fans, especially the finer ones. It is much less durable than is the rampile, and for that reason, as also on account of its thinness, it is not adapted to the manufacture of large hampers or of mats.

The blades of the leaves of hoja blanca find a variety of uses, chief among which is as a covering for cargoes of canoes to protect them against rain. The leaves are much tougher than are those of most plants of a similar kind in this region and shed water perfectly. They are used even for repairing leaks in house-thatch, though they are never employed for entirely thatching a permanent building.

Hoja blanca is the only basket material which is ever artificially colored. The strips are stained with red

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 386 achote, the plant which produces the red face-paint used by the Cayapa. This coloring matter is rubbed on the stem after it has been scraped down to the hard white layer of the bark and before the bark is stripped from the stem. The colored strips are used occasionally as a means of producing the geometric designs used in small hamper-shape baskets and in fans.

285 Three other plants with a habit of growth similar to that of the hoja blanca occasionally furnish materials for the hamper-shape baskets. They are the chocolatilla, called by the Cayapa tcōkōla'te, which yields a brown material; the hoja negra, called e'lōñ haki; and the crinande, called viñga'tci. The material in each of these plants comes from the petioles of the leaves. They are obtained and manipulated in the same manner as is that derived from the hoja blanca. None of the three, however, is ever colored.

285 482 [222] As above mentioned, the leaf of a large species of palm, called in Spanish chapil, is used on rare occasions for basket-making. Should a person be out hunting, or for any other reason be at a considerable distance from his house and unexpectedly find some fruit or other commodity which he cares to take home, he may, by securing a couple of the large leaves of the chapil, quickly fashion a temporary burden-basket, such as either of those shown in pl. xcii, 2, 5, in which to carry them. Such a basket is never kept for further use, for as soon as the leaves become dry they are very brittle and entirely worthless.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285
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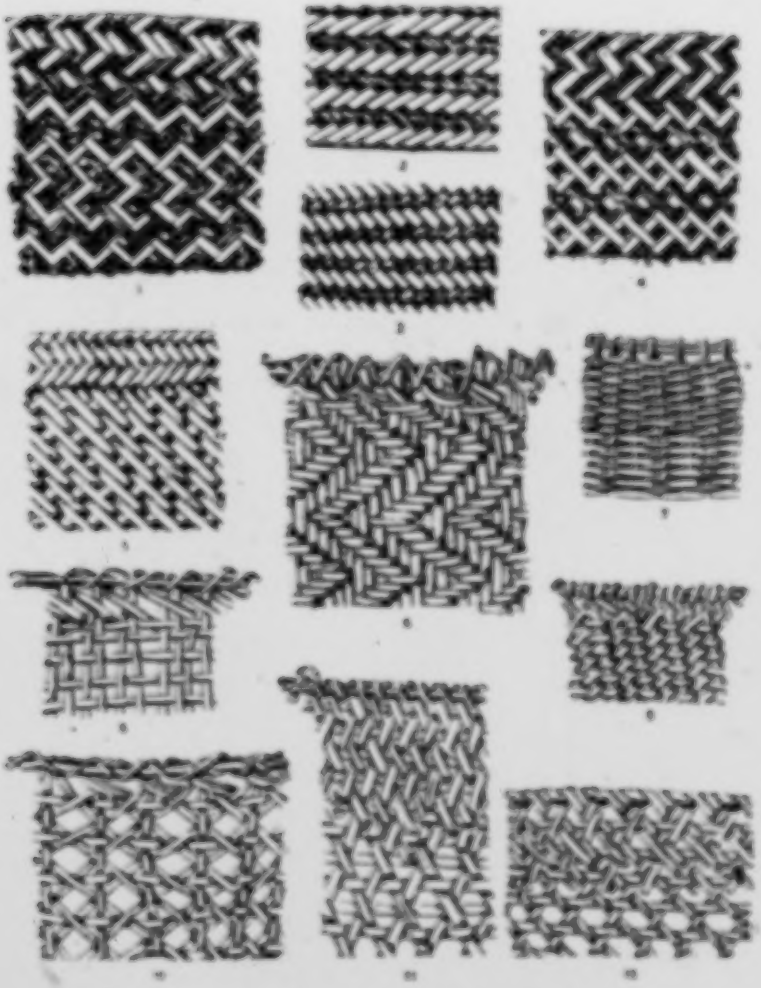
[p. 190(a)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285



BASKETRY TECHNICS

[p. 190(R)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TECHNIC

From the standpoint of technic, Cayapa basketry may be divided into three general classes according to the number of elements used in the construction, as follows: 285

Two-element work:
Wickerwork—kûtse'ka (pl. XCII, 4, 7; XCIII, 1, 3, 4, 12; XCIV, 7; XCV, 1, 2, 5).
Twilling—kapê'a, yê'l or ya'iyi (pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11; XCIV, 1–6; XCV, 3, 7).

Three-element work:
ka'pê (pl. XCV, 6, 8, 12).
tci'nde (pl. XCIV, 11; XCV, 4, 8, 10, 12–14).
dê (pl. XCV, 6, 16).

Four-element work:
ta'ndilas (pl. XCII, 3; XCIV, 10; XCV, 9, 11).

In addition to these technics, which may be considered the regular Cayapa basketry technics, there are two others used in the two types of palm-leaf basketry made by the Cayapa and illustrated in pl. XCII, 2, 5. In the first instance the technic bears a resemblance to checkerwork, while in the second it is based on the same kind of manipulation which in cordage is known as the "half-hitch."

Neither twining nor coiling is used, and the same may almost be said of checkerwork, although there is one form of basket, the bottle-shape bait basket (pl. XCIII, 3), which has on its bottom a technic somewhat resembling checker (pl. XCV, 2). In this case several splints are used to form a wide unit element, and it cannot be strictly called checkerwork, but is rather wickerwork in which several splints instead of one are employed as a unit. In some specimens the resemblance to checker-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

work is still more apparent than in the one here referred to, because these composite, wide elements are made to pass under and over one another several times instead of only once. This process is never employed except at the starting point of this form of basket.

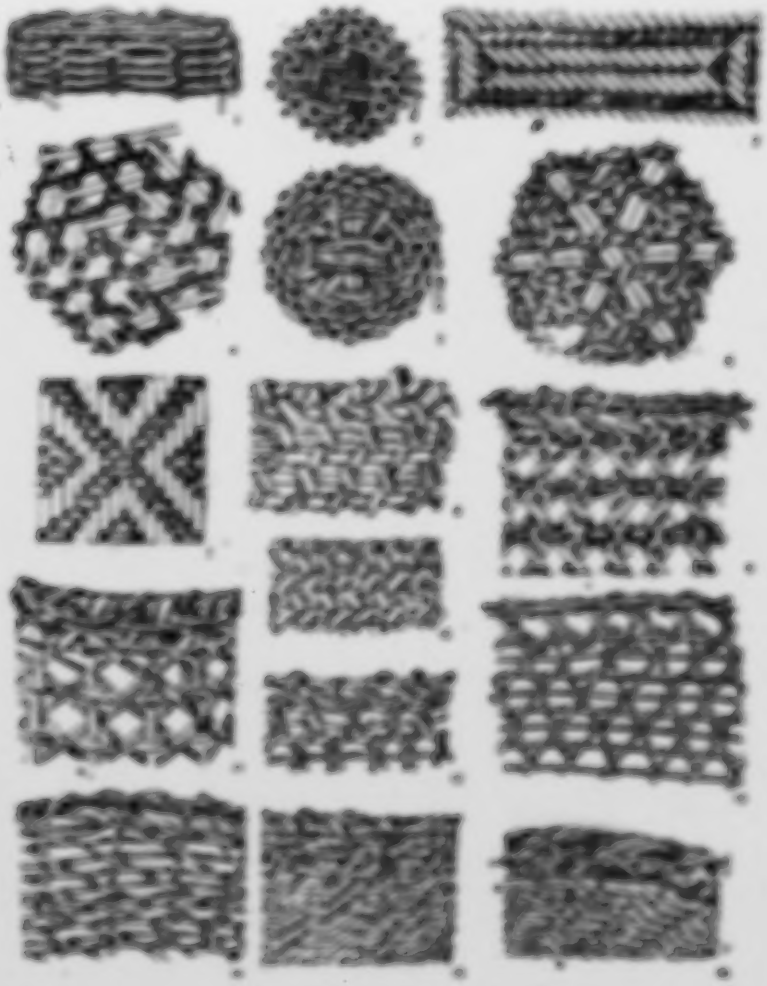
In detail the technics employed by the Cayapa in their basketry are as described below. Further, in addition to its use in basketry, twilling is employed in making mats and fans, and wicker is used in certain burden-bands and in fan-handles.

WICKERWORK

Wickerwork, the simplest of the two-element technics, consists of the passing of a single active or woof element over and under successive passive or warp elements. The Cayapa employ this technic almost solely in connection with the material derived from the aerial root called pitigua and for the making of five forms of basketry: a burden-basket, a shallow rectangular basket, a bottle-shape bait basket, a more or less globose basket used in carrying fruits and as a general household utensil, and a long tubular basket used especially as a receptacle for spindles. Examples of burden-baskets are shown in pl. XCII, 4, 7, while the other forms are illustrated respectively in pl. XCIII, 1, 3, 4, 12.

Ordinarily the Cayapa wickerwork is comparatively tightly woven, as is shown in illustrations referred to. There are, however, two special types of wicker basket which are open in their technic. Both are made for the purpose of allowing water to pass readily through them, being used especially as cages for live crayfish which are

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6



171
285

BASKETRY TECHNIQUE

[p.192(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285
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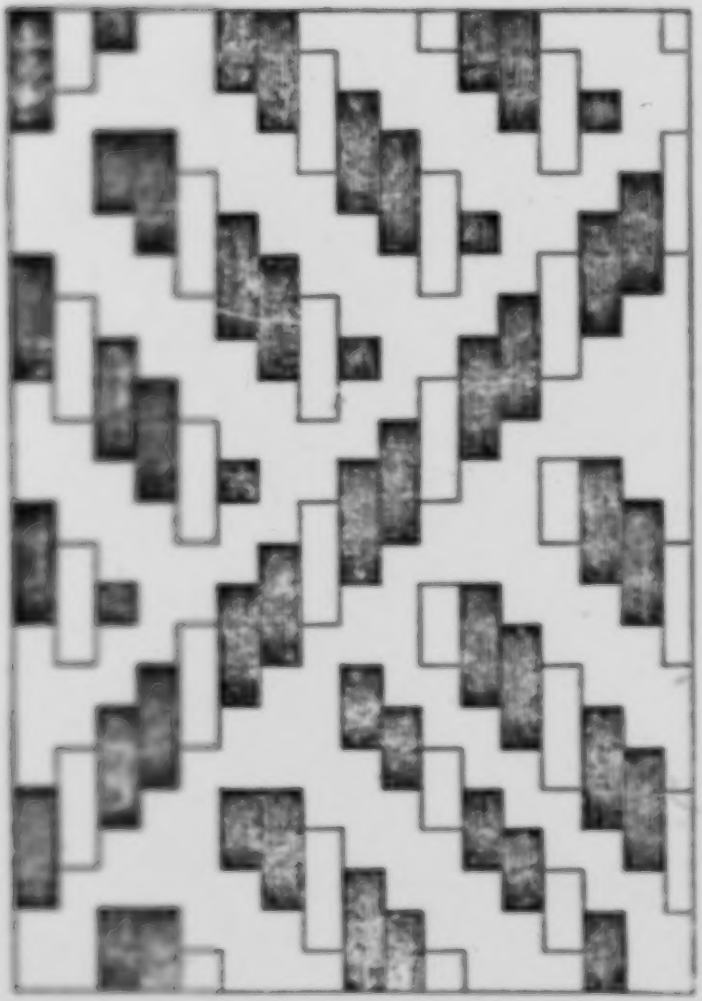

[overlay on p. 192(8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 thus kept in the river until required for food. Both of these open types are similar in form to that shown in pl. XCIII, 4, and one of them has tightly woven sides identical to those of the basket shown in this figure, but has what may be termed an open-work wicker bottom. The other has open-work sides as well as bottom. A portion of one of these sides near its upper edge is shown in pl. XCIV, 8. This openness is produced by the simple device of spreading the elements apart so as to leave openings or meshes of the desired dimensions. In the one with the open-work flat bottom only, these openings or meshes are produced by the omission from this portion of the basket of the long, continuous active element which goes back and forth in the ordinary tightly woven wicker basket alternating with the shorter active elements which are later turned up to form the sides of the basket.

The rectangular bottom of the tightly woven wicker basket deserves special attention on account of the particular technic involved. In making such a rectangular base, the details of which are shown in pl. XCV, 1, several parallel splints are first laid down to form the warp elements. One end of a very long woof element is next passed over and under alternate ones of these. A second and very much shorter woof splint is next placed parallel to the first and is so inserted as to pass over and under the warp splints in an order the reverse of that of the first woof splint. The point at which this second woof splint crosses the last of the warp elements at one edge forms the turning point for the first woof splint. This is turned directly back in a kind of loop and is passed parallel to itself but in the opposite direction, and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

285 over and under the elements of the warp. It crosses these in the same order which it first took and in the reverse order to that in which the second woof element crossed them. Thus, up to this point, the original set of parallel warp elements has been crossed three times, twice by this long, continuous element, and once by an ordinary, short woof element which later turns up at its two ends to form part of the sides of the basket. This long, continuous woof element having now reached the side of the basket from which it started, a second short element is inserted. This element, which makes the fourth woof to cross the warp elements, is manipulated in exactly the same manner as was the second. The long, continuous woof element again reverses its direction by means of a turn about the end of the second short element just mentioned and passes back, in the same manner as before, in and out among the warp elements and, reaching the opposite side of the set, again reverses its direction and again passes back to the opposite side of the basket, there being of course previously inserted a third short woof element. Thus, by means of this long, continuous splint which passes back and forth in serpentine fashion across the bottom of the basket in such manner as to include between the sides of each loop an ordinary short woof element which later turns up to form the sides of the basket, a rectangular bottom is produced. The lengths of the sides of this rectangle are governed by the size of the basket desired, but in every case the rectangle is longest in the direction in which the continuous woof splint is running.

By the nature of this technic the spacing of the warp

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

elements on a long side of the basket is much wider than 285
that on a short side or end, and it would appear that in this fact lies perhaps an explanation for the use of the long, continuous, serpentine woof element. If all the woof elements were short ones whose ends turned up to form warp elements at the ends of the basket, the number of these warp elements would be far too great for practical use. By the insertion, on the other hand, of this continuous woof element, the number of these warp elements is reduced by half and the spaces between adjacent warp elements increased sufficiently to permit the woof elements on the sides of the basket to pass in and out among them with ease. As it is, the warp elements on the ends of the basket are considerably closer together than are those on the sides, so that the number of these elements at each end of the basket is somewhat greater than that at each side, although the sides are considerably longer than the ends.

In all baskets made in this technic, except the one with the open-work sides as well as bottom, the borders are finished by a simple looping over of the warp elements, as shown in pl. xcrv, 7. The method of manufacture of a Cayapa wicker burden-basket, and especially the method of finishing the border, is shown in pl. xcrr, 4. Such a basket is made over another burden-basket as a foundation and to give it its correct size and form. As the basket nears completion, each warp element, which until now has projected upward, is bent over, sometimes inward and sometimes outward, and brought down along itself and caught by the woof elements as they pass in and out among the warp. This produces a series of large

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

loops which project upward and replace the simple warp elements. These loops now become the warp elements, and each is used as a unit in the weaving which proceeds as before until the extreme edge is reached. Here from one to three rounds of pitigua, usually unsplit, are passed through the loops themselves and around the whole opening of the basket. The loops up to this point are quite large and project loosely above the woven portion of the basket, as shown in pl. XCIII, 4. Also the extreme ends of the splints project downward at the sides of the basket. Now, by pulling these projecting ends downward, the slack in the loops is removed and the inserted pitigua drawn firmly down upon the edge of the woven portion of the basket, thus producing a smooth and even edge or border. Nothing remains, then, to complete the basket except to cut off the loose ends of the warp elements which project from the sides of the basket. The length along which each of these warp elements is returned down through the side of the basket to make this binding varies greatly and may be as great as half the height of the basket, as is the case in the large burden-basket shown in pl. XCIII, 7. On the other hand, it is rarely less than equal to the width of eight or ten of the weft elements, thus in any case giving a good firm border.

The only other type of border found in wicker basketry is that shown in pl. XCIV, 6, which was found in only one instance—a very open-meshed basket made of pandale. In this type the projecting warp elements are taken in pairs and each pair is bent inward over a transverse splint placed along the inside, then passed diagonally

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

downward, then outward to a position in front of the next pair of warp elements, and finally inward and behind the next pair of these elements. Along the outer surface and directly opposite the above-mentioned horizontal splint, another is passed, and these two are secured by two splints passing spirally and in the same direction along the entire border in such manner as to fasten firmly the pairs of turned-down warp elements. 285

As above mentioned, the wicker technic finds slight use outside of basketry. It is employed in weaving the braid head-bands of the burden-straps which are made of pitigua or of the fibers from the leaf of the palma real, and occasionally in weaving the outer surface of the handle of a fan. In the use first mentioned the elements employed are fairly broad strips of pitigua, as shown in pl. CIII, 1. In the second, the warp elements are made by placing from four to six of the small cylindrical palma-real fibers side by side to form a broad and fairly rigid element. The weft element consists sometimes of but a single palma-real fiber, but usually of two placed side by side as shown in pl. CIII, 3. Occasionally more than two of these fibers are used in such a weft element. The surfaces of fan handles are almost always made, like the blades, in twilled technic, but occasionally one is found which is in wicker, as in the example shown in pl. CIII, 5. 285 293 [482]

TWILLING

The second technic consisting of two elements is twilling. This is employed in the making of hamper-shape baskets (pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 6, 10, 11) long, tubular 285 4:5

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

baskets (pl. XCIII, 8), used as receptacles for spindles; mats (pl. CVI, 1, 2); fans (pl. CIV); and rings used as rests for calabashes (fig. 13). In all of these the material used is the bark of the fan-leaf palm, locally called pambil. But one type of basket has been encountered in which this technic is found in combination with another material: this is a square-bottomed, cylindrical basket similar in form to that shown in pl. XCII, 3, and is made of pitigua. A section of the side and border of this basket is shown in pl. XCIV, 6.

The manipulation of the elements in twilling varies considerably in Cayapa basketry. There are three fundamental methods of handling these elements, as follows: (1) A method by which one element passes over two and under two of the elements which run in the opposite direction (pl. XCIV, 3); (2) a method by which it passes in a similar manner over three and under three (pl. XCIII, 6, 10); (3) a method in which an element passes over seven and under one (pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 8, 11; and pl. XCIV, 5). The last form is said to have been introduced among the Cayapa by the Indians of Colombia, and in substantiation of this it may be noted that the few Cholo who now live on the Rio Cayapas use this form of twilling extensively. The two simpler forms of twilling, so far as could be ascertained, have been long in use among the Cayapa.

In case no design is attempted, as in the basket shown in pl. XCIII, 11, or a simple design be desired, as in the baskets shown in the same plate, 6, 10, and pl. XCIV, 2, 3, these fundamental methods of handling the elements are not varied throughout the basket. If, on the other

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

hand, comparatively intricate patterns are attempted, 255
these methods of handling the elements may vary greatly and appear to be governed solely by the desire of the maker to produce such combinations as will bring to the surface elements of the desired colors in the necessary sequences.

In pl. XCIV, 1, 4, are shown instances of changes of ma- 255
nipulation obviously for decorative purposes. In fig. 4 of 531
this plate the pattern consists of a horizontal row of dots followed by a row of squares joining at opposite corners in such manner as to resemble a section of an old-fashioned lattice; this is followed in turn by another row of dots and another row of squares. This pattern exists in the dark-colored elements as well as in the white ones, and the order of the appearance of a white or a dark element upon the surface is the same for the same direction—that is to say, whether both the elements under consideration run obliquely from right to left or vice versa. The order for those running downward from right to left is thus the direct complement of the order of those running from left to right. In the first case it is over one, under one, over two, under four, once repeated. This cycle completes two rows each of the dots and connected squares, which may be considered a full set of the elements of this pattern. When the elements are taken downward from left to right, the order is: over one, under one, over four, under two.

In the basket shown in pl. XCIV, 1, the manipulation of the elements is even more complex, owing to the fact that the design is much more complicated. In every case the particular pattern employed calls for regular

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

285
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numerical cycles of its own in the manipulation of the splints. In the design shown in the illustration referred to, the cycles produced by this fairly intricate pattern are exhibited in the accompanying pl. xcvi. In the first of these the cycle is that which results from following the splints downward from right to left, while the second is the result of following them downward from left to right.

[845]

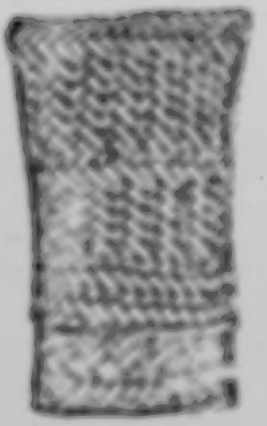


Fig. 17.—Twilled straw basket

Fig. 18.—Twilled straw basket

Taken separately, these two show fairly similar and very simple patterns. If, however, they are superposed, the points marked being taken as initial points, the intricate pattern in white shown in pl. xcvi, 1, results. From these cases and others similarly analyzed it is therefore evident that the exact mode of manipulation of the splints in all Cayapa twilling in which any intricate

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

265
531

pattern is attempted is governed entirely by the pattern desired, and that any numerical cycle will be employed which will bring to the surface the elements required to produce the desired pattern.

In connection with the change of sequence of the elements in working out an elaborate design, the technical processes involved in changing the direction of a line in a simple design, such as a zigzag, should also be noted. By the very nature of this technic the angle formed in changing the direction of a line is a right angle, as may be seen in pl. xcv, 6. The change in direction is accomplished by shifting, after the vertex of the angle is past, the point of emergence of each successive horizontal element one vertical element to the right or to the left as the case may be. In this way each of the horizontal elements continues to pass over the regular number of vertical elements as the outer surface of the basket is viewed. The same is not true of the vertical elements however. Immediately in the angle the vertical elements are so crossed by the horizontal ones that only one width appears in the case of the first element, three in the next, and five in the third, after which the two divergent lines of vertical elements run regularly over three and under three. The procedure in the over-two and under-two twilling is the same except that the odd

[415]

FIG. 17.—Twilled wicker basket

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

[5:2]
265

numbers of elements required to change the direction of the line are one and three instead of one, three, and five.

The details of twilled basketry making are well exemplified in the case of the hamper-shape basket which is such a characteristic form among the Cayapa.

In beginning a basket of this hamper form the two sets of elements are laid down at a right angle one to the other upon a level surface, usually a piece of bark cloth spread upon the floor or upon the lap of the weaver. They are first laid with their dark sides uppermost and are crossed in the regular manner as later on in the weaving. Along this initial line the weaver may cause any given element to pass over three of the elements running at right angles to it, and this is frequently done. As frequently, however, such an element passes over one only of the elements that pass in the opposite direction, and the element thus passed over emerges from beneath and in its turn passes over the next element which is laid parallel to the one above mentioned. Thus along the middle line, that is, the starting line, of one of these baskets, there may be a single row in which the elements passing in one direction go over only one of the elements passing in the opposite direction. Beyond this point they pass in the prescribed manner over three and under three, or, in the rare instances in which this is used, over two and under two.

These methods of beginning the base of such a basket are also invariably employed in those baskets in which the sides are made in the more elaborate over-seven
285 and under-one technic above referred to. No instance
771 was observed where this more elaborate technic had been

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

employed upon the bottom of a basket, not even among the Cholo. [171]

Having first laid down the elements to be used in forming the bottom of this basket, and having manipulated and crossed them properly for perhaps a couple of rows on each side of the middle line, the whole is carefully inspected and the desired design decided on. If it is determined to make a basket in which one set of the elements shall have its dark surface uppermost while the other has its light surface turned up, the elements already laid down are pulled far enough apart to permit the turning over of the one set in order to bring the light surface into view. Frequently baskets are made in which all the elements used have the same surface exposed, for it is feasible to work out a design in case both sets have the same surface uppermost. In such case the design is given purely by the technic itself; and by changing the direction of the twilling, effective results are obtained.

Having, then, determined on the pattern, and the elements having been properly arranged, the twilling proceeds with the adding of more elements as required according as the size of the bottom increases, until the proper dimensions are reached. This results finally in a quadrangular twilled area of the size needed for the bottom or for the top of the hamper, and with a great number of ends of elements, approximately equal in length, projecting from the sides. From this point on no more elements are added, the elements having been properly selected with respect to length, so that these ends are quite sufficient to complete the sides of the basket. Or-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

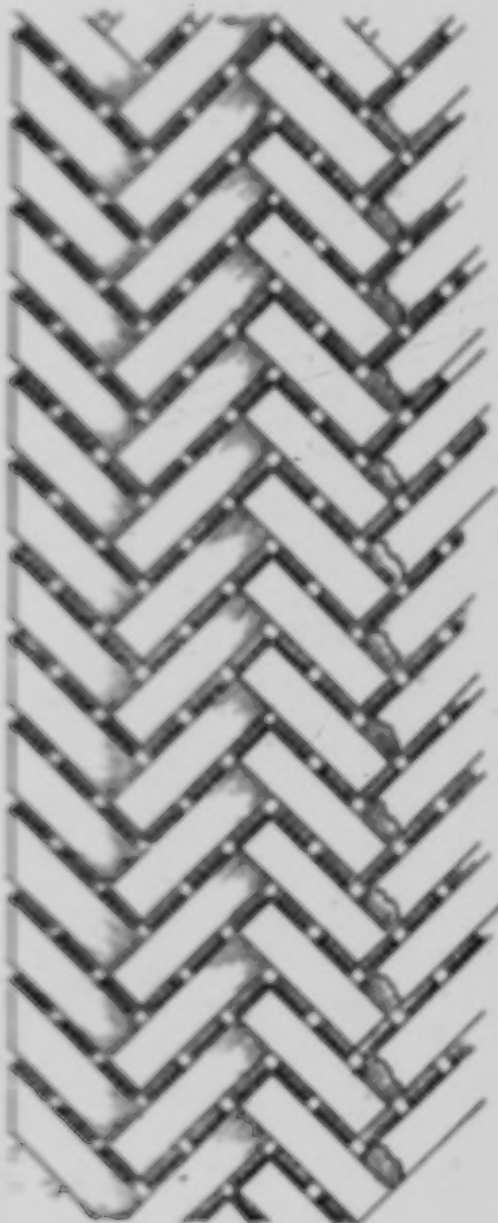
285 dinarily two of these bases are completed before the sides of either are turned up. They are then carefully measured one to the other, since one must be a trifle larger than the other, as one becomes the upper half or cover of the hamper while the other becomes the lower half or body, and they must fit with fair exactness. At this point a string, a small piece of pitigua, or a small strip of the rampile basket material itself is passed round this quadrangular base and looped under one element at each corner, thus marking exactly the lines along which the sides and ends are to be bent up and especially the points at which the corners are to be made. After gently bending up to a vertical position the untwilled elements along the lines marked out by this string, the twilling then proceeds as in the usual manner and with whatsoever variations of design or technic may be desired until the edge of the basket is reached.

Having arrived at the edge, a piece of pita cord long enough to pass round the basket is placed in along the line upon which the elements are bent over to form the border and serves as a kind of adjustable "draw-string" which may be pulled tight or left loose as necessity demands. Without this, the edge, and later the body of the basket, would gradually work loose and become ragged, but with the draw-string it is not only possible to keep the basket intact, but also to adjust the size of its opening to that of the other half of the hamper.

As is shown in pl. XCIII, 10, 11, on completing the basket to this point there still remain the projecting ends of the two sets of elements, one set outside, the other inside the basket at its edge. These are now employed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285

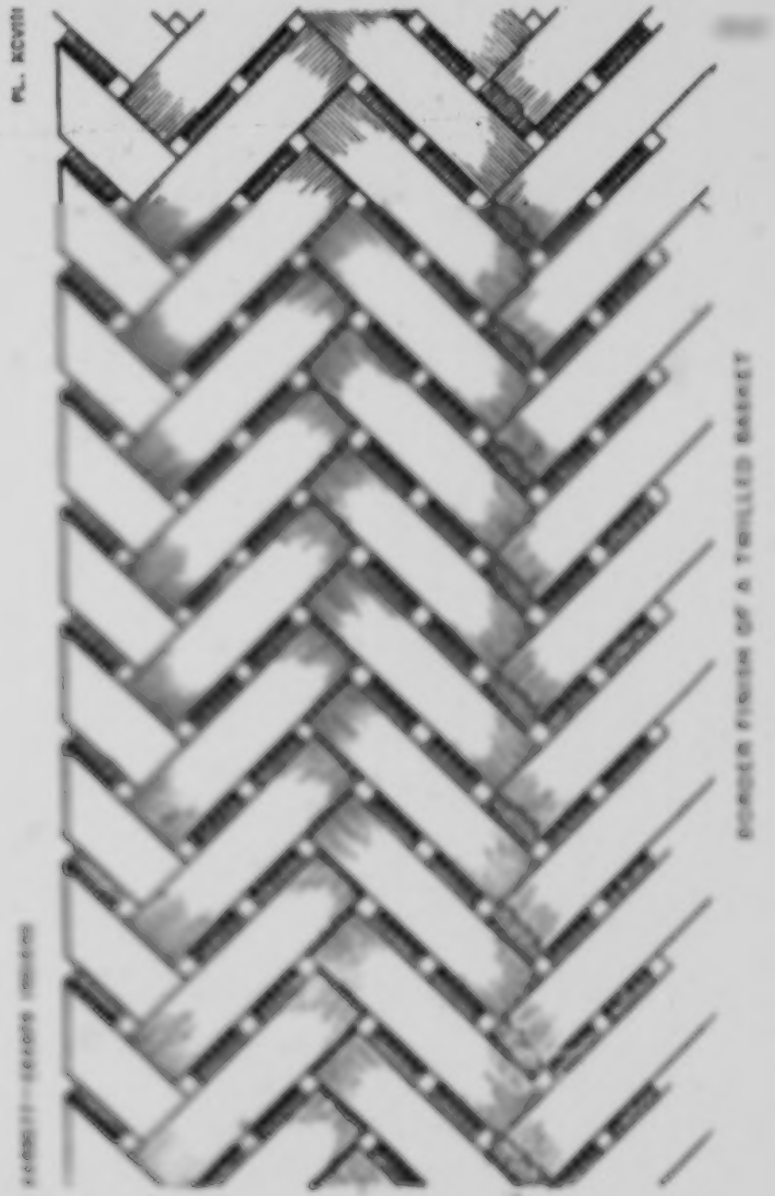


BORDER FINISH OF A TRILLED BASKET

[p. 204 (11)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285



[p. 204 (6)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

in binding the edge of the basket, which is accomplished by either one of two general methods. In the most commonly employed of these the outer set of projecting ends only is used, the inner splints being cut off flush with the inner surface of the basket. In this method of binding there are three variations, as shown in pls. XCVII-XCIX. The essential features of these are the same, and involve first the turning over of each projecting splint at an angle of ninety degrees to its former course, and then passing it back down the outer surface of the basket in such manner as to bind its end securely. The most frequent procedure is to turn such a splint inward and to pass it first behind two, next in front of three, and finally behind three transverse elements on the outer surface of the basket (pl. XCVII). At its emergence at this last point it is cut off evenly with the surface of the basket. In the other two variations of this method, such an element passes behind one, in front of three, and behind three (pl. XCVIII), or behind one, in front of two, and behind two elements (pl. XCIX).

In each of the above instances there still remains upon the inner surface of the basket and projecting from about the border, the other set, or half the total number of elements employed in weaving the basket. These are simply cut off flush with the last transverse elements from under which they emerge, thus leaving this inner surface smooth. There remains then only the adjustment of the size of the opening of this half of the hamper. This is done, as before stated, with the "draw-string," which is then tied securely and holds the opening to its proper size, although it may later require adjustment, as the string stretches and the opening changes.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 The second method of finishing the border involves turning both the outer and the inner sets of elements inward and passing them down the inside of the basket instead of turning the outer set only inward and passing its elements down the outer surface as just described. As these elements turn inward and downward, each takes a direction at a right angle to its former course. They are at the same time twilled together for either one or three rows down along the inner surface, thus producing at the edge two thicknesses of twilling. The ends of the inner set of elements are then cut off, while those of the outer set are simply passed down over several (in the cases in hand the number is five, seven, or nine) of the transverse elements of the regular wall of the basket and each is then securely fastened by being passed behind three transverse elements in the wall of the basket itself. On emerging from behind these, such an end is cut off flush with the surface. The inner surface of such a border is shown in pl. c.

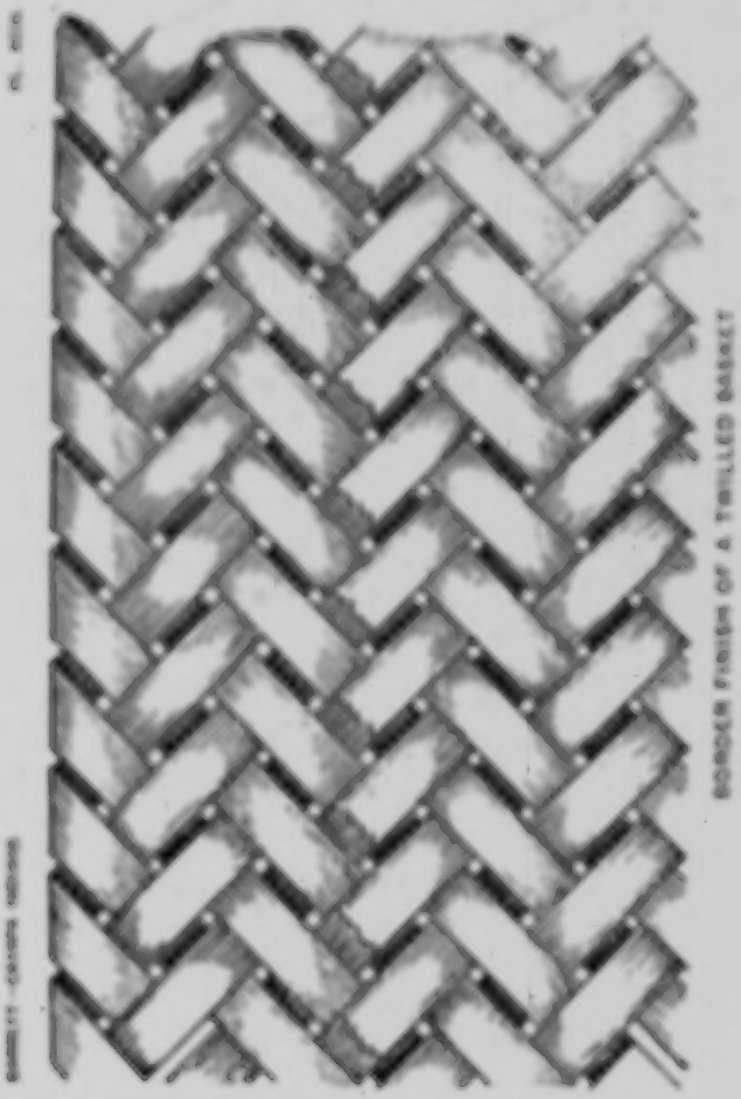
The same "draw-string" as that used in the above-described types of border is required for this one, although this finish produces a much smoother and thicker border than the others, since there is here a double wall of twilling.

The foundations or starting points and borders of twilled baskets of forms other than the hamper are the same in principle as those employed in the hamper-shape baskets, the only variations being those which arise from the form of the basket.

The border shown in pl. xciv, 6, is a notable exception, just as this basket itself is notably different in form and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

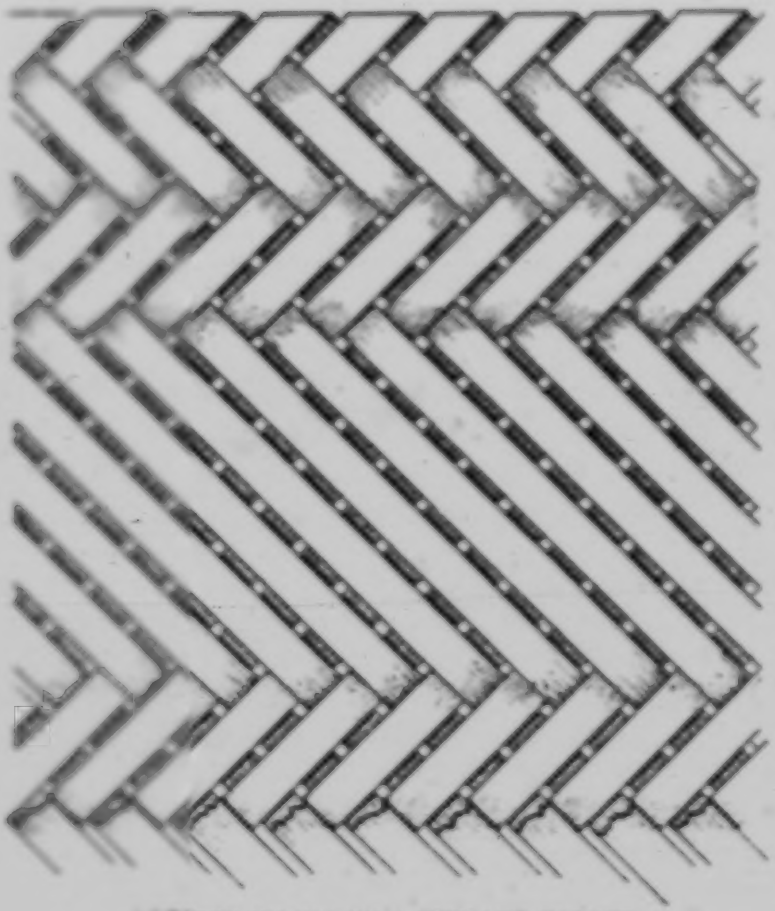
285



BORDER FINISH OF A TWILLED BASKET

[p. 206 (A)]

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6



BORDER FINISH OF A TWILLED BASKET

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

material, as has been previously pointed out, from those of this technic. The border in this case is essentially the same as that shown in fig. 8 of the same plate, which has been described in detail in speaking of the borders of wicker baskets. It differs only in that the ends of the twilling elements are turned over in groups of three instead of in pairs, in that one horizontal element is run around on the inner instead of the outer surface, and in that the two spiral binding elements pass in opposite directions instead of in the same direction, thus causing them to cross instead of to parallel each other.

KA'PŪ TECHNIC

Of the three technics in which elements passing in [53] three different directions are employed, the simplest is that called by the Cayapa ka'pū, from kapū'ka, signifying eye, this name being derived from the hexagonal opening produced by the technic, which the Indians conceive to resemble an eye. It will perhaps facilitate the description of this technic to letter, in the accompanying illustrations, the elements used therein and the figures and angles which these produce.

Three pairs of elements are required to produce a single unit of this technic, the elements of each pair passing in their particular direction and standing in certain given relations to the remaining elements in the set. Thus, in fig. 18 the two elements A and A′ pass obliquely upward toward the right, and B and B′ pass obliquely upward toward the left, while C and C′ pass horizontally. The exact relation in which any one of these elements stands

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

to any other element is shown by this figure and need not be described in detail here. It should be noted, however, that it is by means of the third pair of these elements that the other two pairs are bound. If taken alone, any two pairs of these elements are found simply to pass over each other, while the elements of the third pair pass through the angles formed by the intersections of the elements of the other pairs and thus bind the whole figure firmly together. This holds good in every instance no matter in what order the pairs of elements are considered. The details of this technic are well illustrated in the baskets shown in pl. XCII, 8, and XCIII, 9. An examination of these will show that the above statements concerning the relations of these pairs of elements one to another in a unit figure holds true for the entire basket, and that if one element, A, passing in a given direction stands in a certain definite relation to another element, B, passing in another direction, then all the elements which are parallel to A stand in the same relation to all elements running parallel to B.

The result of the crossing of these six elements is two equilateral triangles, *X Y Z* and *X' Y' Z'*, superposed in such manner as to produce a six-pointed star as shown in fig. 19. The central opening in this figure is a hexagon, *a b c d e f*, and it is this opening which characterizes the technic and gives the basket the name of ka'pû pickalyi, or eye-basket.

In beginning the manufacture of a basket of this technic no special knot or other device is used. Six elements are so laid on a convenient flat surface as to produce the first or central "eye," which may be con-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

sidered as the initial six-sided figure about which the rest of the bottom is constructed. These elements first laid down must stand in the relations one to another that are above described. From this point on, the formation of the bottom of the basket is a simple process, consisting of adding the necessary elements in the proper order and along lines parallel to those of the original six elements above mentioned. This process of adding on all six sides of the original opening continues until a hexagonal bottom of the desired dimensions and proportions is produced. The size of such a bottom is obviously governed by the size of the basket desired. In form these bottoms are usually equilateral except in the case of the particular type of burden-basket shown in pl. xcii, 6, in which the bottom is about twice as long as it is wide.

From this woven bottom a large number of radial elements extend out on its six sides in as many groups, each group composed of parallel elements. Obviously the angle between any two of these groups occurs at one of the corners of the hexagonal woven area and is an angle of approximately one hundred and twenty degrees.

At this point in the process of weaving these radial elements are turned abruptly up to form the vertical sides of the basket. Theoretically the individual elements themselves might be brought up in a perpendicular position, or at almost any desired angle to the perpendicular, so long as the result as a whole is a vertical wall, but in practice the same technic is maintained in these sides as is used in the bottom. In order to produce this, each element is turned up in such manner that it slants along this wall of the basket at an angle of about thirty

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

285 degrees to the perpendicular, one set of elements slanting toward the right while the adjacent set slants toward the left, the inner angle formed by any intersection being therefore one of sixty degrees. As a matter of fact the exact slant of these elements varies considerably, and

FIG. 18.—A unit of ka'pū technic showing relations of the three pairs of parallel elements

the angles made by their intersections vary accordingly, so that the resultant figures have a variety of shapes, although all approach more or less the true hexagon as shown in the schematic figs. 18 and 19.

However, if only the elements used to form the bottom were employed in making these sides, there would be but

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the two sets of elements crossing obliquely and a four-sided opening or mesh would result. As has been shown, however, in this technic elements passing in a third direction are required, and it is therefore necessary to bring two new horizontal elements into combination with each set of two pairs of the diagonal elements above mentioned which go to produce the four slanting sides of the hexa-

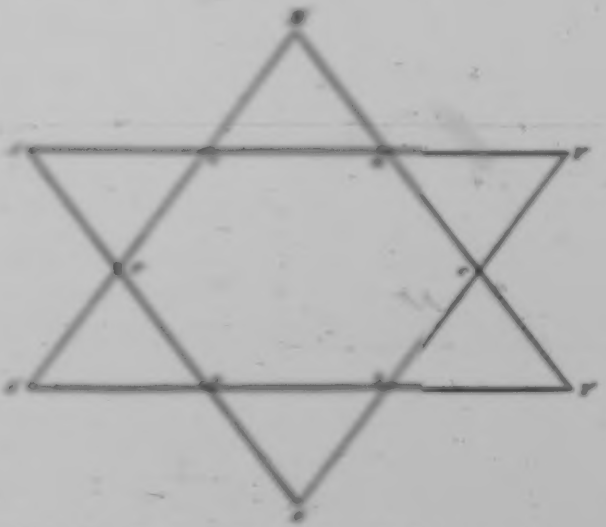


FIG. 18.—Component parts of a unit of ka'pü technic

gon, as shown in fig. 18. These two horizontal elements cut off the top and bottom of the quadrilateral opening which would be produced by the simple crossing of the elements brought up from the bottom of the basket alone. They are produced by inserting another splint in such manner that it passes horizontally in a clockwise direction and forms a continuous spiral, passing up the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

285 side of the basket and cutting through the lowest and the uppermost angles respectively of the quadrilateral figures formed by the intersection of the four diagonal elements which came from the bottom of the basket. This produces two more sides and two more angles, and the result is that all the openings in the sides as well as on the bottom of the basket are hexagonal in form. As a rule a very long piece of material is used as this horizontal splint, but whether long or short it may be made a continuous spiral throughout the whole side of the basket by inserting a new splint when the end of the one in use is reached. This is done by overlapping the two splints for an inch or two and in this way giving the effect of continuity. Thus the sides and the bottom of such a basket are built up in exactly the same manner, except that, owing to the ever-increasing diameter of the bottom, it is necessary to add a new splint each time another horizontal element is required, instead of using a continuous splint which passes spirally about the basket as is done in the above-described method of treatment of the side.

In the closely allied technic called tcĭ'nde the prevalent method of inserting these horizontal elements is by putting in a separate splint for each horizontal element in the basket. In this case each splint makes simply one complete circle about the basket and has no connection whatever with any of the other horizontal elements. So far no instance of this treatment of these horizontal elements in the ka'pū technic has been encountered. It is quite possible, however, that a larger series of these baskets might show some cases of this,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

just as one exception to the usual clockwise direction of the long continuous spiral element has been encountered. 285

There is one notable exception to this shape of opening or mesh. At the six corners of the bottom of the basket the openings are pentagonal instead of hexagonal. This is due to the fact that no horizontal element passes through the opening at its lowest inner angel (angle

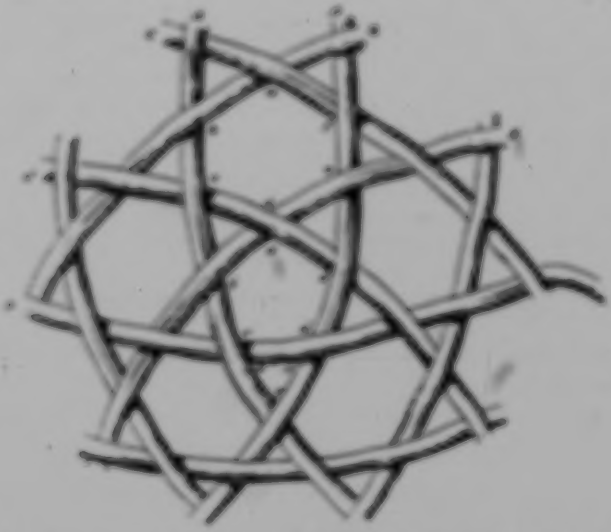


FIG. 20.—Pentagonal opening at one corner of the bottom of a basket of ka'pi technic

c' a' b', fig. 20). A horizontal element, D, cuts across the opening at its topmost angle (angle x y z) and thus adds to the figure formed by the regular oblique elements, A, A', B' and C', only one more side instead of adding two sides as is done when two horizontal elements are used in the regular way.

The reason for the absence of this second horizontal

3: Barrett B-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 element in this opening is that the element c′, which was the upper horizontal element used in the preceding mesh, *a b c d e f*, now changes its course as it turns upward to enter the side of the basket and becomes one of the diagonal elements. At this transition point between the bottom and the side this element c′ really occupies the same position and stands in the same relation to the remaining elements at this point as does the regular lower horizontal element in any other mesh. If a lower horizontal element were really to be inserted at this point, it would necessarily cut across the present angle *e′ a′ b′* and would stand in the same relation to the other elements it would cross that the element C now occupies in crossing A′ and B to form the two angles *f a b* and *e f a*. As a matter of fact, however, c′ now occupies exactly this position, so that no extra element could be inserted at this point.

It is an interesting fact that, when the horizontal element which runs as a spiral about the basket is added, it is not simply inserted at the point where it becomes active as a horizontal element, which is always at one of the points of the hexagon which constitutes the bottom of the basket, but the initial end of the element passes back diagonally up the side and serves as a diagonal element the same as if it were one of those originally used as part of the bottom.

Furthermore, it should be noted that in all the cases at hand, except one, the spiral so produced progresses in a clockwise direction as the exterior surface of the basket is viewed. This is in accord with the observed tendency of Cayapa weavers in general to proceed in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

their work toward the right, so that the isolated instance in which the spiral progresses in a contra-clockwise direction is quite striking. 285

The regular process of weaving, as above described, continues until the border of the basket is reached, where any one of several methods may be brought into play in finishing the border. The one most usually employed is that of bending toward the right, at the border, each pair of diagonal elements at their last point of intersection at the very edge of the opening, passing these inward and downward behind a single strip of pitigua, and then out upon the outer surface of the basket. They then pass more or less obliquely across the adjacent pair of intersecting splints, and finally back onto the inner surface of the basket, and either simply behind the next pair of intersecting splints or behind these and then outward through the mesh next below. There is almost invariably employed a spiral wrapping about this border, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in both, which latter method makes two crossing spirals. As this wrapping of the edge is done, there is ordinarily placed along the outside of the basket, at its edge, an extra splint which is included in the wrapping, thus giving greater strength and greater rigidity to the basket. Now and then one of these extra splints is added on the inside as well. Furthermore, occasionally a basket is found in which the loose ends of the diagonal elements are simply bent over and laid horizontally along the edge and are included within the spiral wrapping.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 In burden-baskets of the type shown in pl. XCII, 8, and occasionally in other forms also, there occurs a very simple type of border finish, in which the ends of the diagonal elements are merely turned downward over the last horizontal element and made to pass along parallel to one of the regular diagonal elements forming the side. Such a border is shown in pl. XCIV, 12. In this particular case these returning diagonal elements pass upon the side of the horizontal elements opposite from those occupied by the corresponding original diagonal elements. Also they pass through the wall of the basket out in the hexagonal opening at any given point. As shown in pl. CI, such a returning element often takes exactly the same course as that of the corresponding original diagonal element, and it frequently passes through one of the very small triangles formed by the technic instead of through the hexagon. In fact it is sometimes superposed upon this original diagonal element to a certain extent. Further, this figure shows an interesting feature in that the wrapping of the border is continued down into the side along one diagonal line, while one of the ends of an original diagonal element is bent back on itself and passed back down into the side of the basket as a similar wrapping.

This ka'pū technic is perhaps more frequently applied than any of the others employed by the Cayapa in basketry. It is, however, confined entirely to basketry, and for this reason should be considered as ranking next to twilling, which is used in making mats and fans as well as basketry.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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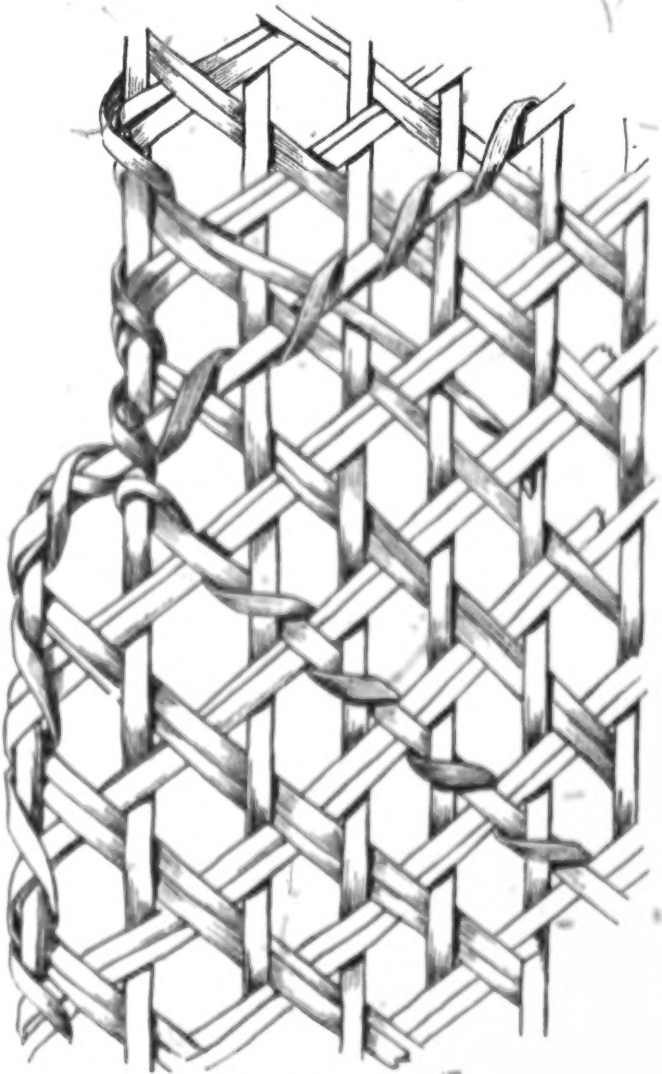
PL. CI



BORDER FINISH SHOWING RETURN OF DIAGONAL ELEMENTS AND WRAPPING

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 216(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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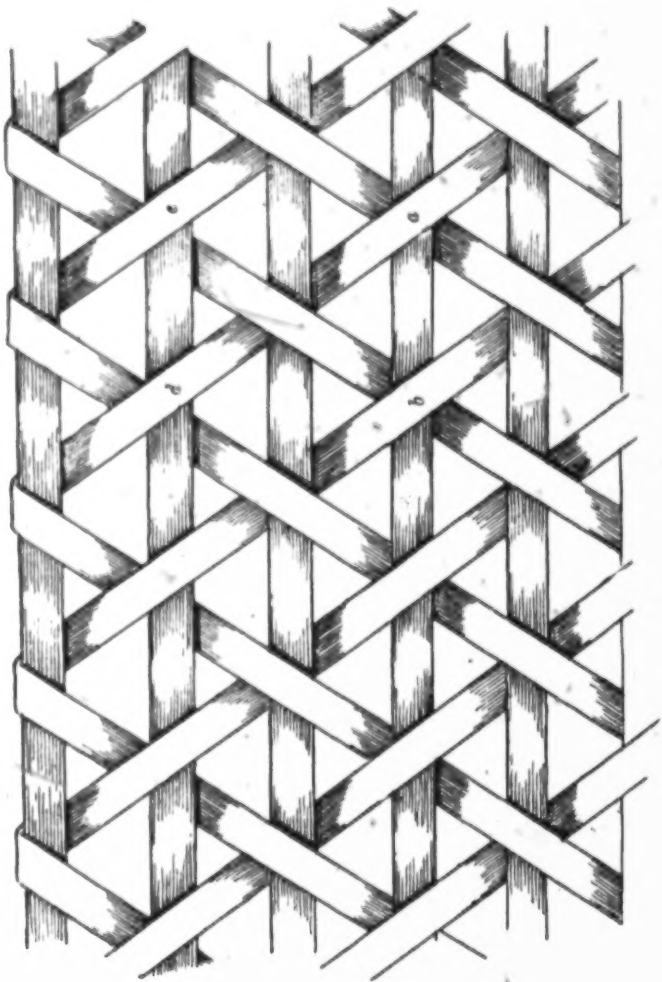
PL. CII



BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

TCĪ'NDE BORDER WITH ELEMENTS RETURNED BELOW

[p. 216 (8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TCĪ′NDE TECHNIC

The second of the technics in which elements passing 285
in three directions are used is that called by the Cayapa tcī′nde, a name for which no translation could be obtained. The details of this technic are shown in pl. XCIV, 11, and pl. XCV, 4, 8, 10, 13. In pl. XCII, 1, is shown a typical basket of this technic. This, however, is one in which the diagonal elements of the sides are returned downward and produce a complicated form of the technic.

In detail the tcī′nde technic is identical with the ka′pū technic, except that there is added another horizontal element which bisects the hexagonal opening of the ka′pū and gives two trapezoidal openings (fig. 21). This is done by passing a splint horizontally through the angles at *c* and *f* (fig. 19) in such manner that it passes between the two diagonal elements which cross each other to form the angle of the hexagon at each of these points. The new horizontal element passes, therefore, under B and B′ and over A and A′ (fig. 18). This is the simple course of such a third horizontal element in its relation to a single one of the hexagonal openings of the ka′pū technic. Its course throughout a series of these openings on the side of the basket is the same as that outlined for a single opening, so that this third horizontal element passes continuously in this manner from one opening to the next throughout the whole series in the sides of a basket.

Such is not the case, however, on the bottom of the basket, where a special manipulation is employed, as is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

285 shown in pl. xcv, 4. Beginning with the hexagonal opening which forms the center of the bottom of the basket, the end of this third horizontal element is passed through the opposite angles at *e* and *f* of the hexagon (fig. 19), thus cutting this initial hexagon into two fairly exact trapezoids. In the instance shown in pl. xcv,

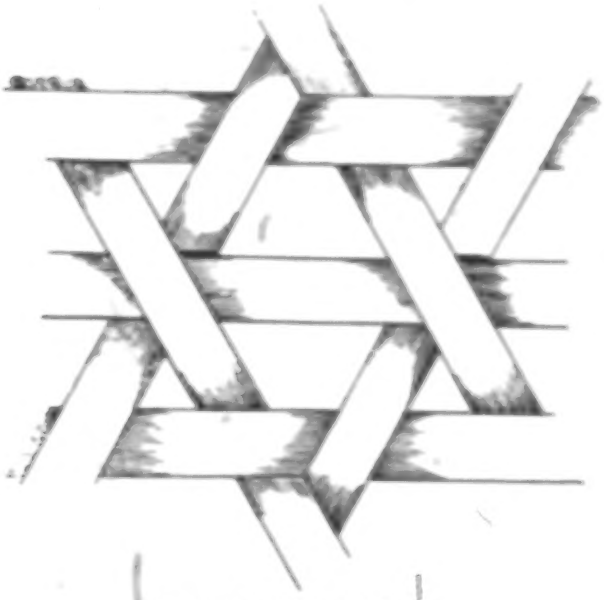


FIG. 21.—Detail of tci'ndè technic

4, this initial insertion is so made that the horizontal element does not pass directly across the hexagon, thus forming two exact trapezoids, but in the majority of instances these figures are of fairly exact form. This element, after passing between the two diagonal elements which cross at *f*, extends on into the next hexagonal opening toward the left as the bottom of the basket is

3: Barret E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

viewed. At this point the fundamental difference between the treatment of this third horizontal element on the bottom of the basket and that which it receives on the sides, begins to manifest itself. If this element on the bottom followed exactly the course which it does on the side of the basket, it would obviously go directly out in a straight radial line from the center of the bottom. Instead it folds under in such manner as to change its direction sufficiently to enable it to take a course toward the second intersection of elements forming the hexagon from that through which it has just passed. This brings it to one of the angles (angle *f g h*) formed by the crossing of the lower one of the horizontal elements forming this hexagon and one of the diagonal elements. It does not pass between these two elements, but entirely around them at their intersection. It then passes across the opening to the diametrically opposite angle of the hexagon. Here it passes between the two crossing elements, after which it again changes its course and passes directly to the next angle on the left. At this point it takes another turn around the intersection of the two elements which cross here and again goes to the diametrically opposite angle where it passes between the two elements that cross at this point. Thus, by a repetition of this process, this third horizontal element is made to move in a clockwise direction, as the bottom of the basket is viewed, and is caused to take a spiral course which makes it cross successively each of the hexagonal openings of the entire bottom of the basket. In every case except the first the change of direction is given by a move from the angle at which

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

this element enters a given hexagonal opening to the angle next adjacent in a clockwise direction. In the first case this move is one of two angles in a clockwise direction instead of one. This variation produces an interesting sequence in the number of openings passed over by this element in a given complete circle. The first four changes of direction after the element leaves the hexagon in which it commenced cause it to pass over one opening only in each case. It then passes over two openings, this time running parallel to the initial direction it had at the outset. It next crosses one opening only, after which it crosses successively two openings each time for the next four changes of direction. On again reaching a point where its direction is parallel to that which it had initially, it crosses three openings, after which it drops to two, which in turn is followed by four sets of three openings. Thus by a series of these concentric hexagons in which the numbers of openings all follow the sequence above outlined, but with numbers which increase one each at each new revolution in the spiral, the entire bottom is built up until this special treatment of this third horizontal element finally gives place to its regular manipulation when the side of the basket is reached. The cycle may be reduced to a kind of formula in which x equals the fundamental number of openings passed over in any given complete circle of the horizontal element. The formula would then be $x + x + x + x + (x + 1) + x$.

It should be observed that in making this bottom the third horizontal element always stands in the same relation to any certain element in any given turn of its

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

spiral course that it does in any other turn. An inspection of fig. 4 of pl. xcv will show this to be the case, and that where this third element passes round any certain element in one turn of the spiral it always passes round the same element in every other turn of the spiral. 285

On finally reaching the edge of the bottom, the looping of this horizontal element ceases, since this course is necessary only in order to increase the diameter of the bottom, just as the other horizontal elements are constantly added for the same purpose. The manipulation of this third horizontal element then changes, and it runs, as above described, either as a continuous spiral or, as is much more frequently the case, as a series of single detached bands, each passing completely around the basket.

In the cases in which the spiral treatment of this third horizontal element is employed, the horizontal elements which form the top and bottom of the hexagon are furnished by another spiral running parallel to this third element which cuts the hexagon into its two trapezoidal figures. Like the spiral element on the side of a basket of the ka′pū technic, the initial end of this one commences at the edge of the basket and runs down as a regular diagonal element to one corner of the bottom, where it changes its course to the horizontal spiral above mentioned.

In one instance in which the bottom of a basket is made in the ka′pū technic while the sides are in the tcī′nde technic, the two long spiral elements required to produce the latter pass down the side of the basket

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

immediately adjacent to and parallel to each other, and enter it at the same corner of the bottom.

Any one of several border finishes may be used at the edge of a basket of this technic, but there is one border which is the result of a variant of this technic and which is similar to one of the border finishes used in connection with the ka'pû technic.

In this variant the two sets of diagonal elements, one of which reaches the rim of the basket on its outer surface while the other reaches it on the inner surface, are turned directly downward over the last horizontal element at the edge of the basket and each element is passed back down into the body. This is so done that each returning element of one set takes the direction of the opposite set, and so that each element passes in and out of the openings in the regular tcî'nde technic in such manner as to include between each pair of crossing diagonal elements one of the horizontal elements. Thus one of these diagonal elements passes over the two original elements which crossed at *d* (pl. CII) under the central horizontal element at its middle point, and over the two elements which intersect at *a*. The returning element passing in the other diagonal direction passes below at *e*, above and across the central horizontal element at its middle point and again below the two elements which intersect at *b*. An example of this technic is shown in pl. XCV, 10, and CII. In this manner each horizontal element in each unit of the technic is included between two of the diagonal elements.

This method of employing the returning diagonal elements produces a very tightly woven basket and may

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

be used on the sides only or it may be made to cover also the bottom. As a rule both these forms of this technic are used chiefly in the making of cylindrical storage baskets of various sizes. 285

dō TECHNIC

The third of the technics in which the elements pass in three directions is that known to the Cayapa by the name dō. This technic in basic principles is similar to that called ka'pū, and differs only in that in any single unit of the technic there are three additional splints each of which passes through opposite angles of the hexagon, as is shown in the accompanying figs. 22 and 23. This divides each of these hexagonal openings into six small equilateral triangles and forms a relatively tightly-woven basket, when compared with the ka'pū and the tcl'nde technics.

In each unit in both the ka'pū and the tcl'nde technics there are, in addition to and surrounding the principal openings (which in the one case is a single large hexagon, and, in the other, two trapezoids), six very small equilateral triangles, formed by the superposition of the two large equilateral triangles that make up the geometric basis of the technic unit. In the case of this dō technic, however, there are twelve of these openings, all equilateral triangles and all of about the same size.

Perhaps the most striking feature of a basket made in this technic is the presence of three pairs of heavy splints running radially in its bottom, as is shown in fig. 23 and in pl. xcv, 6. Each of these pairs is used

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

245

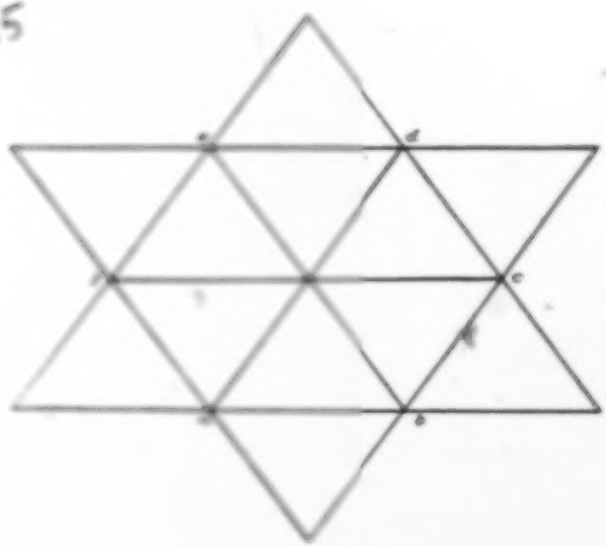


FIG. 22.—Component parts of d3 technic

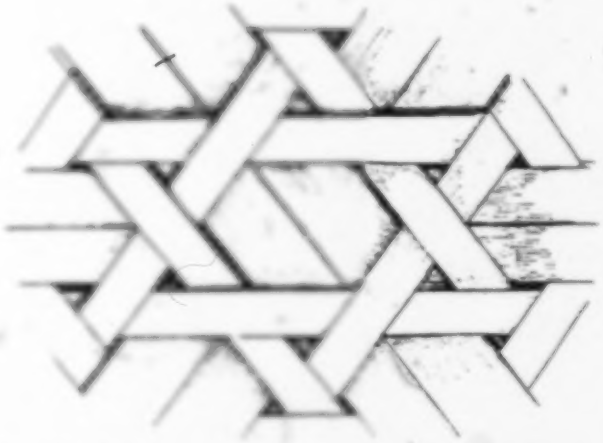


FIG. 23.—Initial unit at the bottom of a basket of d3 technic

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

in the bottom itself in exactly the same manner as a single splint would be, and each passes through two opposite corners of the hexagonal bottom. Thus these three pairs of splints pass out of the bottom at its six corners. On entering the sides, however, each of these pairs is divided and each element of a pair takes an independent diagonal course up the side of the basket, thus producing in its sides twelve elements independent from the three which cross the bottom. In most cases when one of these pairs divides, its units diverge and form angles of approximately sixty degrees one with the other, but in other instances they pass as independent parallel elements diagonally up the side of the basket. Sometimes both these methods of treatment are found in a single basket. As above stated, in the majority of instances these divergent elements take a diagonal course up the side of the basket, but now and then a basket is found in which one of them runs vertically while the other takes the usual diagonal course, as is shown in pl. xcv, 15, and frequently instances are found in which one or the other of such a pair of elements takes a course more or less approximating the vertical, as shown in pl. xcrv, 9.

285

In a cylindrical basket the straightness of the walls produces hexagons which are approximately equilateral, but in the rare type which has flaring walls the diagonal elements in the sides gradually diverge toward the opening of the basket in such manner that these hexagons are much elongated laterally. In no case, however, are extra diagonal elements inserted on account of this enlargement of the circumference of the basket toward its rim.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

285 The horizontal elements in the sides of such a basket are produced, as in the case of both the ka'pû and the tci'nde technics, in one of two ways. They may be and usually are, the result of a single spiral splint which first passes diagonally down the wall of the basket and enters the side at one of its six corners where the bottom and the sides join; from this corner onward it proceeds as a spiral until the border is reached. The second and a very rare method of securing these horizontal elements is by inserting a new complete band for each element. The ends of such a band are made secure by overlapping, the point at which any particular band overlaps being some distance around to one side or the other from the overlapping of the elements next above and below, thus giving added strength to the technic.

As in the other two technics of this group, the diagonal splints in the sides of a basket of this dô technic are all employed in the construction of the bottom of the basket, and in no instance are any more diagonal elements added in weaving the sides.

The nature of the dô technic is such that there is no possibility of returning the ends of the diagonal elements downward even from the edge of the basket, as is sometimes done in the ka'pû and the tci'nde technics, where this treatment of these elements forms one type of border finish. The triangular openings are so small, and the basket therefore so closely woven, that the returning of these elements down the side of the basket would be highly infeasible if not entirely impossible.

A notable fact connected with the manipulation of these elements is that in this particular technic the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

diagonal element which passes upward toward the left is almost always the one which passes between a horizontal element and the other diagonal element which passes up toward the right at the points where the three cross one another. This condition is quite different from that in the tcĭ'nde technic, for here what has been called the third horizontal element passes between the two diagonal ones. No comparison can be made with the ka'pū technic, since there is no point in this where three elements are crossed.

In finishing the borders of baskets of this technic the pairs of diagonal elements are usually bent inward and toward the right over a rod of pitigua, the ends of each pair being made to pass out in front of the pair next adjacent and toward the right, and finally down behind the second pair toward the right. To this simple binding, which in principle is the same as that most commonly used in baskets of the ka'pū and the tcĭ'nde technics, there is frequently added a wrapping of pitigua such as is shown in pl. xcv, 9. Even more elaborate bindings, such as that exhibited in pl. xcv, 15, are sometimes used by the Cayapa, while among the Cholo a very elaborate one, shown in fig. 16 of the same plate, was found. In its essentials the first is the same as that above described, and it differs only in the number of elements (from three to five) bent over in each group, in having an extra horizontal splint bound along the outside, and in having three courses of wicker run into the relatively large openings just below the bound rim.

The second mentioned binding is essentially the same as that just described except that the ends of the pairs

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

285 171 of elements when they reappear upon the inner surface of the basket are made to pass down under the similar pair next to the right, as is shown in pl. xcv, 16, which exhibits an inside view of this border. Thus there is produced a technic somewhat resembling what is commonly called herring-bone. The extreme edge appears to be very elaborately wrapped; this, however, is due to the manner in which two broad, flat wrapping elements are brought around it. So far as observed, this particular type of border finish does not occur among the Cayapa, although it is frequently employed by their Cholo neighbors, with whom this particular technic itself is more commonly used. In fact it is rather rarely used by the Cayapa.

BANDELAS TECHNIC

285 The technic called ba'ndilas by the Cayapa is the only one of the six technics employed by these Indians which has elements passing in four different directions. A horizontal, a vertical, and two opposite diagonal elements are required in this technic. Unlike the several above described, no special method is required in commencing a basket of this technic, its bottom being woven in exactly the same manner as are its sides. The horizontal elements on the bottom turn up, as do the diagonal and vertical ones, to form the elements of the sides. Obviously these elements, which are horizontal upon the bottom of the basket, become vertical when turned up to form the sides, and there is then the necessity of introducing other horizontal elements. This is ac-

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

complished by introducing complete bands which pass round the basket and whose ends overlap. The spiral horizontal element is never used in this technic as it is in some of those above described. The bottoms of these baskets are almost always rectangular, but not square, and the basket as a whole appears somewhat more angular than do the baskets of other technics except the hamper-shape twilled baskets, in which angularity is especially sought. A basket of this technic is shown in pl. xcm, 3.

The border of such a basket is finished in a manner similar to that employed in finishing the borders of baskets of the ka'pū and tcī'nde technics above described. The vertical and diagonal elements project above the border and at their points of last crossing form sets of three elements, one vertical and two diagonal crossing at the same point. These three are as a unit turned inward and downward, passing diagonally out and in front of the next set toward the right and finally inward and behind the next set. As these sets turn downward they pass over a horizontal splint, which is thereby included in the fold of each set of three elements. There is usually placed also a similar horizontal splint on the outside of the basket and one on the inside, the whole edge being bound by one or two spiral elements. One or the other of these outer horizontal elements may be omitted, but ordinarily both are present. In pl. xcrv, 10, and pl. xcv, 9, are shown two examples of borders in which are present two spiral elements running in opposite directions. In both these also the inner and outer horizontal elements are present. In the example shown

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 in pl. XCV, 11, on the other hand, the outer horizontal element is absent and there is but one spiral element. In this instance, however, there are two horizontal elements running like wicker through the openings immediately below the border and serving to give additional strength to it.

Baskets of this technic are among those more rarely made by the Cayapa. They have no special use, but serve any of the many ordinary household purposes to which Cayapa basketry is put, such as the storage of small articles and various foods.

In addition to the six technics above described, here termed the regular basketry technics, there are the two employed to a very limited extent in making the palm-leaf burden-baskets, which are used temporarily and only in emergencies for carrying burdens, or are now and then employed ceremonially by some shaman in his medicine practices. Two of these baskets are shown in pl. XCII, 2, 5.

285 324 In the first the technic resembles checkerwork to a certain extent. Such a conical basket is made from a single large pinnate leaf of the palm called by the Spanish chapil and by the Cayapa kūla′pō-tcī. Such a leaf is often as much as ten feet long. Perhaps eight feet of this is serviceable for basket-making, the two feet near the tip of the leaf being rather weak and provided with short leaflets. Having broken off the unserviceable section at its tip, such a leaf is bent at its middle point and its leaflets are interwoven after the fashion of checkerwork, thus producing a loosely woven basket with large meshes. The remaining ends of the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

leaflets are at last wrapped about the edge and bound loosely to secure them and produce the border of the basket. 285 824

The second type of palm-leaf basket is square in cross-section and has vertical walls. In this, two leaves which are made to cross each other at the bottom are used. The bottom of such a basket is usually about a foot square and the walls are two and a half or three feet high. The midribs of the leaves pass up the middle of the sides, and the leaflets, entirely unwoven, form the sides themselves. Extending up the four corners are heavy rolls formed by these leaflets, and it is in these that the particular technic employed only in this type of basket is found. When the two midribs are crossed at their middle points, they are securely bound together to keep them in position during the manipulation of the leaflets in making the corners of the basket. At a point five or six inches from this center, each of the midribs is then bent upward. As the leaves are thus placed in position, the leaflets extending out from the right-hand side of one midrib cross those extending from the left of the adjacent midrib. Beginning at the bottom, one of these leaflets is passed round a corresponding leaflet of the opposite set, its end joining that of the leaflet it has just gone round in passing upward to help form a core about which the other leaflets are in turn passed. In passing about this core each leaflet goes completely round it, coming back to the front below itself and then folding abruptly upward over itself to enter the core. This produces the technic which in the preceding pages was likened to the "half-hitch" in 285

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 cordage. By this process of passing these leaflets from first one side and then the other round this core of leaf-ends, a corner of the basket is built up to its topmost point, where the ends of the last two or three leaflets are tied in such manner as to prevent the corner from loosening. In the same manner all four corners are built up and the basket is then complete.

Forms and Uses

285 415 According to form and use, Cayapa basketry may be classed as follows:

Burden-basket, flaring,	kū′bī (pl. xcii, 4, 7).
[482] Burden-basket with vertical sides and carried usually by means of two shoulder-straps,	fe′ pickalyī, fe hi′nū pickalyī e′ pickalyī (pl. xcii, 8).
Square-sided, temporary burden-basket of hoja de chapil,	kūla′ pickalyī, kūla′pō pickalyī, (pl. xcii, 5).
Common cylindrical basket,	picka′lyī (pl. xcii, 1, 3).
Hamper-shape basket,	pū′le (pl. xciii, 2, 5, 6, 10, 11).
Bottle-shape bait basket,	tū′ñūtcītcī, dyūñūtcī′tcī, (pl. xciii, 3).
Tubular basket used for spindles,	tcūrūkū′kū, tīwōtcī′tcī (pl. xciii, 8, 12).

In addition to this classification, in which baskets used for certain purposes are of special forms, there are other terms indicating use which are applicable to a basket of any form, material, or technic. For instance, the name pū-pickalyī, from pū′ka, "fruit," and picka′lyī, "basket," may be used in speaking of any basket in which fruit is carried or stored.

As indicated in most instances by the names in the

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

above tabulation, these several distinct forms of baskets have special uses. The four types of burden-basket are used almost exclusively for carrying heavy loads upon the back. The two types made of hoja de chapil are, as above stated, only for temporary use and are worthless except while the leaves are green. They are also sometimes used, even after they are dry and brittle, by the shamans in their medicine practices. The other two types, which are made of the very durable pitigua, are sometimes used as storage receptacles about the house when not needed for carrying burdens, which is their primary use.

The flaring basket, kū'bī (pl. XCII, 7), is carried by means of a single band provided with a special, wide head-band that passes across the top of the head as the bearer bends forward. This is primarily a woman's burden-basket and is used in the daily home life of the people for bringing fruits and other products from the fields and in a multitude of other ways. It is, however, rarely used in carrying wood, which is so often one of the most important functions of burden-baskets among aboriginal peoples. Wood is usually brought by the canoe-load from some point near the river where a suitable dead tree can be found.

The straight-walled basket, fe' pickalyī (pl. XCII, 6, 8), is made especially for carrying burdens considerable distances, as on long trail journeys into the interior. Within their own territory these baskets are rarely needed by the Cayapa, since practically all travel is by canoe. Such a basket is provided with two burden-bands attached near the top and the bottom respectively,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 and so placed that the broad bearing surface of each
482 band stands vertically. These bands pass across in front of the shoulders after the manner of the straps of a knapsack. In the case of a large basket, such as that shown in pl. XCII, 8, the cords of the burden-bands pass round the basket to give the load greater security. Further, to add strength, and especially rigidity, to such a basket, two palm-wood rods are placed vertically on the inner surface of the basket, each being so placed as to be directly at the line along which one of the burden-bands is attached. The band is made to take a turn round this rod at each point at which it is attached to the basket. These rods are also of particular service in preventing the cords of the burden-bands from tearing out the relatively slender elements with which the weaving is done, when the basket is used in carrying such a load.

285 What is here termed the common cylindrical basket
415 (pl. XCII, 1, 3, and pl. XCIII, 4) has no special use other than as a general storage receptacle for foods, etc. Such baskets are frequently kept in the loft or hung under the eaves of the house when containing articles only occasionally needed.

285 Perhaps the most useful basket of all those made by
415 the Cayapa is the hamper-shape basket, pū'*le* (pl. XCIII,
482 2, 5, 6). This basket serves a variety of uses, chief among which are the storage of clothing and other valuable articles, and as a traveling case. No Cayapa enters on a journey of more than a day without one of these hampers, in which are his mosquito canopy, clothing, face-paint, any jewelry he does not wish to wear, and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

any other articles of value he does not deem it safe to leave at home.

These hampers, especially when used in traveling, are tied about the middle with a cord or a woven band, and can be tumbled about without danger to their contents. They are frequently kept filled with articles in storage in the loft of the house, and often are suspended by the above-mentioned cord or band from the rafters or from one of the timbers at the eaves. Sometimes these baskets are made for special purposes. This is the case with the long one shown in pl. XCIII, 2, which was made especially for the storage of spindles, though the usual spindle storage-basket is a long tubular one like those shown in figs. 8 and 12 of the same plate. Another special form is the very small hamper-shape basket, such as those shown in figs. 15–17; these are used as receptacles for trinkets.

The bottle-shape bait basket, tū′ñūtcītcī (pl. XCIII, 3), is a very specialized form and, as its name implies, is made for the particular purpose of carrying live insect bait in the canoe while fishing. Its narrow neck is provided with a balsa stopper or with some leaves made into a bundle which serves the same purpose.

Tubular baskets, called tcūrūkū′kū (pl. XCIII, 8, 12), are made especially for the storage of spindles, either full or empty. These baskets are usually from thirty to forty centimeters in length by from seven to fifteen centimeters in diameter. Such a basket is hung by one edge of its opening, so that it hangs at more or less of a slant. It is usually suspended from a rafter or other part of the house-frame near the eaves, within easy

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283 285 415 reach from the floor. The Cayapa women are very industrious, and whenever not occupied about the daily routine of their houses and fields, are spinning and weaving. The spinning tripod (pl. CVIII) is always kept in a convenient place at one side of the house, and one or two spindles are usually kept on the small woven shelf near the bottom of the tripod. All extra spindles, whether empty or filled, are, however, kept in these long tubular baskets. When several spindles are filled they are emptied by winding the thread into balls, in which form it is stored until needed.

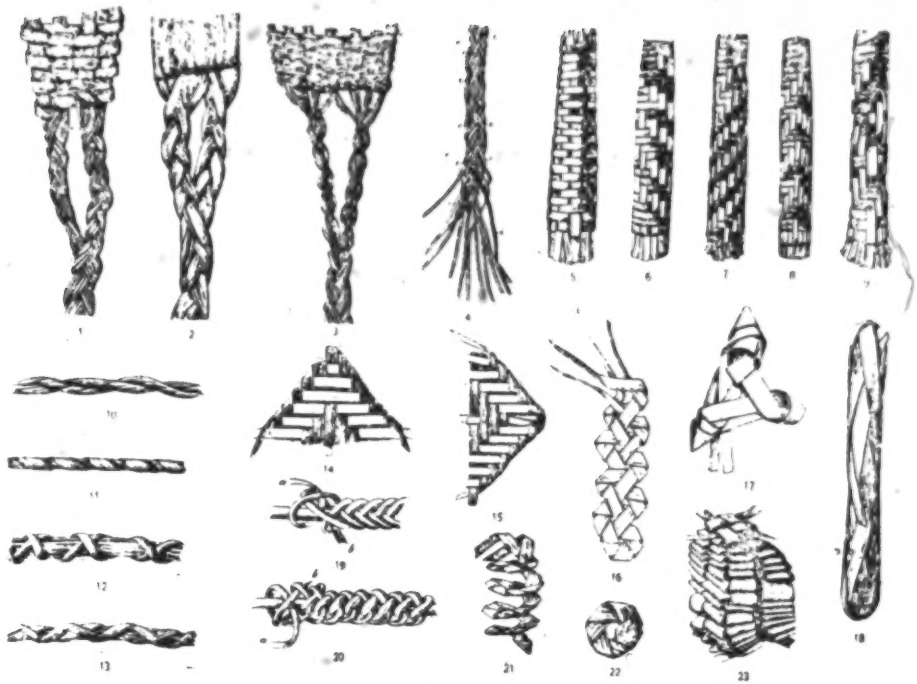
231 285 One very special form of basket not mentioned in the tabulation above is the large bottle-shape basket shown in pl. XCIII, 7. This unusual basket was made as a cage for a chicken. As a rule, rough baskets of the usual cylindrical form are utilized for this purpose, the opening being closed by binding its edges tightly together with a pitigua cord. This bottle-shape basket was the only one of its kind encountered, and no Cayapa name was given for it.

BASKETRY HANDLES

285 Most of the ordinary cylindrical baskets of small or medium size, regardless of technic, are provided with handles or bails such as those shown in pl. XCII, 3, and XCIII, 4. These handles are always of pitigua and are made in several forms.

The simplest handle consists of a plain piece of pitigua of the proper length, usually unsplit, tied at diametrically opposite points through the border of the basket. Usually it is passed through and brought up far enough

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6



HANDLES OF BASKETS AND FANS, AND BURDEN-BANDS

[p. 236 (A)]

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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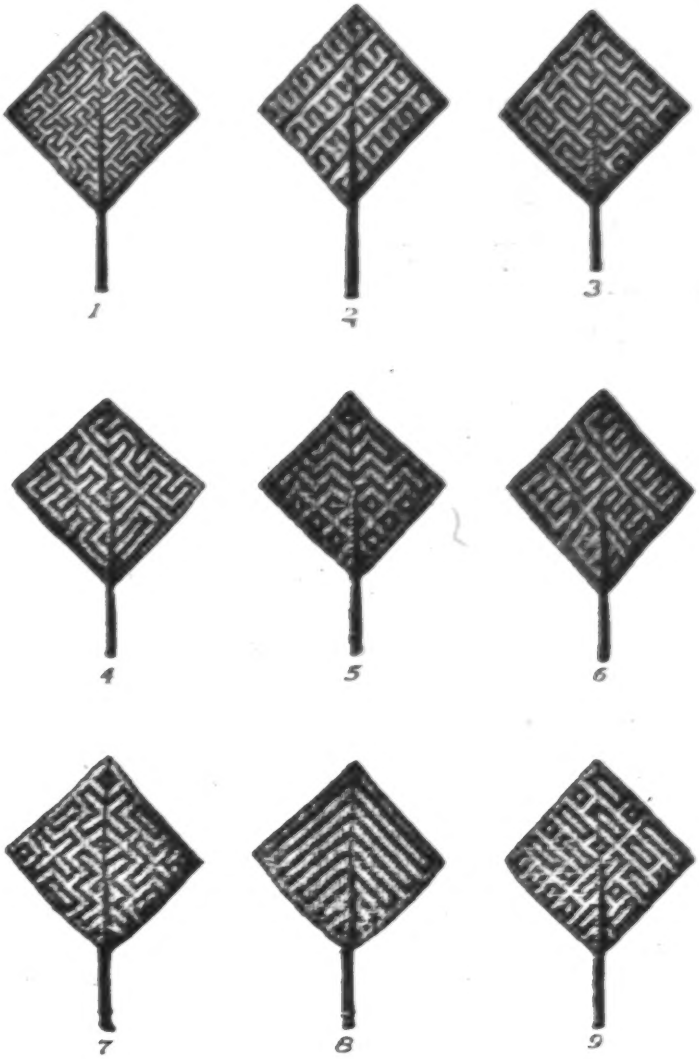

FANS

[p. 236 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

to tie in a slip-knot, thus giving it a secure hold. In 285
cases where no considerable weight is to be borne by it, however, it may simply be passed through the sides and knotted at each end.

The construction of five of the more elaborately made types of handle are shown in pl. CIII, 10–13, 19, and 20. In that shown in fig. 10 the construction is simple, an unsplit piece of pitigua being passed through the sides of the basket and twisted about itself after the manner of a two-ply cord, the ends of the pitigua being tied together.

The handle shown in pl. CIII, 11, is similar to the one just described, except that the pitigua is flat, and there is no attempt at twisting; instead, the second element of the handle is simply wrapped round the first. The two handles shown in figs. 12 and 13 of the same plate are similarly constructed save that there are two central elements while the wrapping elements are respectively two and three in number. In all these the sole endeavor appears to be to secure sufficient strength.

In the handle shown in figs. 19 and 20 of the plate, however, there appears to be a definite attempt at ornamentation, since there is added to the central section of the handle, which is otherwise a single unsplit piece of pitigua, an elaborately woven covering, as it may be called. One side of this, usually placed as the upper side, has a herring-bone appearance, as shown in pl. CIII, 19, while the other side appears as in fig. 20. The details of the construction are also well shown in these illustrations and need not be further described.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

BURDEN-BANDS

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482 The burden-bands made by the Cayapa are used almost if not quite exclusively in carrying the two types of burden-basket above described. These bands, called in general ta′ñla, consist in every case of two parts: the broad "head-band," called in Cayapa pickai ka′ñnū, and the two long cords which pass round the basket, called picka′lyi nō tetsūī pañnū. These burden-band cords are made in two technics: a plain braiding (pl. CIII, 1–3), called wa′tse′ta, and an elaborate technic which produces a cord, square in cross-section (pl. CIII, 4), called pī′Xta kalara, or bi′ñda kalara.

The Cayapa recognize four kinds of burden-bands. The simplest of these (pl. CIII, 2) is made of kuna-kuna bark and is called wa′tcī kīka tañla. A strip of this tough fibrous bark, from two to three inches in width and of a length equal to the total length of the burden-band, is selected and its ends are shredded so as to leave an unshredded section of the natural bark about twelve or fifteen inches in length in the middle. This forms the head-band, and at its two ends it is sewed across with a piece of pita string to prevent splitting. The shredded bark immediately adjacent to this section is then divided into two parts, each of which is braided separately for a few inches, after which the two are merged into a single braid which continues on to the end of the cord. These details are all given in the section shown in pl. CIII, 2. The outer surface of this bark is rough, but the inner surface, which is quite smooth and soft, is used as the bearing surface of the band. This particular type of burden-band is sometimes used

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

upon the forehead, but is more frequently employed as a shoulder burden-band.

A second type of burden-band is that shown in pl. CIII, 1, which is made of pitigua and is called by the Cayapa te'tsū tañla. In this the head-band is made in wicker with fairly broad strips of pitigua used as warp and a broad strip of the same material passing back and forth as woof. These warp strips are then split and made in two small braids that later merge into one larger braid as is shown in the illustration last mentioned. This type of burden-band is used almost exclusively in connection with the flaring burden-basket, which is supported by the band passing across the forehead. The remaining two types are made of the slender but very strong fibers of the palma real and differ one from the other only in the technic of the cord. In one instance this cord is simply braided, as in the kuna-kuna bark and the pitigua bands just described. A section of one of these bands called in Cayapa nintcū'a tañla, is shown in pl. CIII, 3. The other band, called lū'ra balya tañla, has a cord which is square in cross-section and is produced by the intricate technic shown in fig. 4 of the same plate. The head-band in each case is made in the same wicker technic in which several palma-real cords are laid side by side to form a unit warp element, and a couple of these same palma-real fibers are placed side by side to form a unit woof element.

FANS

The Cayapa make extensively a special type of fan, called nyē've or nyiwē'wi, used for fanning the fire and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 to a certain extent for fanning themselves. As is shown
293 in pl. CIV this fan is always square and has a substantial
372 handle extending from one corner. Almost the only
[824] material used for fans is the bark of the petiole of the fan-leaf palm. On rare occasions the bark of the hoja blanca is employed, and such fans almost always show a pattern in red produced by coloring one set of the twilling elements with achote. Both these materials are prepared in exactly the same manner as in making basketry.

285 The blade of the fan is always made in the over-three and under-three form of twilling, while the handle consists of a bundle of the elements which form the blade, this bundle having an outer surface of twilling or wickerwork, as shown in pl. CIII, 5–9. Such fans are usually eight or nine inches square, though they are sometimes larger and frequently smaller. The larger fans are used almost exclusively for fanning the fire, while the smaller ones are used for giving personal comfort.

285 Fans are decorated with a considerable variety of
531 geometric designs of the same character as those found on mats, and in lesser variety on twilled basketry. Pl. CV shows a number of these patterns, which in most instances are without special name and in no case are they symbolic, as has been pointed out in treating the decorative art of the Cayapa.

285 The exact manipulation of the splints used in fan-making is shown in pl. CIII, 14 and 15, which exhibit respectively the uppermost corner and the right-hand corner of the front or upper surface of the fan. In detail the manipulation is as follows: A single long

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

strip is bent double, always with its dark surface outward. Between the two splints which result from this doubling and at the point of the bend is passed a transverse splint with its lighter surface uppermost. Next another transverse splint is laid on top of this vertical double one, and the ends of the first transverse splint are bent over the second and passed down close to and parallel with the double vertical splint. In bending these ends from a horizontal to a vertical position they are simply turned over so that the fold in each case forms an angle of forty-five degrees with both its directions and the dark side of the splint is uppermost when the splint is given a vertical position. The third transverse splint is now laid on top of the original double vertical splint and over the two adjacent vertical splints made by bending down the ends of the first transverse splint. Next the ends of the second transverse splint are bent down over this third transverse splint. With this the first unit of three splints is obtained and the uppermost corner of the fan is made.

The next set of three transverse splints must now pass below the original double vertical splint. The first of this set passes below this double splint only. The next one passes below the double splint and the splint immediately adjacent on either side, and the third one passes under it and the two splints immediately adjacent on either side. As each succeeding horizontal splint is laid down, it is passed under and over the proper number of vertical splints required to produce the desired design. As each of these splints reaches the edges of the fan, the ends of the splint immediately preceding, which has

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

285 until now remained horizontal, are bent over as above described, and each of these ends forms another vertical splint passing down parallel to the original double splint used as a base in beginning the fan. Thus, while the transverse splints are all laid down with their white sides uppermost and facing the maker, when they are given this turn and pass downward at right angles to their former direction the dark side is brought into view. Hence all the transverse splints, when the fan is viewed from the side held uppermost in the weaving, are white, and all the vertical splints are dark. Thus, by causing the horizontal splints to pass in each case above or below the required number of vertical splints, the desired pattern is produced. These designs are, as above stated, always geometric, and the direction of their constituent lines is governed by the number of vertical elements crossed by the horizontal elements at the points where such direction changes.

By the addition, as above described, of as many horizontal splints as are desired, the upper half of the fan, which is a complete isosceles triangle the apex of which is a right angle, is formed. All the splints inserted in this upper half of the fan as horizontal elements become, by the above-described bending over, the vertical splints in the lower half of the fan.

When this upper half of the fan is finished, the last horizontal splint laid down is not turned over as in the case of the preceding ones. This splint marks the median line of the fan and is allowed to project horizontally out of its lateral corners until the blade of the fan is completed.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The second or lower half of the blade of the fan is 285
woven in the following manner: The horizontal element next preceding the median element was, like all the remaining horizontal elements in the upper half of the fan, folded over and brought into a vertical position. It is now given a second fold and brought again into a horizontal position. This fold is in the opposite direction to that given it above: that is to say, when a horizontal splint is given its original fold into the vertical position, the splint is folded over toward the operator, which brings the vertical portion of the element on top of the horizontal portion. When it is folded the second time and brought from the vertical again to the horizontal position, it is bent back away from the operator. This returning of the element from a vertical to a horizontal position is illustrated in pl. CIII, 15, which shows the right-hand corner of the blade of a fan. Thus each element which starts in a horizontal position and then becomes vertical in the upper half of the fan, regains its horizontal position in the lower half.

Its manipulation in the lower half of the fan is precisely the same as that in the upper half, and by the selection of the proper numbers of vertical elements over and under which it is to pass, the required design is produced in the lower half just as was done in the upper half. Each end of any given splint is bent over in the above described manner, and the two ends of any certain splint which was originally horizontal in the upper half pass back directly toward each other and together form the horizontal element in the corresponding position in the lower half of the fan. They meet along the vertical

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

285 middle line of this lower half, the end of each one projecting several inches out of the side of the fan. The end of one half of such a horizontal unit passes out on the front surface of the fan while the end of the other half passes out on the rear surface.

Thus, when the successive vertical elements are turned back into the horizontal position, as above described, and carried through the twilling until they reach the middle line of the lower half of the fan, there is left on each surface of the fan, when this lower triangular half is finished, a set of these projecting ends which is equal in number to that of the original horizontal elements used in making the upper half of the fan, minus one, which is the last horizontal element inserted. This, it will be remembered, was not turned down to form a vertical element, as were the others. On each surface these ends project alternately toward the right and toward the left. Those on the front of the fan have their white surfaces uppermost; those on the rear have their dark surfaces uppermost, and it is from these two sets of projecting ends that the handle is woven. In the upper half of the fan, the original double vertical splint is kept as a unit, its two parts passing together above or below the transverse elements as if they were one. On the completion of the first half of the fan, however, these two are divided, one being passed down the front, the other down the back. These two now become the centers upon which the two sides of the handle are woven.

Taking first one side and then the other of the fan, the handle is woven in the following manner (fig. 24):

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The uppermost projecting end of the set of horizontal elements, that is, the one at the geometric center of the fan, is first bent directly back upon itself so that it projects in the same direction as the one immediately below, which in turn is bent back upon itself so that it projects in the opposite direction. As each of these splints is bent over, one of the halves of the original

FIG. 24.—Details of fan technic.

vertical element is included in the fold. The first end is next bent directly downward in the same manner as were the ends of the splints along the sides of the fan. The third end is then bent over so as to include the single strip of the original vertical element and the end which has just been bent down as above described. The end of the second element is then bent down into a vertical

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

£85 position and the end of the fourth is bent across the three vertical elements of the handle thus far produced. The end of the third horizontal element is now bent down into the vertical position and across the fourth which was bent over as just described. Next the fifth horizontal element is bent across the bundle of vertical elements so far produced, and the fourth is now bent down across this fifth and into the vertical position. This process of bending first one element and then another into the horizontal and later into the vertical positions as above described continues until the lower point of the body of the fan is reached. By this time the ends of all the elements which were formerly projecting horizontally along the middle line of the lower half of the fan are bent into a vertical position and form a large bundle of splints, which constitutes this section of half the handle. These are now tied securely to prevent them from loosening. The fan is then turned over and the other half of the handle is made in the same manner by means of the ends of the horizontal splints which project on the other side of the blade of the fan. Having now completed the weaving, or plaiting, as it may more properly be called, of the two halves of the handle from the center of the blade of the fan down to its lowest point, the stem of the handle, or the part projecting below the lowest point of the blade, is made. Ordinarily the end of one of the last of these elements used in making the portion of the handle above described is wrapped several times tightly around the bundle of vertical splints above mentioned. This is usually an element that projects on the side of the fan which has

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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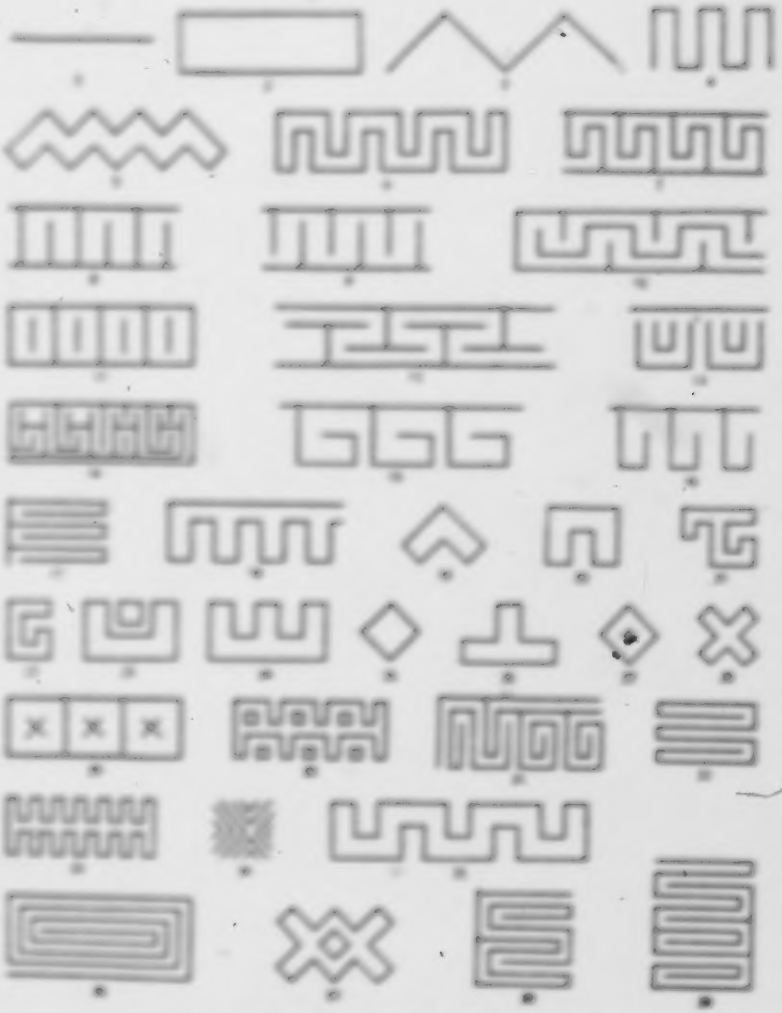

MAT AND FAN DESIGNS

[p. 246 (6)]

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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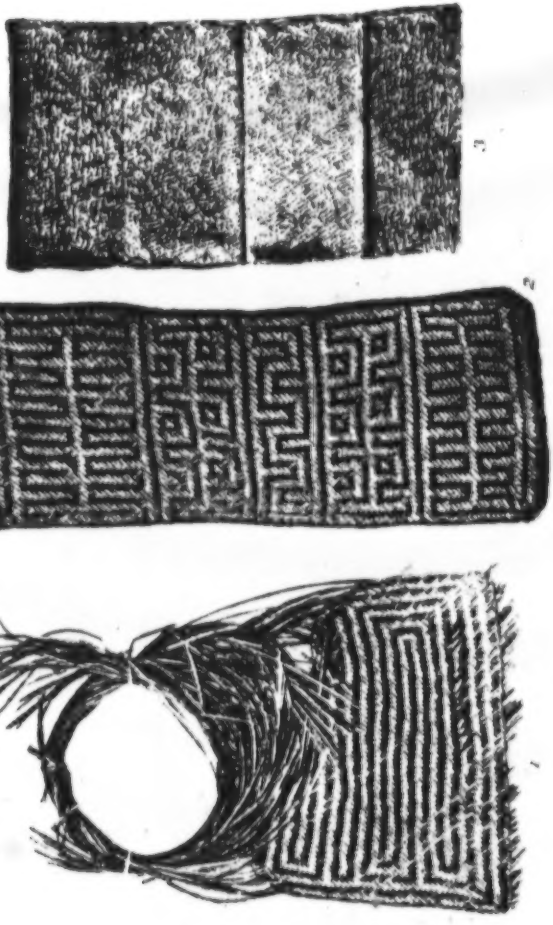


MATS AND BARK CLOTH

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 246(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

been held uppermost in the weaving of the square blade itself. After this binding certain of the vertical splints are selected and the rest of the surface of the handle is covered by the ordinary twilling process or by wickerwork. In this a single splint is passed spirally round and round the handle, the requisite vertical splints being passed above or below this spiral in order to produce the desired design. In order to hold firmly the weaving at the end of the handle, those vertical splints used as the warp elements in the twilling or wickerwork of the outer surface are bent over and passed up along the surface of the handle. This is done before the handle is completely woven to its end, each of the doubled splints being used as a single element. The last turn of the spiral above mentioned passes through the folds of these vertical splints which are then pulled tightly so as to hold it and the remainder of the weaving firmly in place. This method of finishing the end of the handle by means of bending over the vertical splints is exactly the same as that employed in finishing the borders of all baskets of the wicker technic. Examples of these handles are shown in pl. CIII, 5–9. The last four are finished in twilling, while the first is in the wicker technic.

On completing the blade of the fan, and usually before the handle is woven, the last inserted or medial horizontal splint, which, it will be remembered, was left to project out of the corners of the fan, is turned directly over and passed back along itself. If this splint were simply bent over it would bring its dark surface uppermost and would cover a portion of the white surface of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 this middle horizontal line. However, a half-twist is given this element so as to bring its light-colored surface uppermost, as is shown in pl. CIII, 15. It is then passed on along itself and follows the same course it did originally, passing under and over the same vertical elements and thus maintaining the symmetry of the pattern. The ends of these returning sections are cut off, so that they are hidden under some of the transverse elements under which they pass and thus the smoothness of the finished surface is not interrupted by the appearance of the ragged ends of these elements.

MATS

Mats, called tya'pū, regardless of size and use, are made of the bark of the petiole of the fan-leaf palm, and are of the ordinary over-three and under-three twilling. [531] Their designs are identical with those found on fans, although they are not so varied as the fan designs.

As is done in beginning a hamper-shape basket (page 202), one of these mats is commenced by laying down two sets of splints and crossing them along a line which gives the desired width of the mat. This line is ordinarily a short distance from what is intended to be one end of the finished mat. A short section of each long splint lies on one side of this line, while the greater part of it extends outward in the opposite direction. After having woven a few courses under and over three, the one end of the mat is finished off. This is done by taking the short ends of the elements and weaving them to the point desired as the edge of the mat, where one set of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the elements is turned at right angles to its former course and passed in and out for a short distance along the same course taken by the other set of elements. This other set simply projects from the edge of the mat and is later cut off. An unfinished mat is shown in pl. CVI, 1. This shows the method of finishing off the first end and also of weaving a section of the body of the mat. Owing to the extreme length of the elements used in this mat it was necessary to coil them up in order to reduce the size of the object for shipment. As the mat is being woven these two sets of elements project out at right angles to each other in the form of a large V. In the case of such a large mat the elements used are often as much as fifteen or sixteen feet in length. 285

In weaving a mat, half of the elements, that is, all those passing in a given direction, have their light-colored surfaces turned upward; the other half, those passing in the opposite direction, have their dark surfaces upward. Now, in making the edge of the end of a mat, if the elements of the set whose light surfaces are uppermost are chosen as the ones to be turned and passed back as the binding, this turn brings the dark surface of each of these elements upward. These dark surfaces, therefore, superimpose themselves upon the dark surfaces of the elements of the other set along which they lie, since these short ends are passed over three and under three along exactly the same course as that taken by the set of elements which originally ran in the opposite direction. The same pattern is thus maintained. Ordinarily these short ends are run back over two courses of transverse splints, or a distance equal to the width

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 of twelve splints. They are cut off at their point of emergence from under the second transverse course. The splints of the other set, which, in the case above mentioned, are those which have their dark surfaces uppermost, are simply cut off at the edge of the end of the mat. Thus a smooth and solid end is produced.

In most cases the weaving is not carried to its fullest possible extent at the corners, but the elements which project out from each corner are turned back upon themselves and are passed back for the binding of the corner. They pass in the same direction which they originally had in the twilling, but are on the opposite surface of the mat. This gives the mat the appearance of having its corners cut off instead of giving it a sharp right-angled corner such as would be produced if the weaving had been continued to its fullest extent.

Each one of the long elements passes diagonally across the body of the mat and on reaching the edge of its side is folded over and passes back at right angles to its former course. It thus serves as an element of the other color and passes in the direction opposite to that which it had originally. When it reaches the edge of this opposite side it is again folded over. This brings its original color uppermost, and it takes a course parallel to that which it first had and at right angles to its immediately preceding course across the mat. Thus, in a very long mat such an element may go diagonally across three or even four times, as is the case in the large mat shown in pl. CVI, 2. On arriving at the opposite end of the mat, one set of these elements is turned under and passed back to form the edge at this point, and the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

ends of all the elements are cut off in the same manner as was done in making the end with which the mat was begun. 285

Mats of this kind are most frequently used by the Cayapa in the hammocks which serve as cradles. A small mat is placed crosswise in the hammock and holds its edges apart; the baby is then laid upon this mat and swung in the hammock as a cradle. Large mats are occasionally used as beds, but for this purpose bark cloth is preferred. An important use for mats also is as a drying surface upon which to spread cacao. In canoeing, a large mat serves as a canopy or sun covering for small children or for an invalid. If its ends are placed just inside the gunwales of the canoe, bow upward, a mat forms a convenient and very serviceable canopy by virtue of its natural stiffness. An instance of such a use is shown in pl. LXXX. 285 352 [854] [287] [257] 285 501

SPINNING

As was mentioned in speaking of agricultural products, the Cayapa raise considerable quantities of cotton, that is to say, all the cotton needed for weaving the cloth used for their mantas and clouts and for the belts used to hold the mantas in place. No one family raises any considerable number of plants, since a single plant produces almost continuously the year round and aggregates in the course of a year a considerable quantity of bolls. These plants are grown in any convenient place near the house or on the edge of a field of cane or of a grove of chocolate trees. 248

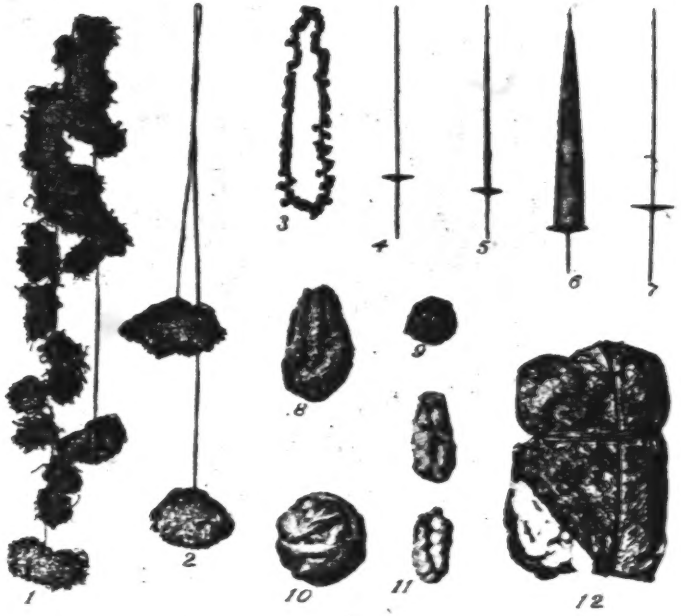
3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The cotton ordinarily grown in this section is of a brownish color, and it is claimed by the Cayapa that this is indigenous. It must be said, however, that brown cotton rarely grows wild along the river or in the mountains, but is seen almost exclusively about inhabited places or the sites of recently abandoned habitations.

The second variety of cotton is pure white and is also grown by the Cayapa to a limited extent. It is maintained that this is not a native plant, but is a direct importation from the mountain region or from the Rio Esmeraldas territory. In fact, this white cotton is now sometimes purchased by the Cayapa in their trips to the Rio Esmeraldas, because so little of it is grown along their own river.

When the cotton bolls open and the seeds with their covering of fine fibers are almost ready to drop, they are gathered and, if necessary, dried. The contents of two of these fully opened bolls are shown in pl. CVII, 11. It is frequently desirable to store the cotton away in this form for some time, in which event a considerable number of the bolls are made up into a package which is wrapped with a leaf or two of hoja blanca. Such a bundle is usually tied with a piece of pitigua and in this form may be stored for an indefinite period. In the bundle shown in pl. CVII, 12, a section of the wrapping has been torn away in order to show the contents. When it is desired to prepare the cotton for use, the bolls are cleaned of the seeds and of any foreign matter that may have become mixed with the fibers, since the presence of any foreign substance interferes materially with spinning. In this

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

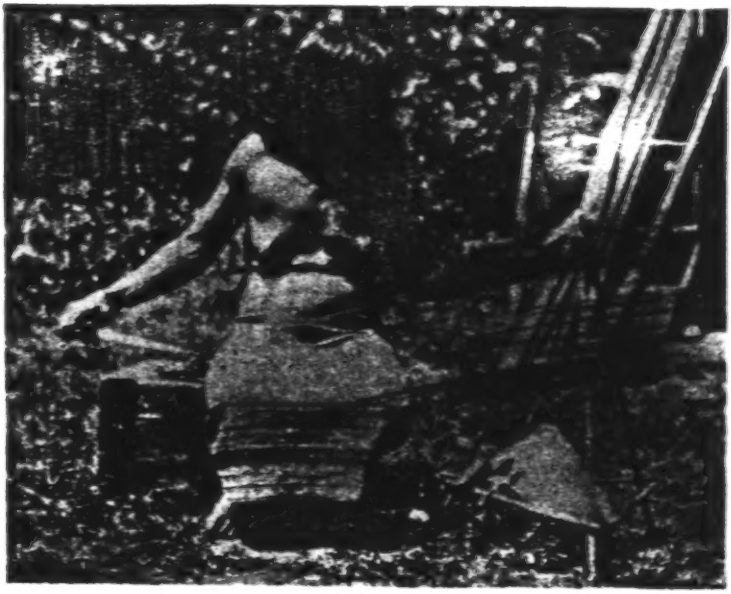


GIRDLES. FILLET. AND SPINNING MATERIALS

[p. 252 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283
291



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2

SPINNING (1) AND WINDING (2) COTTON THREAD

[p. 252 B]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

cleaning process the fibers attached to a single seed may be disengaged from all the rest and flattened into a small, irregular, and very thin layer. These bits are later placed together and their edges overlapped in such manner as to form a very thin sheet of perhaps three by six inches. On the other hand, the contents of a single boll, comprising perhaps from a dozen to twenty seeds, may be separated together, in which case the resultant sheet of cotton is of about the same size as that mentioned. 283

These thin sheets are next laid away until a sufficient number is accumulated to make a roll. Each sheet is then worked over a second time to insure the absence of any particle of foreign substance. In this process each sheet is worked until it is so thin as to be transparent. The sheets also become very much larger, reaching usually about ten by fifteen inches in size. They are then carefully laid one upon another and pressed firmly together with the hands, care being taken that all parts adhere. The thickness of such a mat or wadding is about half an inch. This is then rolled crosswise into a cylinder about ten inches in length and from two to four inches in diameter. The cotton is now ready for spinning and is bound by one end of the roll to the top of a tripod spinning stand, called kō *te*'le (pl. CVIII), or to a vertical pole if such a stand is not available.

Spinning is done upon a spindle (pl. CVII, 4–7), called kūtcū'a. It consists of a long, very slender shaft, called pī'tya'lyī, of palm-wood, and a discoidal whorl called pī''pōka, of coconut shell or of hard wood, and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283 usually an inch and a half to two inches in diameter. The shaft itself is from ten to fourteen inches in length, but is usually no thicker than a large knitting needle. The spindle-whorl is ordinarily at a point about two or three inches from the lower end of the shaft, and it is this portion which is twirled by the thumb and fingers of the right hand. The thread is spun upon the longer end of the shaft. Frequently a piece of spun thread is wound tightly about the middle portion of this longer end of the shaft, as is shown in pl. CVII, 7. This is done in order to insure a firm hold for the thread during the spinning process.

The fibers of cotton always feed into the thread from the bottom of the roll, and in commencing to spin from a new roll a few fibers are worked from the outer lower corner of the sheet of cotton which forms the roll and are attached by pressure to the thread which is wound tightly onto the spindle shaft as above mentioned. As a result of the rotary motion of the spindle, these fibers are twisted together to form the thread, and, as they twist, the pulling of the spindle away from the roll of cotton causes other fibers to feed into the thread.

Having in this way started a few inches of the thread, it is manipulated with the left hand in such manner as to produce an even thickness by allowing it to pass between the first and second fingers which are made to exert a slight tension upon it, and by rolling it between the thumb and third finger in such a way that these combined actions pull where the thread is thick and allow it to pass freely through the fingers where it is thin. It is thus brought to a uniform size. This passing of the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283

thread between the first and second fingers serves also to prevent the fibers from feeding too rapidly, since a sufficient tension is kept upon them to regulate the amount of cotton which passes on to the rolling and final forming of the thread between the thumb and third finger, where it is reduced to its final and uniform size. Now and then an exceptionally thick place appears in the thread as it is formed, owing to an irregularity in the tension exerted by the first and second fingers or to some irregularity in the rolling between the thumb and third finger. In such a case the twirling is stopped, the left hand is slipped farther back on the forming thread, and the thick portion is rolled and pulled out until it is of the proper thinness. In pl. CVIII are shown two stages in the process of spinning. In fig. 1 the position of the hands during the actual twirling of the spindle and the regulating of the forming thread are shown. In fig. 2 the spinner is shown winding a section of finished thread on the spindle.

The twirling of the spindle is done with the right hand and in one of two ways: It may be twirled with the thumb and third finger, a notch formed by the ends of the first and second fingers being used as a support for the spindle; or it may be twirled with the thumb and first finger, in which case a notch formed by the ends of the second and third fingers is used as a support. In either case the thumb is held stationary and the rotary motion of the spindle is produced by rolling the first or end joint of the opposing finger against the ball of the thumb. In this manner a rapid rotary motion is given the spindle, which process, aided by the slow feeding

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283 in of the fibers with the left hand, causes a fine and tightly twisted thread to be formed.

As the fibers are fed into the thread and it gradually lengthens, the right arm is extended farther and farther from the body and the spindle moves farther and farther away from the roll of cotton. At last, having reached a point where it becomes inconvenient to rotate the spindle, the motion is stopped, the angle between the thread and the spindle is changed so that the thread is nearly at a right angle to it, and the thread is unwound for a few turns, since in spinning it naturally winds out to the extreme point of the upper end of the spindle. The motion is now reversed and the full length of the thread to the point of completion is wound on the spindle, thus bringing the left hand again near the point of the spindle and permitting another section of thread to be fed to it. In winding the finished thread on the spindle the worker begins near the spindle whorl and winds it gradually upward along the shaft. In this manner the wound portion of the shaft gradually increases and approaches the point so that, when the spindle is full, a cone of thread with a base equal to the diameter of the whorl and a length equal to the full length of this portion of the shaft is formed.

In case it is necessary to discontinue spinning, the thread is simply disconnected from the roll of cotton by pulling loose the fibers at the point where the twist in the thread is complete. This leaves a small tuft of projecting untwisted fibers on the end of the thread. To resume spinning, it is necessary only to place these loose fibers on the roll of cotton and give them a slight twist.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

As above mentioned, the fibers are fed into the thread from the bottom edge of the roll of cotton, which feeds the fibers evenly from one end of the sheet to the other. Thus, by beginning at the outer corner of the lower edge of the sheet and feeding the fibers evenly into the thread as they come from along the line of the coil made by this lower edge, the opposite end of this edge is reached. This point is at the center of the bottom surface of the roll of cotton, and when it is reached the direction of the pull of the thread is reversed so that it follows this coil back to the outer surface of the roll where its direction is again reversed and the original path is followed to the center of the coil. In this manner the fibers are not drawn from one side more than from another, hence the roll of cotton remains constantly cylindrical and is simply shortened evenly until completely exhausted. 283

Having thus filled a spindle, it is usually placed in one of the long spindle baskets (pl. XCIII, 8, 12) until such time as several spindles have been filled and it is desired to wind the thread into balls. Such a ball is illustrated in pl. CVII, 10. [415]

In order that the thread may unwind readily from the spindle, this is held between the great and second toe of each foot. The short portion of the spindle shaft below the whorl is usually placed between the toes of the left foot, the opposite end of the shaft resting between the toes of the right foot. In this manner a reel is formed and the thread unwinds easily.

Thread is almost always stored in balls. The white and the brown thread is usually kept in balls from three to five inches in diameter. The green and the lavender

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283 thread may also be wound into large balls, but because much smaller quantities of these colors are used the balls [439] are usually smaller. Likewise the red and the blue woolen thread, which is obtained by trade through Indians of the interior mountain region, comes in balls an inch or two in diameter, such as the ball of red woolen yarn shown in pl. CVII, 9.

283 Threads of four native colors are used by the Cayapa.
336 Two of these, the white and the brown, are the natural colors of the two species of cotton. The lavender is made by dyeing with a pigment obtained from a univalve procured at the ocean, while the green is produced by a dye obtained from the leaf of a small shrub resembling the [439] locust of the temperature zone. In addition to these native colors the red and blue woolen threads obtained through trade with the Indians of the interior are used. In dyeing the cotton either lavender or green it is wound into short skeins, the winding being usually done upon the great toe of one foot and the thumb of the left hand as turning points. Another method is to drive two wooden pegs into a section of plantain or other succulent stem and wind upon these. The skein thus formed is tied at the two ends near the pegs to prevent it from becoming tangled. It is then slipped off the pegs and placed in the dye, and by rubbing and thoroughly working the dye into the skein, an even as well as a fast color is finally obtained. The skeins are then laid out to dry and are later wound into balls and stored away. Pl. CVII, 8, shows one of these skeins after the dyeing is completed.

Dyes of only two other colors are used by the Cayapa.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

One is a jet black obtained by boiling the bark of a certain tree, and is used almost exclusively in the dyeing of old mantas or other pieces of cloth. The other is the red obtained from the achote and is used on rare occasions for coloring the material used in certain baskets and fans.

283
386

WEAVING

Weaving is always done upon a crude, though fairly elaborate, loom consisting of twelve essential parts. In pl. CIX is shown a photograph of one of these looms as it appeared in use in a Cayapa house. This shows the parts of the loom to fair advantage, but they are even more clearly shown in pl. CX. These parts are as follow:

286

Lateral uprights, *a*, *b*	= a'ipala
Cross-bars of frame, *c*, *d*	= tyūnlū'ra
Warp guides, *e*, *f*	= ya'ipe
Weaving batten, *g*	= tsē'hwa
Shuttle, *h*	= pī'picalyī
Warp separators, *i*, *j*	= yade'mbū
Head bar, *k*	= yade'mbū
Head stick to which the initial line of weaving is fastened, *l*	
Width gauge, *m*	= ityu'lya

The lateral uprights (*a*, *b*) are two long and comparatively slender poles. One end of each is forked, and each point of the fork is sharpened to a chisel edge. The points of each of these poles are forced through one of the narrow cracks in the palmwood floor of the house and across one of the joists below. The upper end of the pole is bound securely to one of the beams of the house,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 usually near the eaves. The foot of the pole is placed far enough from this beam so that when it is bound to the beam it forms an angle of about fifteen degrees with the perpendicular, thus carrying the upper part of the loom at a slight slant away from the weaver.

A heavy horizontal bar (*d*), usually about three inches in diameter, is next bound to the upright lateral poles at a distance of from three to six inches from the floor, and a similar bar (*c*) is bound farther up the poles, its position depending on the desired length of the cloth to be woven. It is always placed at a distance above the lower bar about six or eight inches greater than half the length of the piece of cloth to be made; thus for weaving an ordinary manta the bars are placed about three and a half feet apart. Both bars are fastened to the poles with heavy pita cords, those holding the upper cross-bar being simply bound around the pole, and those holding the lower bar being tied in through the forks at the bottom of the poles. The upper bar hangs down automatically, but the lower one is brought into place by means of two stout pita cords which pass round both transverse bars. Such cords are employed also to hold the movable bars (*i*, *j*) used as warp separators. Especially is this the case when the loom is being set up and before the warp threads are wound on it. These two cords hold the cross-bars in position by crossing, and are so placed that they are near either edge of the manta as it is being woven. The two uprights (*a*, *b*) and the two heavy transverse bars (*c*, *d*) are what may be termed the fixed elements of the loom, forming a rectangular framework upon which the warp is strung and the weaving done with what may be called the movable elements.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS PL. [illegible]

286

LOOM

[p. 260(10)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

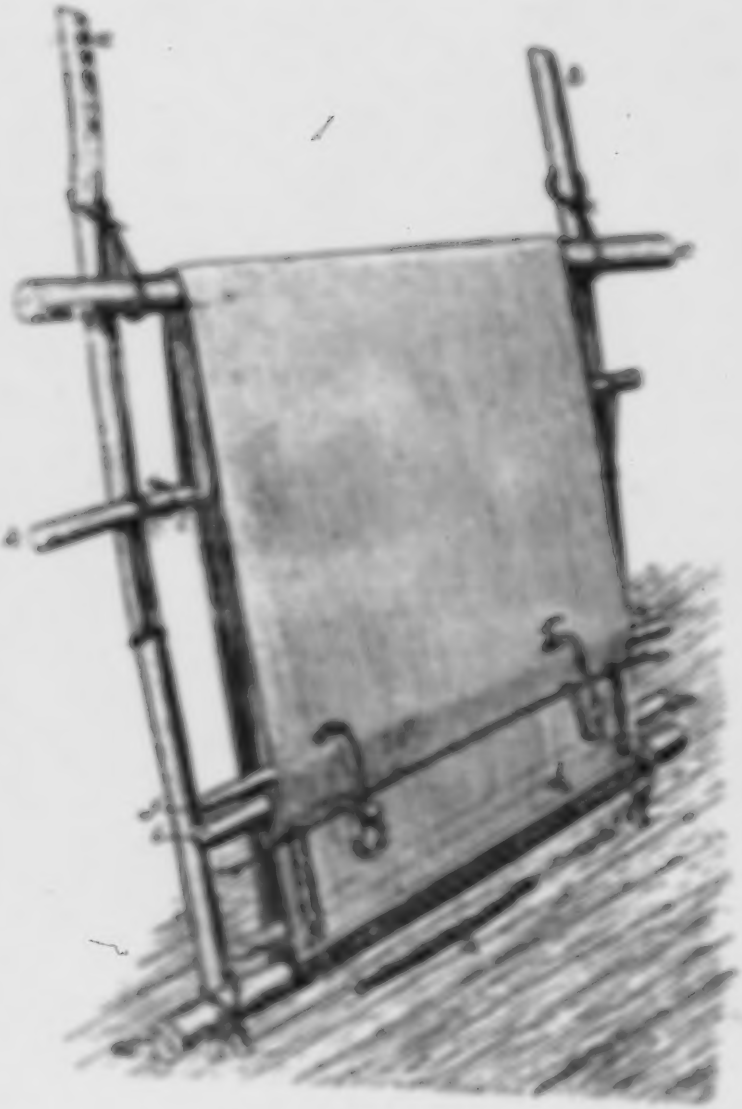


DIAGRAM OF LOOM

[p. 260(3)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

These active, movable elements are the two warp separators (*i*, *j*), the two warp guides (*e*, *f*), the shuttle (*h*), and the batten (*g*). The warp separators are fairly small transverse wooden bars, one usually somewhat smaller than the other, used in bringing to the front certain sets of warp strands as the weaving progresses. In certain cases where relatively simple designs are used, only one of these bars is required—the larger of the two is then employed. The warp guide (*e*) is employed in a similar manner; in fact this element consists chiefly of a long and fine pita string, which passes in and out of the warp strands and includes in its folds each alternate strand. As it comes to the front it passes round two flexible pitigua rods and thus forms a continuous line across the unwoven portion of the textile and serves, by virtue of the fact that in its folds are included each alternate warp strand, to bring to the front, as the pitigua rods are pulled outward, the warp strands which were at the rear when the shuttle was last passed through between the two sets of warp. On the other hand, since the horizontal rod *i* passes between these two sets of warp strands and has in front of it the set not included within the folds of the long string which forms *e*, the two work in opposition to each other, so that, when the warp strands controlled by *e* are brought forward, they may be again forced backward by rolling *i* down toward *e* sufficiently to carry back those controlled by *e* and bring forward those controlled by *i*. As above stated, the smaller rod *j* is not always used. When present, its function is to control certain strands of colored warp which it is desired to form into a design at regular intervals, such as an

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 alternation of small white and green squares. In mantas where such designs do not appear, the rod *j* is obviously not necessary.

While it is possible to control by such a rod as *j* the elements of a design composed of an equal number of strands at each insertion of the shuttle, and thus by a single downward movement of the rod to bring forward all the strands needed for several such lines of design, a special device, such as that at *f*, for sorting warp strands, is required in making more elaborate designs such as bird and animal forms and many geometric figures where varying numbers of warp strands are needed in different portions of the pattern. Such a device consists of loops of pita string, each including one of the colored warp strands used in making the particular set of designs under consideration. Having first manipulated the two portions of the warp in the general way provided for by the continuous string *e* and by the horizontal rods *i* and *j*, those particular warp strands used in making each one of the lines of especially elaborated designs must next be manipulated by a set of string loops such as those at *f*. This becomes simply a process of counting out the number of strands required for the particular part of the design in hand, this number varying as each different part of the bird, animal, or other pattern is reached. Having counted out and separated the loops containing the particular strands which it is desired to show at the front of the cloth, these loops are shoved down against *e*, the remainder being forced upward in order that they shall not interfere with the others when the two sets of strands are separated, which is done by simply

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

pulling upon those loops which contain the particular warp strands which it is desired to bring forward. When these are brought forward the weaving batten is passed behind them and the whole set of warp strands is properly separated and ready to receive the woof. This is accomplished by passing the shuttle through below the weaving batten, which is placed with its edges horizontally in order to separate the two sets of warp strands. 286

In threading up the loom, the warp threads are fastened to a thin, narrow, palm-wood rod (*l*). A heavier rod (*k*), on either side of which one-half of the warp strands pass, is fastened by means of loops to *a* and *b*, and bears the strain of the weaving as the batten is brought down with considerable force in order to drive down the preceding course of woof and produce a tightly woven piece of cloth.

The only remaining movable element of the loom, except the batten and the shuttle, is the width gauge (*m*), which is used to hold the manta to an exact width. This rod is made either of bamboo or of palm-wood, and is provided at either end with a single short and sharp point, which is stuck into the edge of the manta just below the line along which the weaving is being done. [824]

The batten (*g*) is a flat piece of wood, usually about two or two and one-half inches wide, and of a length six or eight inches greater than the width of an ordinary manta, or about three and one-half feet. Its edges and point are much like those of a heavy double-edged sword, and both the edges and the point are fairly sharp, thus permitting the point to be inserted easily between the warp strands and also allowing a direct and forceful blow

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 to be struck along the full width of the textile with the edge of the sword. These swords are always made of
286 the wood of the quende tree. This is a reddish, very hard
824 and durable wood, the surface of which is made extremely smooth with the leaf, lya'pic hakı, which is used especially for smoothing wooden objects. The quende is a rare wood in this region, and the battens are, on this account and also by reason of the difficulty of their manufacture, highly prized by the Cayapa. In fact, the
286 batten or sword is the only part of a loom which it is at all difficult to make and which cannot be easily replaced if broken or lost.

The shuttle is simply a cylindrical double-pointed rod of palm-wood, about half an inch in diameter and of a length slightly greater than the width of the cloth. Upon this rod is wound the weft. Beginning near the middle, the first winding is done in a space of six or seven inches along the middle of the shuttle. In passing the thread from one end to the other of this wound section, approximately a half-turn of the shuttle is made, the thread being given a complete turn about the shuttle at the end of the wound section, then being passed back with another half-turn to the opposite end of the wound section where another complete turn is given to hold it in place. So the winding proceeds back and forth from end to end of this middle section, each time the turn of the thread at the end of the section holding it from slipping. The wound section gradually increases in length until, when the shuttle is completely wound, it measures twelve or fifteen inches and forms at the middle of the shuttle a cigar-shape section from an inch to an inch and a half

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

in diameter. Since the thread is very fine, a great length 286
may thus be wound on a single shuttle.

In setting up a loom, the upper horizontal bar (*c*) naturally falls into its proper place, but the lower bar (*d*) must, as above mentioned, be brought to its place by two pita strings, which pass from *d* to *c* and which serve also to hold the movable rods *i* and *j*. In inserting the movable rod *i*, the string which naturally comes at the front passes back of *i* and the one which naturally comes at the back passes in front of it, thus forming a sort of double figure eight. This holds the rod *i* in position, but at the same time admits of its movement up or down as may be desired. The rod *j* is similarly held. In this condition the loom is ready for threading.

Balls of warp thread of the desired colors are selected, white or brown cotton being used as the background, and lavender, green, red, and blue for working out the designs. In every case the warp elements are those which are visible and which produce the designs, and the stringing of the warp upon the loom requires considerable care in order to get the desired colors in the proper places and to get just the right number of warp strands in any given band. In stringing the loom the threads are wound round and round the two horizontal bars, *c*, *d*. The back of the loom when threaded appears as a sheet of fine parallel threads with nothing inserted among them. The front, on the other hand, presents a very different appearance, for in this winding every other thread passes behind the movable bar *i*, while the remaining threads pass in front of it. In this way *i* divides the front sheet of threads practically into two sections of equal numbers.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 This is not strictly the case, however, for along those lines where it is intended to work out an elaborate pattern all the colored warp strands are passed back of the bar *i*.

Having completed the threading of the loom in this manner, two pieces of the flexible pitigua are obtained, together with a ball containing a very long and fine pita string. With these the guide *e* is made. The string is passed in and out between the adjacent warp strands upon the front surface of the loom, so that the warp strands in the rear half of this front sheet, that is, those strands lying back of the transverse bar *i*, are included, *each in a separate turn of the string* as it passes back between the warp strands that lie in the forward half of this sheet and again comes to the front. Each time this string comes to the front, it is wound in and out in the shape of a figure eight over the two flexible pitigua rods, the two rods being included in the loops of the eight. This holds the string firmly along this line at the front and permits it to pass back and to include another of the rear warp strands, after which it again comes to the front and repeats this course until the entire guide (*e*) is completed. As above stated, in weaving it is necessary only to pull forward upon these two transverse pitigua rods with their attached string to bring forward all the warp strands at the rear of this front sheet or set and pull them completely through, each individual strand passing between the adjacent warp strands lying in the front part of this set. Thus the strands which were at the rear now become the front strands, and those which were at the front become the rear strands. The lateral pressure of the strands upon one another is sufficient to hold

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286

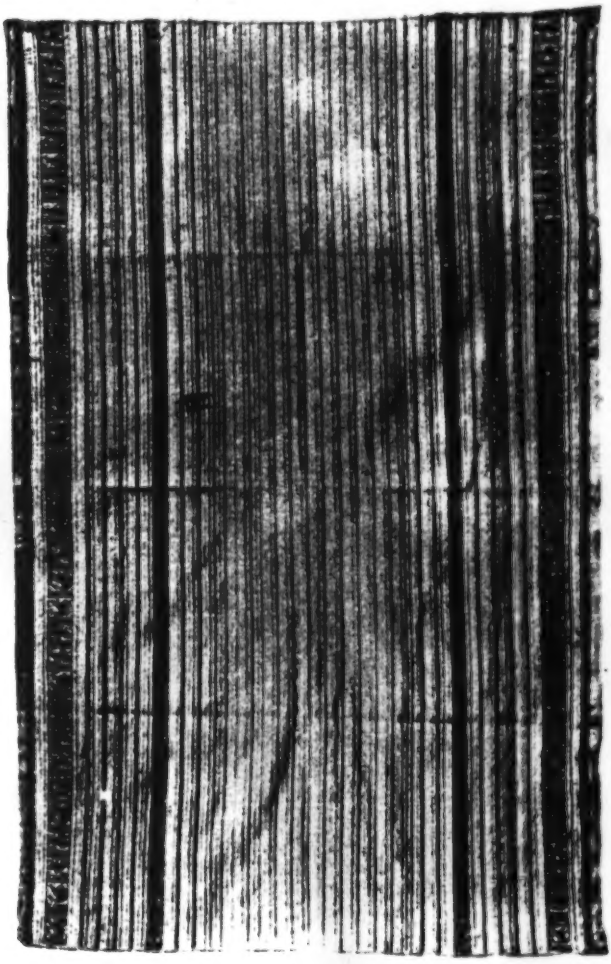
WOVEN FABRIC BEING STRETCHED

[P. 266 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
291

PL. CXII



MANTA OR SKIRT

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 266(8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

them in place when once they have been drawn forward, 286
thus when it is desired to bring forward these rear strands, the transverse pitigua rods of *e* are pulled forward and the batten is inserted between what then becomes the front set of warp strands and those which are then at the rear. This sets the entire warp in the proper order for producing this certain course in all those simple designs which do not require special sorting of the warp elements.

By the use of the guide *e*, as above mentioned, the relative positions of the warp strands were reversed so that those which were originally at the rear and which passed back of the guide rod *i* are now at the front, and vice versa. Obviously, therefore, when it is desired again to reverse the relative positions of these two sets of warp strands, it is necessary only to bring the bar *i* down, which is always done with a rolling motion, thus gently forcing the strands that passed back of the bar, but which are now in front at the point where the shuttle and the batten were last inserted, again to the rear and bringing those which are now at the rear but which formerly passed over the front of the bar *i* again to the front at the point where the shuttle and batten are next to be inserted. By the use of the rod *i* and the guide *e* in this manner, it is of course possible to bring forward alternately the two sets of warp strands in a wholesale way, as they are required in the weaving.

If a perfectly plain piece of cloth were woven in this manner, no devices for shifting the warp other than the two above mentioned would be necessary, since no difficulty would be encountered in the matter of designs. A fairly simple device is used in those cases

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 where certain regular alternations only are needed. This is a smaller bar (*j*) which controls certain of those strands that pass in front of the bar *i*. This bar (*j*) has no connection with the rear set of these strands. Now, when all the strands passing in front of the bar *i* are forced to the rear by pulling the guide *e* and its set of warp elements forward, those certain strands of the set which pass in front of *i* but which are needed forward, are brought to the surface by rolling *j* down over *i* to a point where it is possible to insert the batten so as to bring these few elements to the front.

Where still more elaborate designs, such as complex geometric figures, animal and bird forms, and others, are desired, it is necessary each time to sort out by hand the special warp strands needed for the particular line of design then in hand. As above mentioned, the transverse bar *i* divides the set of warp strands into two groups approximately equal in numbers, the alternate strands passing respectively in front and behind the bar. All those colored warp strands, however, which are used for these more elaborate designs pass to the rear of bar *i*, and in order to sort these out and bring them forward as needed, a device (*f*) similar to that used in connection with the two transverse pitiguas in *e* is employed, though in this case the individual threads catching the warp strands are much longer. The threads employed in the guide *e* and which are used to bring the whole rear section of the warp to the front, are not attached to the particular strands controlled by *f*. The longer threads of *f* pass about these, and these only. Thus, after those strands which are controlled by *e* or those controlled by *i* have

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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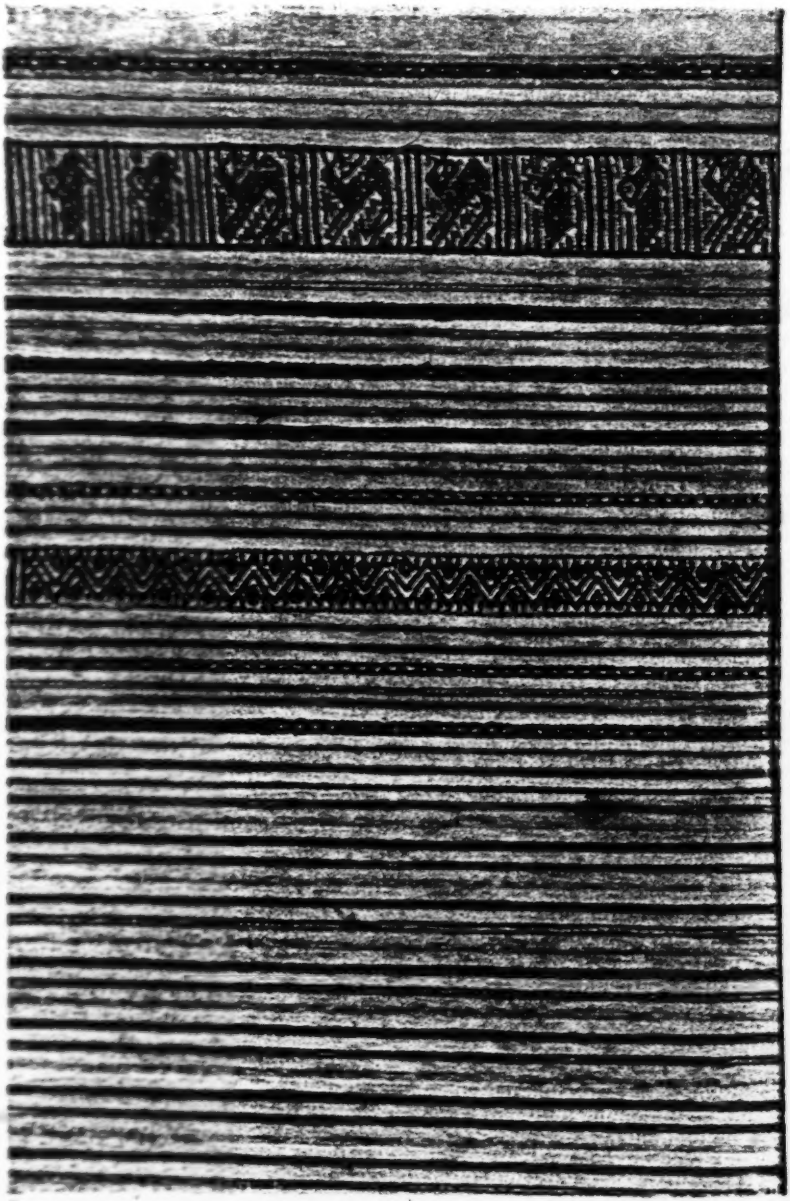
PL. CXIII



BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[Black and white reproduction of a color plate]

[p. 268(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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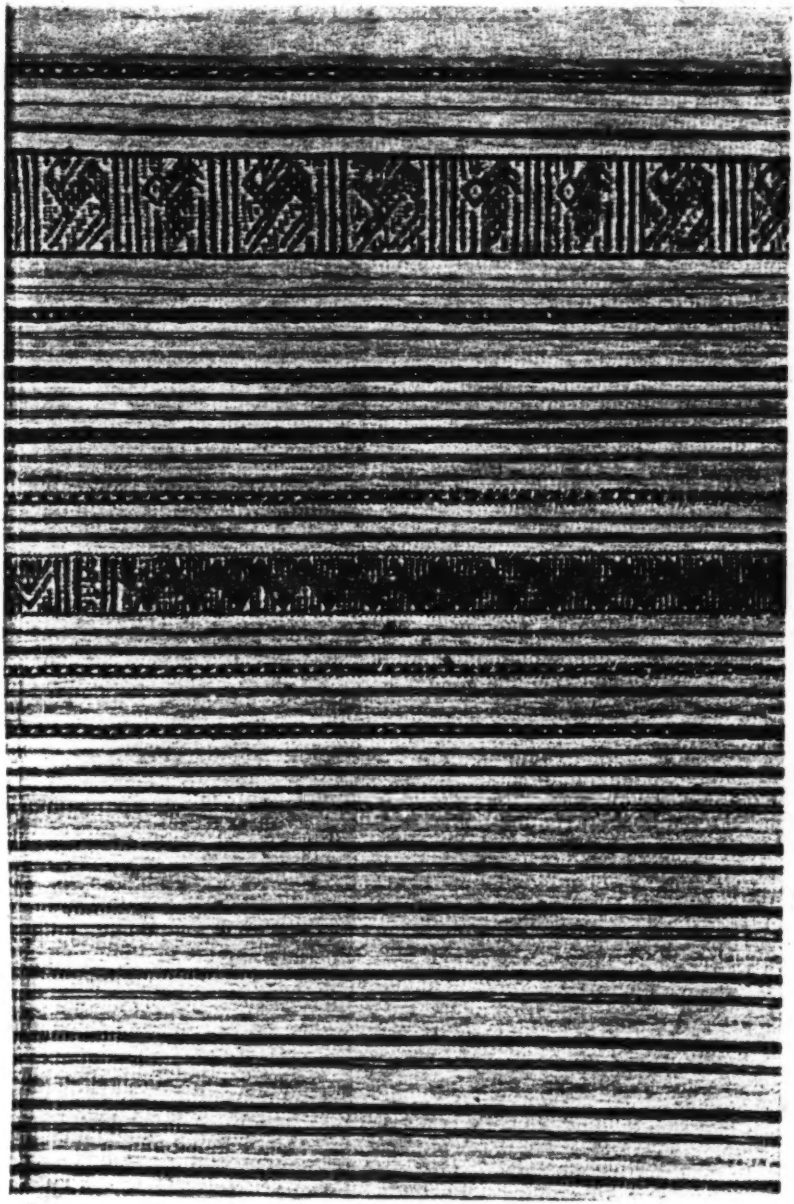

DETAIL OF MANTA PATTERN

[Black and white reproduction of a color plate]

[p. 268(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 been brought into their proper position and the warp set in a general way for the particular line of weaving in hand, the bunch of long strings comprising *f* is taken up and are sorted out. They are counted off and the ones attached to those particular warp strands which it is desired to bring to the front are passed downward, the remainder being passed upward to a distance of several inches from the former. Having arranged one after another of these sets of warp strands, and having thus set in proper order the particular strands which are to be brought to the front, the pointed end of the batten (*g*) is inserted and passed from the right toward the left. Those particular strands controlled by the strings of *f* which are needed at the front are pulled forward with the left hand as the batten is inserted. No attention need be paid to any of the remainder of the warp strands as the batten is inserted, since these are automatically controlled by *e*, *i*, and *j*.

Having thus properly inserted the batten, it is grasped at each end by one hand and is brought down several times with forceful and even blows, thus driving the warp strands, each pair of which crosses above the preceding horizontal weft element, down very closely upon it. The batten is then raised three or four inches and so turned that its flat surface lies horizontally. This spreads the two sets of warp elements apart and the shuttle is passed through between them, thus bringing another of the fine weft elements into position. This weft element is pulled very carefully into its place and given just the right tension, since any undue amount of tension upon it, or on the other hand any undue laxity,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 would cause an unevenness at the edge of the textile, or, what would be worse, a series of these might cause a puckering or a gaping at some point in the textile body. The batten is then withdrawn and the warp elements are crossed above this new weft element, and are set in their proper positions by means of the devices *e*, *i*, *j*, and *f*, as above described, after which the batten is again inserted and brought down edgewise with its forceful blows to drive firmly the new crossing of the warp elements down upon the newly inserted weft.

From the above description it will be seen that the patterns of Cayapa soft textiles are formed entirely by the warp elements, the weft being almost entirely invisible in the properly made cloth.

There is but this one cloth technic among the Cayapa, the only approximation to a variation of this being in those designs where a diagonal line is desired, in which case there is an arrangement of the elements that approximates twilling.

As before stated, the loom is so arranged that its lowest part is not more than four or five inches above the floor, and it is upon the lower portion of the loom that the [516] weaving itself is done. The weaver sits, tailor fashion, upon a piece of bark cloth only, or sometimes upon a very low stool, and weaves a section of cloth eight or ten inches in height, after which the lashings of the rod *k* are loosened so that the work may be slipped around as would an ordinary band upon the two transverse bars *c* and *d*, thus bringing the last line of the work down almost to the bar *d* again. Keeping the work low in this manner has a double advantage: it is easier to

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

PL. CXIV

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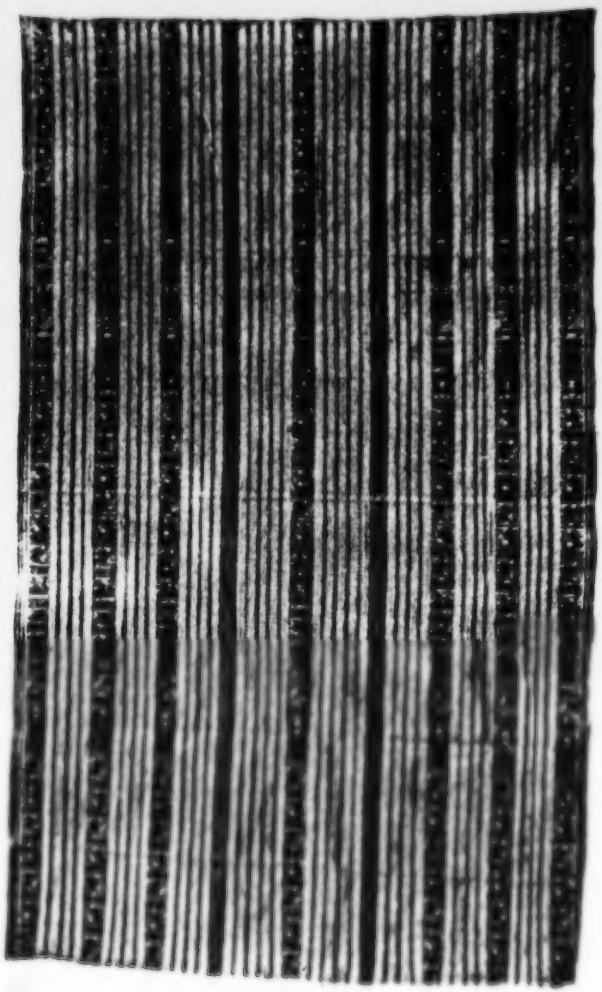

MANTA OR SKIRT

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 270(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 strike a forceful blow with the batten if it is struck at a point somewhat below the level of the shoulders, and it is easier to manipulate the several devices, *e*, *i*, *j*, and *f*, used for controlling the warp elements. Thus, by a series of such readjustments, the line along which the weaving is being actually done is kept uniformly low, and the labor therefore rendered as easy as possible. This continues until the proper length of the textile has been reached, when the two ends of the woven section are usually about a foot apart, the loom having been originally set up with this allowance. A narrower section of unwoven warp strands it would be impossible to have at this juncture in this particular technic, since with a narrower section there would not be sufficient room to manipulate the devices used for controlling these strands.

Having completed the weaving, two fine hard-twisted cotton or pita strings are prepared and with these the ends of the woven section are bound. This binding is done with two elements, one horizontal, passing on the front, and the other wrapping element passing spirally around the horizontal element in such manner as to include at each turn two pairs of warp strands. As it passes back it goes above the horizontal cord. It then takes a turn downward and toward the right in such a way as to include two pairs of warp elements and again comes out below the horizontal cord and on the front surface of the cloth, after which it goes up and over this horizontal cord and includes two other parts of warp elements as it again passes downward and behind the horizontal cord. By a repetition of this method the whole edge is securely bound from the left toward the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

right. When this is completed the batten is again inserted and this binding firmly driven home against the last row of weaving.

The colored warp elements are now carefully selected and cut out close to the two ends of the weaving. Thus there are left only the white or brown cotton threads used as the body of the warp and the background for the [illegible] ends of the weaving, thus freeing the textile from the loom.

Now and then it happens that, in the course of weaving, some of the warp or weft elements are broken, when it is necessary to tie them. The loose ends of such a tied strand naturally appear on one or the other of the surfaces of the fabric, which is now carefully inspected and such projecting ends cut off with a sharp knife.

Two small wooden rods a few inches longer than the width of the textile are next procured and the textile at each end is tied by means of the fringe of warp elements to one of the rods. There are twenty or even thirty such ties made around each of the rods. The textile is then taken to the river-bank, where four posts are driven in such manner that it may be stretched horizontally by tying the ends of the rods to the posts (pl. CXI). The fabric is then thoroughly wet and allowed to dry in the sun, which shrinks it as much as is possible, adjusting the strands one to another and tending to reduce any stiffness in the textile.

When dried the fabric is taken down and the fringe untied from the rods. A hemispherical calabash vessel or other rounded surface is next provided and with a

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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[Part not white reproduction of color plate]
[p. 272/8]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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DETAIL OF MANTA PATTERN

[Black and white reproduction of a color plate]
[p. 272 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 412 sharp knife the fringe, placed against the calabash, is trimmed close to the binding at the edge. The fabric is now ready for use.

291 286 294 Mantas (pls. CXII–CXV), called tyū'nya by the Cayapa, used by the women as skirts, and also mochos (pl. CXVI), called wa'ra, are almost the only textiles now made. No other aboriginal garments are worn except the narrow belt (pl. CVII, 1, 2) used by the women in connection with the manta. These belts are woven in precisely the same manner as are the wider textiles, except that a loom is not used unless it is desired to make a wide and elaborate belt.

286 For narrow belts two short wooden pegs are driven into a section of a plantain or other succulent stem, and upon these the warp strands of the belt are set up on the two transverse bars (*c*, *d*) of a regular loom. For a narrow belt, pita string is often used as the weft. The wide belts are often nicely decorated with geometric or bird and animal figures. For weaving a narrow belt, no shuttle or batten is used ordinarily, the string being passed in the form of a ball between the warp elements, and the finger used to drive the weaving down tightly. The ends of narrow belts are not provided with a special binding; the warp strands at each end are simply braided, usually in two sections, the braids being used for the attachment of tassels made usually of red or blue woolen yarn.

Mantas, of course, are of various sizes, governed by the age of the persons for whom intended. The manta of an adult woman usually measures about thirty by sixty inches, and requires often several months for its weaving.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

since such weaving is done in large measure only at odd times.

The trunks or mocho (pl. CXVI) worn by the men is made of cloth woven by the women, a special narrow fabric being produced for this purpose. One of these pieces of cloth contains enough for two mochos. It is always cut and sewed by the men themselves, some of them being adept with the needle. The women know almost nothing about sewing. It ordinarily even falls to the men to make the small mochos for the boys until they are old enough to sew for themselves.

The subject of manta designs is treated under Decorative Art.

CORDAGE AND NETTING

In most cases cordage and nets are made of the fine, long, white fibers obtained from the leaf of the plant called in Spanish pita and in Cayapa sa'nō, and to a much more limited extent the fibers from the bark of a tree called in Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa sefigī'lya are used.

The preparation and manipulation of pita, to which reference has been made hitherto, are quite elaborate. The long, slender, full-grown leaves of the plant are cut off close to the ground and brought to the house in bundles, such as those shown leaning against the house in pl. LXVI. While the leaf is still green the fibers are extracted by first scraping off the succulent portion of the concave side of the leaf and then stripping out the fibers from the remainder. For this scraping there are required a semi-cylindrical log of palm-wood, called safiwi cī'nō,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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MOCHOS OR TRUNKS

[p. 274(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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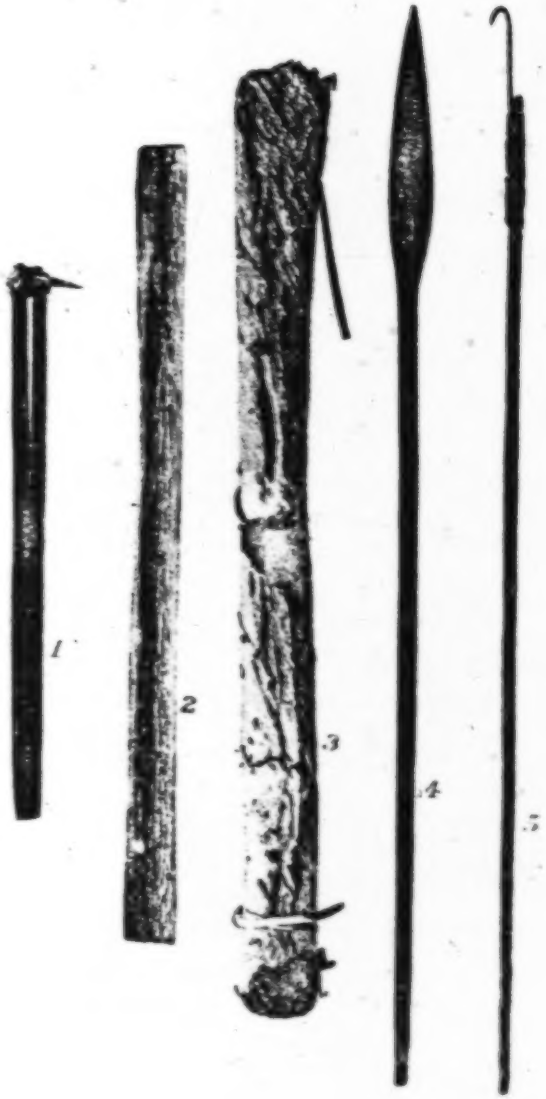

SCRAPERS, TORCH, LANCE, AND HOOK

[p. 274 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

and a double-edged shaving knife, called sañwi'ctcipapa. 283
The log is half of a nine or ten foot section of a trunk 413
of the pambil palm. Its flat side is leaned against 283
one of the horizontal beams that compose part of the superstructure of the house, at an angle of about twenty degrees with the perpendicular and about midway between two vertical poles the tops of which are bound to the opposite or outer surface of the beam. These poles, which are usually the forked ones used to support the loom, are placed about two feet and a half apart. At a height of six or seven feet from the floor a piece of pitigua is bound to the two poles and so placed that it passes horizontally across the curved surface of the log. A second piece of pitigua is tied horizontally and at a level also about six or seven feet from the floor, but at a distance of several feet toward the interior of the house.

The pita leaves are now sorted according to length. Six or eight leaves are then piled neatly one upon another, bottom uppermost. This bunch is bent double and passed behind the pitigua cord that runs directly across the log; the cord presses the leaves at their fold tightly against the log, holding them in place during their manipulation. The leaves are always placed so that the concave side of each is uppermost and so that at first the bases of the leaves hang down against the log. The upper half of the bunch of leaves, and also those individual leaves of the lower half which are not actually in use, are kept out of the way by being passed up over the cord above mentioned, which is stretched at some distance from the log.

Beginning now with the base ends of the leaves, the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283 lowest one in the bunch is brought down on the convex surface of the log, and with the corner of a knife the succulent outer layer is split throughout the length of the section of the leaf exposed. This allows the leaf to be easily flattened against the log so that the succulent layer may be scraped off with one of the edges of the knife (fig. 25).

283 413 [824] The knife used for this purpose is illustrated in pl. CXVII, 2. It is usually made from half of a section of wild cane (Spanish caña brava), and is ordinarily from fifteen to eighteen inches in length. The soft center of the cane is hollowed out so that only the hard, woody portion of the outside of the stalk remains. The two edges of this semi-cylindrical section are very sharp, thus producing a serviceable implement.

283 The succulent portion of the leaf having been scraped off and the fine fibers exposed to a length of eight or ten inches at the base of the leaf, the fibers are loosened with a thumb or finger nail and are then split loose as far up the leaf as the scraping has progressed by pulling them gently outward. A slit is then made in this scraped section and the loosened fibers are passed through and looped (fig. 25) in such manner as to prevent them from becoming tangled as the scraping proceeds farther up the leaf. When this half of the leaf is completely scraped, it is hung at the side of the pole and the corresponding portion of the next leaf is scraped.

Finally, all the lower halves of the leaves having been scraped, the upper halves which had been placed overhead are brought down upon the log and held in position by means of the horizontal cord which secured the lower

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

halves. This is done by bending over a section about a foot long at the extreme tip of the bunch of leaves. The

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[284]

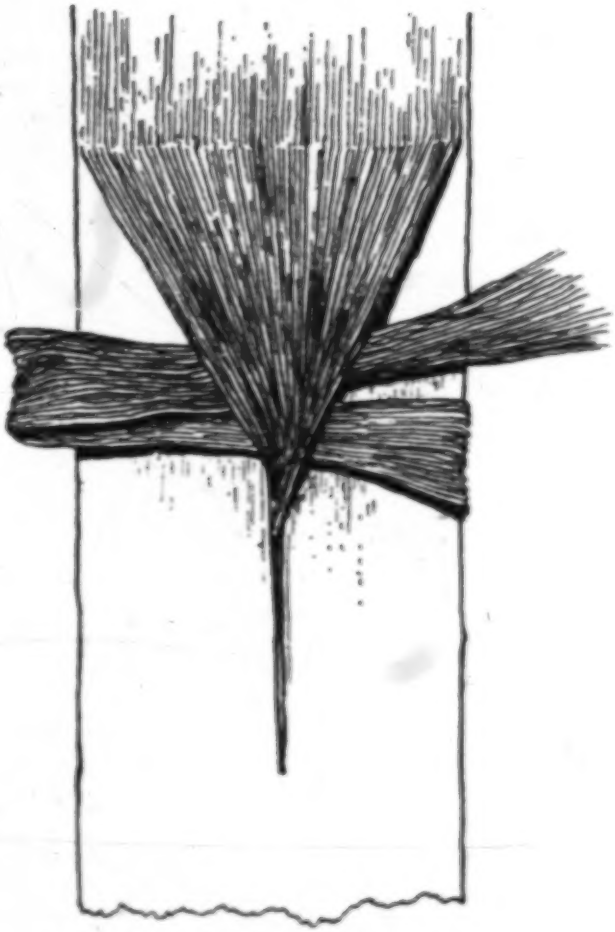

FIG. 25.—Pita fibers tied to prevent tangling

upper halves of the leaves are then scraped as described. Finally each leaf is separately reversed, the scraped por-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283 tion being passed back over the shoulder, and the last foot of the tip of the leaf is held in place upon the log with the left hand. With the knife held in the right hand, its surface is scraped the same as that of the remainder of the leaf. The leaves are then taken from the pole and the fibers carefully stripped off with the hands. The fibers from each leaf are coiled up separately and the coils are later taken to the river and thoroughly washed to remove what pulp and juice remain. The product is a set of light-green fibers which are placed in the sun to dry and bleach, and finally are combined into large bundles or skeins which are stored until needed. Such a set of fibers is first doubled and the halves are lightly twisted together, producing a long, slender skein such as that shown in pl. CXVIII, 1. This is again doubled and lightly twisted, and even a third doubling and twisting may be employed to make the skein of the desired length.

In preparing the fibers for making string, one end of a bundle of them is tied to an upright support, and the fibers of the loose end of the bundle are combed with the fingers to remove any short and useless ones and to bring the long ones parallel. These long fibers, still tied in the bundle, are then selected according to the kind of string desired, and are made into loose plies by first twisting them with the fingers and then by rolling them upon the calf of the right leg. This results in a bundle of plies such as that shown in pl. CXVIII, 2. When all of the bundle of fibers has been treated in this manner, the plies are selected in pairs and twisted together by grasping a pair of plies in the left hand so that the first finger passes

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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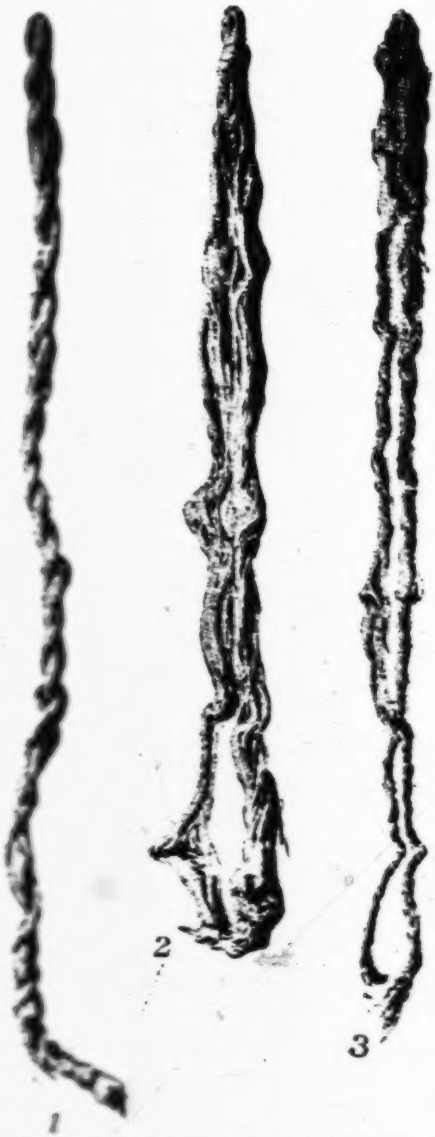

PITA FIBERS, PLIES, AND CORDS

[p. 278(1)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

PL. CXIX

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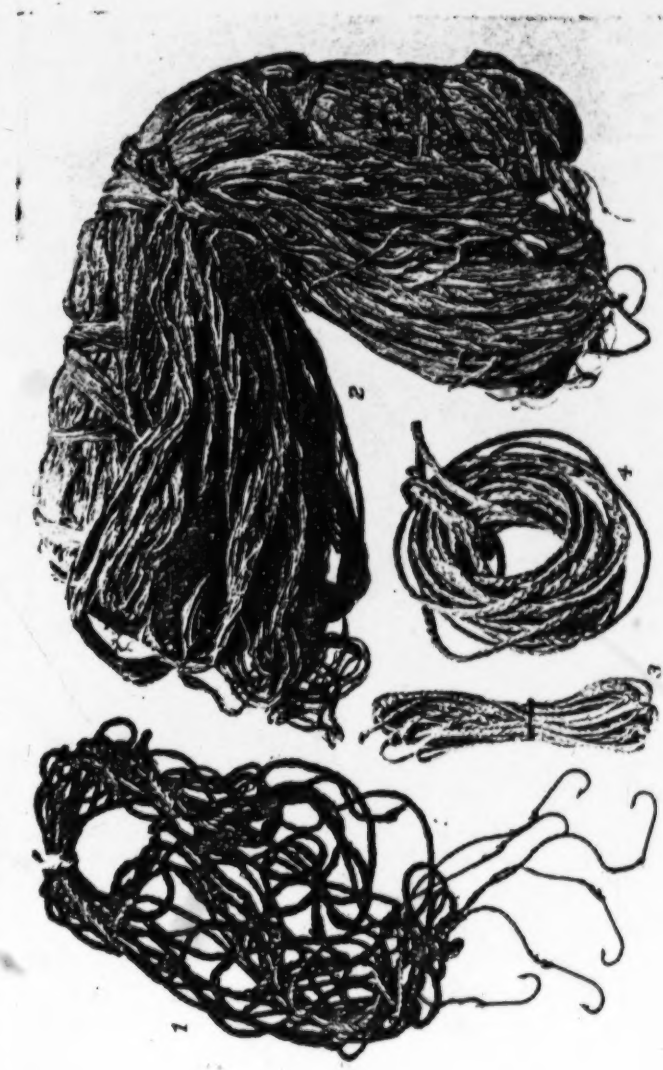


BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

TROT-LINE. BUNDLE OF PITA FIBERS, AND CORDAGE

[p. 278 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

between the two; they are then rolled simultaneously with the palm of the right hand upon the calf of the right leg in order to twist each separately. They naturally twist together beyond the left hand by virtue of the tortion in the separate plies, but at frequent intervals are pulled apart, since each must be thoroughly twisted separately before the two are allowed to twist themselves together to form the string. At last the finger which has been used to separate the plies is withdrawn and the rolling motion is reversed, so that the hand is drawn toward the body instead of moving from it. This reverse motion, combined with the individual tortion in each ply separately, serves to twist the two plies together in the opposite direction to that of the individual twist of each ply and to form a firm and strong string. The twisting of such a lot of plies results in a bundle, or what may be termed a skein, of cords such as that shown in pl. CXVIII, 3. All string is two-ply, its size being governed by the quantity of fiber used for each ply and by the use for which it is intended.

A large number of fibers are obtained from each leaf, and a considerable number of strings, each as long as the leaf, result from the twisting process. In one case, for example, four leaves yielded sixty-four fine cords such as are used for weaving the conical casting net. The length of each of these cords was about fifteen feet.

In twisting cords in the manner described, care is taken that they do not become tangled. Accordingly when a considerable number of cords have been twisted they are divided into three approximately equal groups which are then braided. As the work progresses and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283 several other cords are completed, these are added to the braids at the ends. Thus by adding group after group of these braids, when the whole bundle of cords is completed and both its ends are braided it forms a skein of cords which appears like that shown in pl. CXVIII, 3. The skein is kept in this form and the individual cords are extracted from its middle. This tends to pull backward and to loosen the braids at the two ends of the bundle and thus easily to free the ends of the individual cord from the braids.

[824] The other kind of string obtained from the bark of the tree called in Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa señgi'lya, is made in a manner similar to that employed in making pita string. The fibers used in making this string are obtained by beating out the bark by the method employed in making bark cloth. After being washed, as in the case of bark cloth also, these fibers are dried, folded, and bound into bundles (pl. CXIX, 2). When needed, [352 227] the sheets are taken from the bundle and the fibers are separated and twisted into a heavy and rather loose cord which serves very well for making a hammock or as the main cable of a trot-line (pl. CXIX, 1), but otherwise is little used. The string bears the same Cayapa name as the tree itself, and its primary use is for hammocks, which are woven with the same technic as are fish-nets, shortly to be described. The meshes are, however, extremely large and are made without the aid of a mesh-stick, being kept sufficiently even by the eye alone.

The Cayapa do not splice cords by twisting together the fibers at their ends, as is done by some Indians. An individual pita cord is usually from ten to sixteen feet

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

in length and is used as a distinct unit in the weaving. When the weaving has proceeded to within six or eight inches of the end of the cord, a second is simply tied to it in a square knot and thus is added a new unit of material. Hence no shuttle is required as among peoples who use a very long thread or cord. In fact the only implement required in weaving is the mesh-stick, which is usually of bamboo, although large ones are sometimes made of wood. It is ordinarily from five to seven inches in length and varies in width according to the size of mesh desired (fig. 26). The relatively wide ones used in weaving the large-meshed set-net are called wa'lō tcipapa, thus differentiating this form from that known as afa'in tcipapa, or ate' tciyapa, used in weaving the casting net. The general term for mesh-stick is ya' tcipapa.

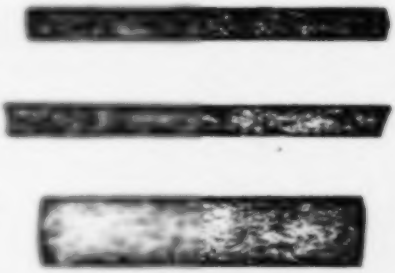


FIG. 26.—Mesh-sticks or gauges for weaving nets

In weaving one of the large set-nets, such as that shown in pl. CXX, 2, and called by the Cayapa wa'kū, the required number of knots, usually five, is first tied to start the corner of one end. By adding a knot at each end, new meshes are added; and as each row of meshes is woven, the width of the net may be increased to any desired degree. This first portion of the net forms a right triangle, one side of which represents the width of the net, the other an equal length along one side of the net. The hypotenuse of the triangle is the line along

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 which the weaving is done. By weaving now evenly along this line without adding more meshes to the succeeding lines, a rectangular net of the desired length is produced. The final corner of the net is made by dropping knots and meshes in the succeeding rows of weaving: in other words, by exactly reversing the process employed in starting the original corner.

[284]

FIG. 27.—Net weaving and detail of knot

All nets are woven with the same type of knot, two details of which are exhibited in fig. 27. In *a* is shown one of these knots opened to a considerable extent, and in *b* this knot is shown as it appears closed and drawn tightly in the net. The use of the mesh-stick is also shown in the figure, which illustrates the beginning of a conical dip-net. The technic of this net differs somewhat from that of the set-net above described, but the knot employed and the use of the mesh-stick are the same.

[227]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Starting with a series of five knots and meshes at the point, this net is widened, as in the case of that above described, by adding an extra mesh at each end of each course. In addition, an extra mesh is added at the middle of each course, thus producing a double line down the middle of the net, as shown in fig. 27. To complete the net it is necessary only to join the open edges. This produces a conical net about two feet deep from the point to the opening, which is itself about thirty-six by eighteen inches.

The principle of the conical casting net, shown in pl. CXX, 1, is presumably adopted from the negroes, being made in exactly the same way as the nets manufactured by them. Furthermore, it bears the name ata'ia, clearly derived from the local Spanish term atarraya.

In general technic this net is similar to the set-net above described, although its point is started quite differently. First a considerable number of fine pita cords (in one instance forty were counted) are braided tightly together to form a strong loop about two inches long, into which is fastened the line by which the net is drawn in after a cast is made from the canoe. The loop must be very strong, and in order to add to its strength it is tightly wound for a space of three-quarters of an inch along its lower part. Out of this binding emerge therefore, in the above-mentioned instance, the forty pairs of strands which are immediately tied to form the first course of forty knots and meshes. The second course has the same number, but thenceforth the number increases. Into every alternate mesh of this second course is looped another cord, thus producing in the third course

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

296 sixty meshes. This number is kept up to the seventh course, where twenty more cords, distributed at regular intervals, are looped in. Hence in the eighth course eighty knots appear. Thus the additions proceed at these regular intervals, twenty new elements being added at every fifth course up to the sixty-second course of knots. Since this process begins at the second course, these additions are made to come on those courses whose numbers end in two and seven—two, seven, twelve, seventeen, etc. Hence, when the sixty-third course is tied there is a total of three hundred knots and meshes, and this number is maintained throughout the remainder of the one hundred and twenty-seven courses of the net. The meshes of this particular net are two centimeters square throughout its length of eight feet, seven inches. As it is cast by a fisherman it easily covers a circle ten or twelve feet in diameter.

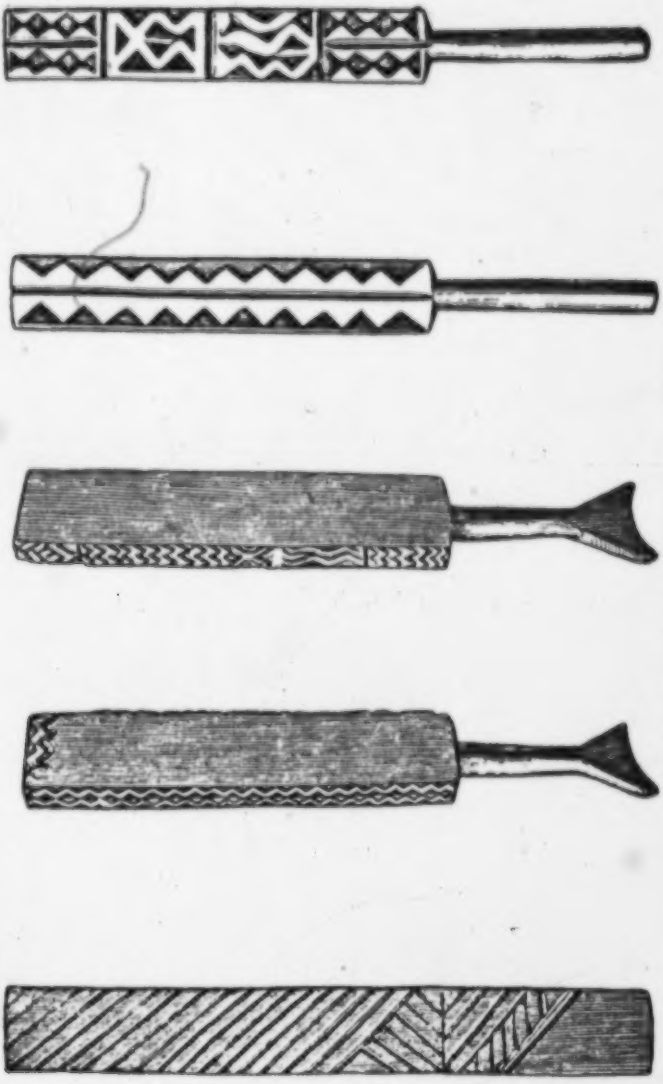
297 296 These nets are usually made of fine pita cord in the upper part of the cone and of slightly coarser cord in the last quarter or third near its mouth. The heavier cord is apparently used in this portion of the net because of the greater wear and tear due to the struggles of the entrapped fish and because the net is weighted about its mouth with sinkers. These lead or stone sinkers often aggregate twenty-five to thirty pounds in weight and carry the net quickly to the bottom.

296 [282] The only other netted device made by the Cayapa is the hammock, which is made either of coarse pita string or of the heavy kuna-kuna string. The meshes of such a hammock are very coarse, hence comparatively few cords are required. To start with, the proper number

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

227
296

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6



PL. CXXI

302
531

CARVED FACE-PAINTING STICKS.

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 284 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

of cords is selected and of them is made a large loop, the lower inch or so of which is securely wrapped as in the case of the loop of the casting net, and it is from this wrapping that the cords emerge. In one instance, that of a hammock made of pita cord, there are fourteen of these cords coming out of this wrapping. To these are added the end of the cord with which the wrapping is done. With these fifteen cords the body of the hammock is woven. Each alternate course of knots numbers seven, while the next course contains eight. The meshes of such hammocks are not made over a mesh-stick, and hence vary somewhat in the same hammock. In the example above mentioned they range from four and one-half to six inches square. In this instance seventeen courses of knots were required to complete the hammock, which, when closed and stretched, measures eight feet in extreme length. The second end is finished off with the same kind of a loop as that above described. The description of this hammock will serve for all, there being little variation. 286

DECORATIVE ART

From considerations of technic the decorative art of the Cayapa falls into four classes: textile decoration, incised decoration, painting, and carving. In the first class belong such designs as appear on twilled baskets, fans, mats, and soft textiles; the second class is confined entirely to the surfaces of calabash utensils and to a slight extent to pottery; the third is found on canoes and on the human body; and the fourth class is confined to wooden dolls, paddle handles, and sometimes seats. 531

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

531 In the matter of the forms also, the designs fall practically into these general groups, though in certain instances the same design is found in more than one group. Taken as a whole Cayapa designs are largely geometric, the only exceptions being in the carved wooden dolls, in a few calabash designs, and in a considerable number [177] of the designs on soft textiles. Now and then a realistic modern design is found also upon a canoe and in rare instances in a painting upon the human body. This entire statement applies to the frequency of occurrence of the different types of design. If considered, however, from the standpoint of the number of various elemental designs of the realistic class as compared with elemental designs of the strictly geometric class, the former are fully equal to the latter, though the geometric designs are subject to greater variation.

[552] It is remarkable that few names are given designs except in the case of those on soft textiles. In the case of the face, arm, and leg paintings, for instance, no names were obtainable, and they have no symbolic significance. This fact is noteworthy when so large a series of designs is found (pl. XXXIX–LII) and when they are so universally and extensively used. The only exception to this rule is that of the trident-shape design shown in pl. LII, 11. This, however, is strictly modern and was copied directly from the fish-spear.

501 Also in the considerable series of canoe designs shown
531 in pl. LXXIII–LXXV, no specific names were given by
[552] informants. These are all old-type designs and much preferred by the Cayapa to the modern designs which some paint on canoes made for sale, but never upon those

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

designed for their own use. In every instance these old-type designs are geometric, but the newer ones are usually realistic, depicting mammals, human beings, and other realistic objects.

In carving, the dolls are entirely realistic, as is shown in pl. LXXXIV, and depicting, the dog, alligator, bird, and especially the human form. In the last instance care is usually taken to indicate the sex. In paddle handles, on the other hand, the forms are usually simple and are always geometric, as is shown in pl. LXXVI. They have no special names. Even in the case of the elaboratcly carved handle shown in fig. 9 of the plate, no name was given for any of the designs. The same holds true of the designs in the face-painting sticks depicted in pl. CXXI-CXXII.

Closely related to ornamental carving are the wooden seats shown in pl. LXXXIII, some of which receive ornamental treatment certainly not demanded by utilitarian considerations. From comparison with similar objects of South and Central America it seems probable that in these seats, especially the forms shown in figs. 2 and 3, there lies a striking connection of the Cayapa culture with that of a number of other tribes in these regions. As has been shown by Professor Saville,[15] the archeological range of these objects is extensive, the most elaborate among them being the large stone seats from Manabi, carved to represent jaguars.

On the surfaces of calabash utensils are found the only incised designs in use among the Cayapa. These are

[15] See page 156, note.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

made by cutting with the point of a knife or machete through the calabash rind, exposing the inner, white, hard portion which at first contrasts greatly with the brown general surface of the utensil. After such a utensil has been used for a time the incised designs also become brown. The calabash designs shown in pl. LXXXVI present various realistic figures, as well as a considerable number of geometric designs. In the small series of figures shown in this plate there are ten recognizable animal forms, namely:

Subject	*Figures*
Human being	1–4
Human being on horse	5, 9
Monkey	6
Horse or dog	18
Bird	10–12
Lizard	13
Turtle	16
Crab	14, 36
Scorpion	7
Tick	15
Animal (unknown form)	8, 17

The majority of these designs are relatively small, but in the crab design shown in fig. 36 of pl. LXXXVI, is presented a notable exception. This design appeared about the opening of a large, spherical, water-storage calabash and covered about half the entire surface of the vessel. The usual names given to the various animals themselves are also applied to these designs. As usual, on the other hand, the geometric figures are frequently unnamed.

Cayapa pottery is very simple in its forms and is entirely without decoration except in rare instances in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

531
302

PL. CXXII

CARVED FACE-PAINTING STICKS

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 288 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

531
552
286

CLOTH DESIGNS: HUMAN AND MAMMAL FIGURES

[pl. 286 (8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

which a slight attempt is made to ornament the edge of the shoulder of a vessel with a few incised lines or dots. No names are given to these simple decorations, and no attempt is made to work out any regular patterns even in the rare instances in which they are used. 531 323

The designs in hard textiles—twilled baskets, mats, and fans—are purely geometric, fairly simple (as is shown in pl. CV), and few in number. These conditions are quite natural and are imposed by the character of the material and the technic employed. There is comparatively little naming of these designs. Zigzags such as those shown in figs. 3 and 5 of the plate are called dē'tcû, and figures such as are illustrated in figs. 25 and 27 are commonly called kapû'ka, signifying "eye." 531 285

SOFT TEXTILE DESIGNS

It is in the soft textiles that the greatest variety of both geometric and realistic designs appears and where the only detailed naming of designs occurs. A table of the names of the various manta designs shown in pl. CXXIII-CXXVII, together with a glossary, is given in the following pages. From these data various interesting facts concerning the names of manta designs are apparent. 531 552 286

The names may be classified as: mammals, birds, reptiles, insects, miscellaneous animate objects, parts of animate objects, plants, artificial objects, geometric figures, and untranslatable terms. The following tabulation will show the various numbers in each class.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Mammals:
- human being
- monkey (two species)
- horse
- burro
- cow
- dog
- goat
- sheep
- guinea pig
- deer

Birds:
- pī'tcū
- la'pītcū
- tū'mbītcīlīlī
- hawk
- pelican
- turkey
- buzzard
- frigate bird
- duck
- egret
- dove (general term)
  - pactū'kū
  - wa'pū'pū
- chicken

Reptiles:
- snake (general term)
- boa constrictor
- lizard

Insects:
- centipede
- scorpion
- tick
- spider

Miscellaneous animate objects:
- crab
  - nē'lū
  - te'pūī nē'lū
  - There are also three compound terms in which the word crab appears.
- turtle
- toad

Parts of animate objects:
- eye (general term)
  - little eye
  - kapū'ka ya dētcū
  - ka'pū tcīlara
  - kapūka dalala ke''tū
  - dū'lalara kapūka
- ear
- lizard foot
- lizard egg
- tongue of sting-ray

Plants:
- pitigua
- fruit

Artificial objects:
- feast table
- belt or girdle
- ladder
- steps of ladder
- stick used for face painting
- top
- bait
- steel, of "flint-and-steel"
- canoe design
- cross
- handkerchief design
  - also te'mbū balya'lya

Geometric figures:
- zigzag
  - se'rañ dētcū
  - ē' dētcū
  - ūyū'mī dētcū
  - de''pañmī dētcū
  - dē'tcū serañ tsū'a
- horizontal

Miscellaneous:
- technic (the bandilas technic is mentioned).
- color

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Untranslatable terms:

balya'lya
balya'lyac
delam ba''ta
de'we
dū'lalara
hō'lara
hū''la
hū'lara
hū'rula
hū'rūlara
kūē'bū
nim bī'lya
pala'cla
pala'la
pala'c lara
pala'lac
pala'lara
pala'ra
palû'c lara
pala'tcū
petī
pū'ka ka
se'rañ
tapū'lyū
tē'pū balya'lya
tyūlya'lya
tyūm bī'lya
wīlû'cla
tyū'ndyū tcī lara

While there is a large series of geometric figures, as shown in pls. CXXV–CXXVII, and while these appear on mantas in fully as great as, if not in greater numbers than do the realistic figures, inspection shows that these are really variations of a comparatively few geometric elements, chiefly the zigzag, the cross, the triangle, and the rectangle, and that in reality there are not such a large number of distinctive designs as might at first appear. Furthermore, an inspection of the native names of these designs, most of which are of the untranslatable class, shows that the Cayapa recognize these similarities and that little realism is read into the designs by them. In fact the designs called eye, steps of a ladder, crab design (by which is meant the tracks made by a crab in the mud), and steel for striking fire, are the only ones of known significance that show evidence of a tendency toward realism in geometric forms. There may be among the untranslatable terms some which would, if their significations were known, show a similar tendency.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 531 Conventionalization of realistic designs, on the other hand, is somewhat more common, though this conventionalization is such as might be expected to be imposed by the nature of the textile and by the technic employed. Among the best examples of this are such human beings as those shown in pl. CXXIII, 12–16, or such toads as those illustrated in 17 and 18 of the same plate.

Another good example of this tendency is shown in fig. 42, called pelican, and in fig. 45 which is called dog and also monkey. In general this tendency toward the conventionalization of realistic designs appears to be present chiefly among the more unskilled weavers, and it will be observed that as a rule the more finely woven and better textiles from a technical point of view show correspondingly greater skill in design and a greater tendency toward realism. In such textiles the designs are usually of such a nature that there can be no doubt as to their import.

Perhaps one of the most striking features of the textile patterns of the Cayapa is what may be termed an abhorrence of vacant spaces. It will be observed that in a design to which any claim to elaborateness can be made, the tendency is to fill all corners and small areas, not directly connected with the main motif of the pattern, with lines, dots, or other small figures.

531 In conclusion, therefore, it may be said that the decorative art of the Cayapa is characterized by the following features:

1. A predominance of geometric patterns which in a large measure bear no names and have no definite signification.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

2. The presence upon textiles, and to a lesser extent upon calabash utensils, of realistic designs, which in certain instances tend toward conventionalization. 531

3. A slight tendency toward the assignment of realistic significations to what appear to be purely geometric forms.

4. The abhorrence of vacant spaces, shown by the filling of all small areas about a large design with dots, lines, and other irrelevant devices.

Table of Manta Design Names

286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXIII	1	human being (tca'tcl)
	2	human being (tca'tcl)
	3	human being (tca'tcl)
	4	human being (tca'tcl)
		toad (sa'pû, Spanish sapo)
	5	human being (tca'tcl)
	6	human being (tca'tcl)
	7	human being (tca'tcl)
	8	human being (tca'tcl)
	9	pala'la (untranslatable)
	10	pala'la (untranslatable)
	11	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
	12	spider (mû'ele, Spanish araña)
		human being (tca'tcl)
	13	human being (tca'tcl)
	14	human being (tca'tcl)
	15	human being (tca'tcl)
	16	human being (tca'tcl)
	17	toad (sa'pû, Spanish sapo)
		hû'rûlara or hû'la (untranslatable)
	18	toad (sa'pû, Spanish sapo)
	19	human being (tca'tcl)
		toad (sa'pû, Spanish sapo)
	20	toad (sa'pû, Spanish sapo)
	21	hû'la or pala'tcu (untranslatable)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXIII	22	monkey (cũ'rĩ, Spanish machin, mico; and wo'cũ, Spanish mono)
	23	monkey (cũ'rĩ, Spanish machin, mico)
	24	horse (à wa'lyũ, Spanish caballo), with human being (tca'tcĩ)
	25	horse (kawa'lyũ, Spanish caballo)
	26	horse (kawa'lyũ, Spanish caballo)
		goat (tcĩ'bũ, Spanish chivo)
	27	horse (kawa'lyũ, Spanish caballo)
		goat (tcĩ'bũ, Spanish chivo)
	28	ho'lara (untranslatable)
		human being (tca'tcĩ)
	29	monkey (cũ'rĩ, Spanish machin, mico)
	30	horse (kawa'lyũ, Spanish caballo), with human being (tca'tcĩ)
	31	monkey (cu'rĩ, Spanish machin, mico)
		horse (kawa'lyũ, Spanish caballo)
	32	No interpretation obtained
	33	horse (kawa'lyũ, Spanish caballo)
	34	horse (kawa'lyũ, Spanish caballo)
	35	cow (waga'm, Spanish vaca)
	36	horse (kawa'lyũ, Spanish caballo)
	37	horse (kawa'lyũ, Spanish caballo)
	38	pelican (nana" ka, Spanish alcatraz)
		crab (ne'lũ, the small red land-crab)
		monkey (wa'cũ, Spanish mono)
	39	monkey (cũ'rĩ, Spanish machin, mico)
	40	deer (ma'na)
	41	deer (ma'na)
		hawk (hdya'lyũ, Spanish gabilan)
	42	pelican (nana" ka, Spanish alcatraz)
	43	human being (tca'tcĩ)
	44	No interpretation obtained
	45	dog (kũ'tca)
		monkey (wo'cũ, wa'cũ, Spanish mono)
CXXIV	1	guinea pig (a"tse)
		sheep (ĩñc'a, Spanish oveja)
	2	guinea pig (a"tse)
	3	guinea pig (a"tse)
	4	sheep (ĩñca, Spanish oveja)
		guinea pig (a"tse)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Plate	Figure	
CXXIV	5	human being (tca'tcĭ), with guinea pig (a"tse), *or* sheep (ŏl'ca, Spanish oveja)
	6	human being (tca'tcĭ), with sheep (ŏl'ca, Spanish oveja), *or* guinea pig (a"tse)
	7	horse (kawa'lyū, Spanish caballo) dog (kŭ'tca)
	8	guinea pig (a"tse) sheep (ŏl'ca, Spanish oveja)
	9	goat (tcĭ'lŭ, Spanish chivo)
	10	guinea pig (a"tse) cow (waga'ra, Spanish vaca)
	11	guinea pig (a"tse) burro (kŭ'rŭ)
	12	An animal form for which no name was obtained
	13	An animal design; no information available. It resembles a lizard and might be given by the Cayapa the name of any one of several species of lizards.
	14	horse (kawa'lyū, Spanish caballo)
	15	cow (waga'ra, Spanish vaca)
	16	monkey (cŭ'rŭ, Spanish machin, mico) sheep (ŏl'ca, Spanish oveja)
	17	human being (tca'tcĭ) tyu'ndyū tcĭ lara (untranslatable)
	18	An animal form; no name obtained
	19	dog (kŭ'tca)
	20	bird (pĭ'tcŭ, particular species not stated
	21	pelican (nana'ka) horse (kawa'lyū). These names apply to the large bird which is the chief figure in this design. *The small triangular portion* of this design is called tembū balya'lya or tembū pĭ'lya (tembū, a contraction of tembū'pū, signifying handkerchief)
	22	domestic turkey (kaolŏ'lya walya'pa, literally Spanish or Castilian chicken) kŭl'lū (untranslatable)
	23	bird (pĭ'tcŭ)
	24	bird (pĭ'tcŭ) dove (a small species of a reddish color, called by the Cayapa os'pū'pū)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXIV	25	pelican (nana''ka) dove (a large reddish species, called in Cayapa pactū'kū)
	26	pelican (nana''ka) chicken (walya'pa)
	27	No name was obtained. It resembles the design shown in figure 33, which was called pelican (nana''ka)
	28	horse (kawa'lyū, Spanish caballo). This interpretation appears to be in error. The design is clearly a bird form, not that of a horse. It resembles in all essential details the design shown in figure 33, which was called pelican (nana''ka)
	29	white egret (ka''tsū, Spanish garsa) bird (pi'tcū) pelican (nana''ka) dove; exact species not stated
	30	pelican (nana''ka)
	31	bird (pi'tcū) dove; exact species not stated
	32	No name was obtained for this design, but in many respects it resembles that shown in figure 45, which was called white egret (ka''tsū, Spanish garsa)
	33	pelican (nana''ka)
	34	frigate bird (nyambdwa'tū)
	35	pelican (nana''ka)
	36	buzzard (kū'ndūrūrū, petyū'tyū, Spanish gallinaza) pelican (nana''ka) horse (kawa'lyū, Spanish caballo) goat (tcī'bū, Spanish chivo)
	37	pelican (nana''ka) chicken (walya'pa)
	38	pelican (nana''ka) duck (pa'tū, Spanish pato)
	39	tu'mbūtcūlū (a small black bird with red beak)
	40	pelican (nana''ka)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
582

CLOTH DESIGNS: MAMMAL, BIRD, AND INSECT FIGURES

[p. 286 (4)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
532

CLOTH DESIGNS: MAMMAL GROUPS AND GEOMETRIC FIGURES

[p.216(3)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXIV	41	pelican (nana'ka)
	42	dove (a small reddish species, called by the Cayapa wa'pá'pá)
	43	No name was obtained for these two birds. They would be called birds (pí'tcá), at least, and would probably be given specific names
	44	bird, a small species, black and yellow in color, a good singer and is much kept by the Cayapa as a pet (la'pí'tcá, Spanish pichicha)
		hummer (petyá'tyá, ká'ndárárá, Spanish gallinaso)
	45	white egret (ka''tsá, Spanish garsa)
	46	spider (má'tole, Spanish araña)
	47	spider (má'tole, Spanish araña)
	48	spider (má'tole, Spanish araña)
	49	scorpion (alaga'ra, Spanish alacrán)
		spider (má'tole, Spanish araña)
	50	scorpion (alaga'ra, Spanish alacrán)
	51	No name obtained for this butterfly-like design
	52	No name obtained for this bird-like design
	53	turtle (pítcí'lí)
	54	turtle (pítcí'lí)
	55	crab—the small red land-crab (ne'lá)
		crab—a certain coast species (tepúl ne'lá)
		karna'da (probably from the Spanish). The term is said to signify bait and also to be the name of a certain species of crustacean called in Spanish camaron brava
	56	crab—the small red land-crab (ne'lá)
	57	centipede (se'pínde)
	58	bimbí'ka (piande, a species of lizard)
		crab—the small red land-crab (ne'lá)
	59	turtle (pí'tcí'lí)
		toad (sa'pá, Spanish sapo)
CXXV	1	human being (tca'tcí)
	2	human being (tca'tcí)
	3	monkey (cá'rí, Spanish machin, mico)
	4	monkey (cá'rí, Spanish machin, mico)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

296
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXV	5	monkey (cū'rī, Spanish machin, mico)
	6	bird (pī'tcū) with monkey (cū'rī)
	7	No interpretation was obtained for these figures. They resemble some others which were called horses and are probably intended to represent that animal
	8	horse (kawa'lyū, Spanish caballo), with deer (ma'na)
	9	deer (ma'na)
	10	man (tca'tcī), with deer (ma'na), and bird (pī'tcū)
	11	deer (ma'na)
	12	deer (ma'na) with dogs (kū'tca)
	13	deer (ma'na) with bird (pī'tcū)
	14	horses (kawa'lyū, Spanish caballo), with bird (pī'tcū)
	15	zigzag (dē'tcū). The exact names of zigzags are governed by their relative size and their relations to those with which they are associated; viz.: de'patimi dē'tcū = horizontal zigzag tyūmi dē'tcū = vertical zigzag e' dē'tcū = big zigzag se'rañ dē'tcū, untranslatable form of zigzag lya'tena (the palm-wood steps of the house ladder). This name refers to the short lines which fill the spaces at the angles formed by the zigzag
	16	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above.
	17	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above. eye (kapū'ka). This term applies to the diamond-shape figures in the angles formed by the zigzag.
	18	big zigzag (e' dētcū)
	19	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above
	20	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above pitigua design (tyūm bī'lya) feast table (pa'kigī)
	21	pitigua design (etcūm bū, from te'tcūm bīlya) snake (pīnū)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXV	22	serañ dē′tcū (an untranslatable form of zigzag)
	23	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above eye (kapū′ka) and little eye (ka′ kapūka) refer to the diamond-shape figures in the angles formed by the zigzag
	24, 25, 26	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above.
	27	big zigzag (e′ dētcū) eye (kapū′ka and small eye (ka kapū′ka) refer to the diamond-shape figures in the angles of the zigzag
	28 29, 30	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above
	31	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above pīlya dē′we (pī′lya signifies design, and it appears that dē′we may possibly be related to dē′tcū, meaning zigzag. This design consists in part of a zigzag)
	32	big zigzag (e′ dētcū) hū′rūlara, hū″la (untranslatable) eye (kapū′ka). This term applies to the diamond-shape portions of the design
	33	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above
	34	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above tongue of sting-ray (tyū′wī nī′ka)
	35	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above hū′rūlara, hu″la (untranslatable)
	36	bīmbū′ka (piande, a small species of lizard) e pala′tcū (e signifies big; pala′tcū is untranslatable)
	37	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above
	38	pala′ra (untranslatable) pala′tcū (untranslatable) hū′rūlara, hū″la (untranslatable)
	39	No interpretation was given for this design, since it appears to be of modern origin. Such a modern design is usually called te′mbū pīlya, which signifies handkerchief design from the fact that they are derived largely from handkerchiefs of modern manufacture
	40	big zigzag (e′ dētcū)
	41, 42, 43	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above

[177]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXV	44	palm-wood steps of the house ladder (lya'tena)
		belt (tcū'mbī). This term should be tcū'mbī pīlya, which signifies belt design and is applicable to any design which appears on a belt
CXXVI	1	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		eggs of a species of lizard called bīmbū'ka (bī'mbū napīpū)
	2	hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
	3	eggs of a species of lizard called bīmbū'ka (bī'mbū napīpū)
		pū'ka ka (this appears to be really ka' pūka which means small fruit)
		big zigzag (e' dētcū)
		balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
	4	hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
		balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		pū'ka ka (apparently signifies small fruit)
	5	foot of a small species of lizard (bī'mbū nyapa)
		e hū''la (e signifies large; hū''la is untranslatable)
	6	egg of a small species of lizard (bī'mbū napīpū)
		hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
	7	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyū'ndyu tcī lara (untranslatable)
	8	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
		handkerchief design (tē'mbū pīlya)
	9	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
		hū''lara (untranslatable)
		handkerchief design (te'mbū pīlya)
	10	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		belt design (tcū'mbī pīlya). (This term is applied to any design on a belt, regardless of the nature of the design)
		big zigzag (e' dētcū)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXVI		palm-wood steps of a house ladder (lya'tena). (This term applies to the horizontal lines which form part of this design) 286 531 552
		tyû'ndyû tcî lara (untranslatable)
	11	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		te'pû balyalya (untranslatable)
		pala'c lara (untranslatable)
	12	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyû'ndyû tcî lara (untranslatable)
	13	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		horizontal design (de" pañ bîlya)
		tyû'ndyû tcî lara (untranslatable)
	14	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		handkerchief design (te'mbû pîlya)
	15	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
	16	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		belt (tcû'mbî). (This term should be tcû'mbî pîlya, signifying belt design. It is equally applicable to any design which appears on a belt)
	17	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		belt (tcû'mbî). (This term should be tcû'mbî pîlya, signifying belt design. It is equally applicable to any design which appears on a belt)
	18	No interpretation obtained
	19	No interpretation obtained
	20	No interpretation obtained
	21	zigzag (dê'tcû). See pl. cxxv, fig. 15, above
		belt (tcû'mbî). (This term is applicable with equal propriety to all designs appearing on belts; its full form is tcû'mbî pîlya)
	22	eggs of a species of small lizard called bîmbû'ka (bî'mbû napîpû)
		tyûlya'lya (untranslatable)
		hû'rûlara, hû"la (untranslatable)
		pû'te wîlûcla (pû'te signifies hamper-shape basket; wîlû'cla is untranslatable)
	23	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		ladder (lya'pî)

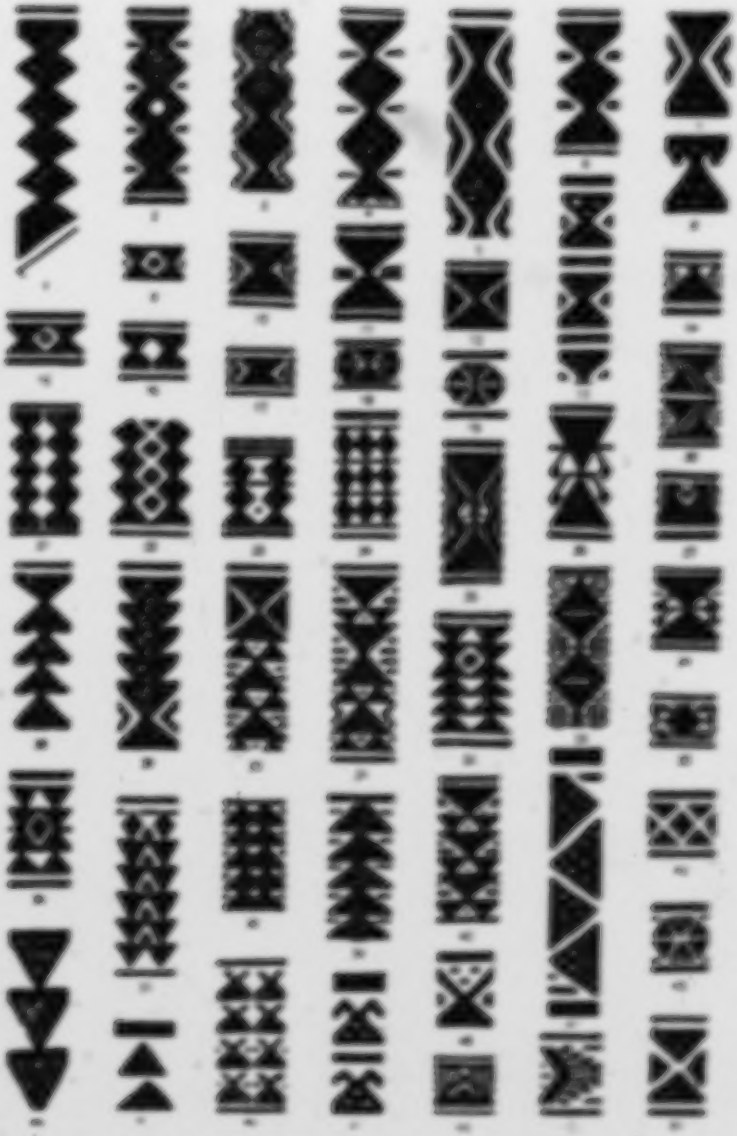
3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXVI	24	No name obtained
	25	No name obtained
	26	No name obtained
	27	No name obtained
	28	belt (tcū'mbí). (This term applies to any design which appears on a belt; its full form is tcū'mbí pĭlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	29	mŏ'pĭtcĭpapa, mŏpí ke'nū tcĭpapa. (The carved stick used as an implement with which to apply the red and yellow face paint)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
		balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyūm bi'lya (bi'lya signifies design, tyūm appears to come from te'tcūa, signifying pitigua). (The connection of the design and name here is not very clear)
	30	handkerchief design (te'mbū pĭlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
		pala'lara (untranslatable)
	31	handkerchief design (te'mbū pĭlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	32	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyūm bi'lya (bi'lya signifies design, and tyūm appears to be derived from te'tcūa, signifying pitigua)
	33	No signification was obtained for this elaborate design
	34	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
	35	No signification obtained
	36	No signification obtained
	37	No signification obtained
	38	handkerchief design (te'mbū pĭlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	39	No signification obtained
	40	handkerchief design (te'mbū pĭlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	41	zigzag (dē'tcū). See pl. CXXV, fig. 15, above
		te'pū balya'lya (untranslatable)
		balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		fruit (pū'ka)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

281
531
552



CLOTH DESIGNS: GEOMETRIC FIGURES

[p. 302(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

CLOTH DESIGNS: GEOMETRIC FIGURES

[p. 502 (P.)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXVI	42	pala'cla (untranslatable)
		belt (tcū'mbī). (This term in full is tcū'mbī pīlya, signifying belt design, and is applicable to all designs appearing on belts)
	43	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		hō'lara (untranslatable term)
	44	handkerchief design (te'mbū pīlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	45	tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
		tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
	46	canoe design (kūm bī'lya)
		handkerchief design (te'mbū pīlya)
	47	handkerchief design (te'mbū pīlya)
		te'mbū balyalya (te'mbū signifies handkerchief; balya'lya is untranslatable)
	48	pala'tcū or palū'c lara (untranslatable)
	49	pala'tcū (untranslatable)
		ears (pū'fige)
		centipede (sc'pinde)
	50	No signification obtained
	51	No signification obtained
CXXVII	1	big zigzag (e' dētcū)
		e pala'tcū (e signifies big; pala'tcū is untranslatable)
		boa constrictor (we'sū)
	2	e hū'rūlara (e signifies big; hū'rūlara is untranslatable)
		pitigua design (tyūm bī'lya) (tyūm comes from te'tcūa, meaning pitigua)
	3	ba'ndīlas (a certain basketry technic). (This particular basketry technic is a kind of openwork which produces small squares similar to those shown here. It is clearly a case of the adaptation of this technic to this textile)
		hū'rūlara, hū'la (untranslatable)
	4	ba'ndīlas (a certain basketry technic). See fig. 3 above
		zigzag (dē'tcū). (This interpretation seems doubtful)
	5	hū'rūlara, hū'la, hū'rū'la (untranslatable)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXVII	5	eye (kapū'ka) kapūka ya dē'tcu (eye ya zigzag)
	6	hū'rūlara, hu''la (untranslatable)
	7	e hū''la, hū''la (untranslatable)
	8	hū'rūlara, hū''la, pala'lac (untranslatable)
	9	ha'ndilas (a certain basketry technic). See fig. 3 above
	10	hū'rūlara, hū''la, e hū''la, ho' lara (untranslatable)
	11	zigzag (dē'tcū) hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
	12	ha'ndilas (a certain basketry technic). See fig. 3 above crab design (se' pīlya) nim bi'lya (untranslatable) zigzag (dē'tcū). (The connection seems doubtful)
	13	ha'ndilas (a certain basketry technic). See fig. 3 above
	14	pala'la, pala'lara, pala'tcū (untranslatable)
	15	hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable) turtle (pītci'lī)
	16	No interpretation obtained
	17	hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
	18	No interpretation obtained
	19	pala'tcū, tapū'lyū (untranslatable)
	20	cross (karū'sa, from the Spanish cruz) pala'tcu (untranslatable) top (tōmbe'ta, from the Spanish trompo)
	21	pala'cla (untranslatable) belt (tcū'mbī). (This term in full is tcū'mbī pīlya, belt design, and is equally applicable to all designs occurring on belts)
	22	big zigzag (ē' dētcu) i'clabō ñ (iron used with flint in striking fire)
	23	eye (kapū'ka)
	24	lya'tena (the palm-wood steps of a ladder) se' pīlya tyūndyū tci lara (se' pīlya signifies crab design; the remainder of the term is untranslatable)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Plate	Figure	
CXXVII	24	tyū'ndyū tci lara (untranslatable)
		ladder (lya'pi)
		crab design (ne' pilya)
	25	lya'tena (the palm-wood steps of a ladder)
		ne' pilya tyūndyū tci lara (ne' pilya signifies crab design; the remainder of the term is untranslatable)
		ladder (lya'pi)
		crab design (ne' pilya)
		tcū'mbi delam ba'"ta (tcū'mbi signifies belt; the remainder of the term is untranslatable)
	26	lya'tena (the palm-wood steps of a ladder)
	27	crab design (ne' pilya)
		nim bi'lya (untranslatable)
	28	ka'pū tci lara (to turn the eyes in an upward direction)
		lya'tena (the palm-wood steps of a ladder)
	29	delam ba'"ta (untranslatable)
		lya'tena (the palm-wood steps of a ladder)
	30	crab design (ne' pilya)
	31	zigzag (dē'tcū). (The connection seems doubtful)
		The stick used to apply face-paint; it is called mū'pitcipapa, mūpi ke'nū tcipapa, and mū'pi kenū tcipapa, all variants of the same term
	32	crab design (ne' pilya)
		nim bi'lya (untranslatable)
		crab eyes (ne' kapūka)
	33	zigzag (dē'tcū)
	34	crab design (ne' pilya)
	35	No interpretation obtained
	36	No interpretation obtained for this design as a whole. Horizontal bars of this kind are called lya'tena, meaning the palm-wood steps of the house ladder, and the small rectangles are called ne' pilya, signifying crab design, or nim bi'lya, in which nim is a term of unknown signification
	37	crab design (ne' pilya)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXVII	37	crab design white cotton (ne' pilya fihañ ütcüa)
		nim bi'lya (untranslatable)
		crab design technic (ne' pilya decima)
		eye (kapü'ka)
	38	eye (kapü'ka)
		crab eye (ne' kapüka, nē'lü kapüka)
		dü'lalara kapüka, kapüka dala'la ke'tü (kapü'ka in each of these terms signifies eye. The remaining portions of these terms are untranslatable)
		balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		belt design (tcü'mbi pilya). (This term belt applies equally to all designs occurring on belts)
	39	No interpretation obtained. Horizontal bars of this kind are usually called lya'tena, which signifies the palm-wood steps of a house ladder. As a matter of fact the design from which this figure was taken was a very small one and it is doubtful if this name would apply
	40	zigzag (dē'tcü)
[372]		i'clabö'ñ (iron used with flint in striking fire)
	41	i'clabö'ñ (iron used with flint in striking fire)
	42	i'clabö'ñ (iron used with flint in striking fire)
		zigzag (dē'tcü)
		The rectangular closed figures are called kü'tca peti; kü'tca signifies dog; but pe'ti is untranslatable. The crossed lines between these rectangular figures are called pala'la, a term of unknown signification
	43	i'clabö'ñ (the iron used with flint in striking fire)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Glossary of Manta Design Names

286
531
552
177
104

bait, karna'da. Also said to be the name of a certain crustacean, called in Spanish camaron brava. CXXIV, 55.

balya'lyac (untranslatable). CXXIII, 11; CXXVI, 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 23, 29, 32, 34, 35, 41, 43; CXXVII, 38.

basket. See pū'te.

belt or girdle, tcū'mbī, a term that may be used as part of the name of any design on a belt. CXXV, 44; CXXVI, 16, 17, 21, 28, 42; CXXVII, 21, 38.

bird, pī'tcū. CXXIV, 20, 23, 24, 29, 31, 43; CXXV, 6, 10, 13, 14.

la'pī'tcū. A small black and yellow bird, a good singer, much kept as a pet by the Cayapa. Spanish, pichichu. CXXIV, 44.

tū'mbītcūlīl. A small black bird with red beak. CXXIV, 39.

frigate bird, nyambīwa'tū. CXXIV, 34.

boa constrictor, we'sū. CXXVII, 1.

burro, bū'rū. CXXIV, 11.

buzzard, kū'ndūrūrū, petyū'tyū; Spanish, gallinaso. CXXIV 36, 44.

canoe design, kūm bī'lya: kūm, from kū'lo, canoe. CXXVI, 46.

centipede's hand, se'pīnde tyapa; hand (not leg) = tyapa'pa. CXXIV, 57; CXXVI, 49.

chicken, walya'pa. CXXIV, 26, 37.

color. Frequently an informant gave as the name of a particular design the name of the color of the material from which it was made. Such names, of course, have no significance in the interpretation of designs, but are of interest in that often they were the only ones obtainable. The names particularly used in this connection were:

te'nda, green thread, from a small shrub called te'nda tcī, the leaves of which provide the pigment used in coloring this thread. [386]

ka'kō, lavender thread, this color being obtained from a small periwinkle-like mollusk.

The names for other colors were almost never used in this manner.

cow, waga'va, from Spanish vaca. CXXIII, 35; CXXIV, 10, 15.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 **crab,** ne'lû, the small red land-crab. CXXIII, 38; CXXIV, 55, 56, 58.

531 tepul ne'lû, a certain species from the coast region. CXXIV, 55.

552 **crab eye,** ne'kapûka, ne'lû kapûka. This refers to the eye of the small red land-crab called ne'lû. CXXVII, 32, 38.

177 **crab design,** ne' pîlya: ne from ne'lû, crab; pî'lya, design. CXXVII, 12, 24, 25, 27, 30, 32, 34, 37.

104 ne' pîlya tyûndyû tci lara: ne' pîlya, crab design; the remainder is untranslatable. CXXVII, 24, 25.

crab design technic (literally), ne' pîlya declina. CXXVII, 37.

crab design white cotton (literally), ne' pîlya ffhañ ûtcûa. CXXVII, 37.

cross, karû'sa, from Spanish cruz. CXXVII, 20.

deer, ma'na. CXXIII, 40, 41; CXXV, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13.

delam ba''ta (untranslatable). CXXVII, 29.

design. In many cases informants simply gave the term pî'lya, or bî'lya, which signifies design or pattern. It would appear that it was employed in cases where the design was of unknown signification, or where it was newly introduced. Such a general term is, of course, applicable to all patterns.

belt design. tcû'mbi pîlya. This term applies to any pattern on a belt or girdle, regardless of its form. CXXVI, 10; CXXVII, 38. See belt.

horizontal design. de''pañ bîlya. CXXVI, 13.

dog, kû'tca. CXXIII, 45; CXXIV, 7, 19; CXXV, 12.

kû'tca petî: pe'tî is untranslatable. The rectangular figures of this pattern are referred to by this name. CXXVII, 42.

dove, Spanish, paloma. CXXIV, 29, 31.

pactû'kû. A reddish species as large as a chicken. CXXIV, 25.

wa'pû'pû. A small reddish species. CXXIV, 24, 42.

duck, Spanish, pato. CXXIV, 38.

dû'lalara kapûka (dû'lalara is untranslatable; kapû'ka, eye). CXXVII, 38.

ear, pû'ñge. CXXVI, 49.

egret, white, ka''tsû; Spanish, garza. CXXIV, 45, 29.

e hû''la (e, big; hû''la, untranslatable). CXXVI, 5; CXXVII, 7, 10.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

e hū'rūlara (e, big; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 2.
e pala'tcū (e, big; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXV, 36; CXXVII, 1.
eye, kapū'ka. CXXV, 17, 23, 27, 32; CXXVII, 5, 23, 37, 38.
kapūka dalalake"tū (kapū'ka, eye; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 38.
ka' kapūka, "little eye." The small diamond-shape designs on mantas, etc. CXXV, 23, 27.
ka'pūka ya dēttcū (kapū'ka, eye; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 5.
ka'pū tcī lara, to turn the eyes in an upward direction, i.e., to look decidedly upward. CXXVII, 28.
feast table, pa'kigi, a contraction of pūba kīkī. CXXV, 20.
fruit, all classes, pū'ka. CXXVI, 41.
girdle. See belt.
goat, tcī'bū; Spanish, chivo. CXXVIII, 26, 27; CXXIV, 9, 36.
guinea pig, a"tse. CXXIV, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11.
handkerchief, te'mbū balya'lya: te'mbū, a contraction of tembū'pū, handkerchief; balya'lya, untranslatable. CXXV, 21; CXXVI, 47.
handkerchief design, te'mbū pūlya: tembū'pū, handkerchief. CXXV, 21; CXXV, 39; CXXVI, 8, 9, 14, 30, 31, 38, 40, 44, 46, 47.
hawk, hūya'lyū; Spanish, gabilan. CXXIII, 41.
hō'lara (untranslatable). CXXIII, 25, 43; CXXVII, 10.
horse, kawa'lyū; Spanish, caballo. CXXIII, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37; CXXIV, 7, 14, 21, 25, 36; CXXV, 8, 14.
hō"la (untranslatable). CXXIII, 17, 21; CXXV, 32, 35, 38; CXXVI, 2, 3, 4, 6, 22; CXXVII, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17.
hō'lara (untranslatable). CXXVI, 9.
human being, tca'tci. CXXIII, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 24, 28, 30, 43; CXXIV, 5, 6, 17; CXXV, 1, 2, 10.
hō'rūla (untranslatable). CXXVII, 5.
hō'rūlara (untranslatable). CXXIII, 17; CXXV, 32, 35, 38; CXXVI, 2, 3, 4, 6, 22; CXXVII, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17.
hōe'bū (untranslatable). CXXIV, 22.
kū'tca pe'ti (kū'tca, dog; pe'ti, untranslatable). The rectangular figures of this pattern are thus referred to. CXXVII, 42
ladder, lya'pū; Spanish, escalera. CXXVI, 23; CXXVII, 24, 25. lya'tena, i.e. palm-wood steps of a house-ladder. CXXV, 15, 44; CXXVI, 10; CXXVII, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 **lizard.** cxxiv, 13.
531 bimbū'ka, a large species; Spanish, piande. cxxiv, 58; cxxv, 36.
552 bi'mbū naṛipū, i.e., egg of a lizard called bimbū'ka. cxxvi, 1, 3, 6, 22.
177 bi'mbū nyapa, foot of a lizard called bimbū'ka. cxxvi, 5.
104 **monkey.** cu'rī, a small species; Spanish, machin and mico. cxxiii, 22, 23, 29, 31, 39; cxxiv, 16; cxxv, 3, 4, 5, 6.
wo'cū, wa'cū, a species larger than the machin but smaller than the large black monkey called mongon; Spanish, mono. cxxiii, 22, 38, 45.
ne'lū kapūka. See crab eye.
nim bi'lya (untranslatable). This design is one of those most frequently employed. cxxvii, 12, 27, 32, 37.
pala'cla (untranslatable). cxxvi, 42; cxxvii, 21.
pala'c lara (untranslatable). cxxvi, 11.
pala'la (untranslatable). cxxiii, 9, 10; cxxvii, 14, 42.
pala'lac (untranslatable). cxxvii, 8.
pala'lara (untranslatable). cxxvi, 30; cxxvii, 14.
pala'ra (untranslatable). cxxv, 38.
pala'tcū (untranslatable; the only definition obtainable was the Spanish term garavata). cxxiii, 21; cxxv, 38; cxxvi, 48, 49; cxxvii, 14, 19, 20.
palū'c lara (untranslatable). cxxvi, 48.
pelican, nana''ka: Spanish alcatraz. cxxiii, 38, 42; cxxv, 21, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41.
petyū'tyū. See buzzard.
pilya dē'we: pi'lya, design; dē'we, possibly related to de'tcū, zigzag. cxxv, 31.
pitigua, etcūm bi'ū: probably related to te'tcūmb ilya, from te'tcūa, pitigua, and bi'lya, design. cxxv, 21.
pū'ka ka (untranslatable). cxxvi, 3, 4.
pū'te wilū'cla: pū'te, hamper-shape basket; wilū'cla, untranslatable. cxxvi, 22.
ray, tongue of sting-ray, tyū'vī ni''ka. cxxv, 34.
scorpion, alaga'ra, Spanish, alacrán. cxxiv, 49, 50.
se'raā dē'tcū (untranslatable). cxxv, 22.
sheep, bērī'gō, usually called bērī'gō by the Cayapa, but called also dī'ca from Spanish oveja. cxxiv, 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 16.
snake, pīnī. cxxv, 21.
spider, mū'rele; Spanish, araña. cxxiii, 12; cxxiv, 46, 47, 49.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

steel, t'elabi'ñ, i.e., iron used with flint in striking fire. cxxvii, 22, 40, 41, 42, 43.

stink, with which achote face-paint is applied, mil'pitchipapa, milpi ke'nñi tchipapa, mil'pi kenñi tchipapa. cxxvi, 29; cxxvii, 31.

tapil'yñ (untranslatable) cxxvi, 19.

tchi'mihi dekam ke'ta (tch'mihi, belt or girdle; dekam ke'ta, untranslatable). cxxvii, 23.

tchihiñe, ke'ndilas, a certain basketry technic. cxxvii, 3, 4, 9, 12, 13.

te'pu kulya'lya (untranslatable). cxxvi, 11, 41.

tenel, te'pil, from Spanish sapo. cxxiii, 4, 17, 18, 19, 20, 30.

toqi, tonile'ta, from Spanish trompa. cxxvii, 20.

turkey, domestic, kante'lya wakapa, literally Spanish or Castilian chicken. cxxiv, 22.

turtle, pitel'il; Spanish, tortuga. cxxiv, 13, 34, 39; cxxvii, 13.

tyilya'lya (untranslatable). cxxvi, 22, 28, 29, 30, 31, 38, 40, 44, 45.

tyilun ke'lya (tylin, probably from te'krin, pitigua; ke'lya, design). cxxv, 20; cxxvi, 29, 32; cxxvii, 2.

tyil'mdyñ tel kaya (untranslatable). cxxiv, 17; cxxvi, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 45; cxxvii, 24.

zigzag (generic), dil'ñi. This term is usually preceded by an adjectival term which indicates the particular kind of zigzag; viz., ñ'dilñi, se'nel dilñi, ñyil'mel dilñi, de'panel dilñi. cxxv, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 41, 42, 43; cxxvi, 21, 41; cxxvii, 4, 11, 12, 31, 33, 40, 42.

dil'ñi wenñi tola; (dil'ñi, zigzag; no definite translation for the remainder of the term could be obtained). cxxv, 29.

ñ'dilñi, literally, big zigzag; given also as crossed zigzag, though this meaning is doubtful. cxxv, 18, 27, 32, 40; cxxvi, 3, 39; cxxvii, 1, 22.

de'panel dilñi, de'panel dilñi, horizontal zigzag. cxxv, 34.

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

GOVERNMENT

In large measure the mode of government now in vogue among the Cayapa is based on the Spanish system at present employed in Ecuador; consequently we find in each of the three divisions of the Cayapa the following officials: Gobernador, secretario de la gobernación, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, sargento. The office of each of these officials is hereditary and on the death of the incumbent passes to his eldest living son or, if he has no sons, to his eldest living brother. In case he has neither son nor brother, the office passes to the eldest son of his eldest deceased brother, and should no such son be living, it passes to the eldest of his nearest male relatives, thus keeping the office always within the family. This system of succession is obviously an aboriginal one and was naturally retained when the new form of government was engrafted upon the old.

It sometimes happens that the hereditary candidate for an office does not wish to assume it. In such event it passes to the next in line in the order mentioned, or, by common consent of the heads of the related families concerned, it may pass out of this order. Ordinarily such a condition does not arise, but instances have been known where an hereditary candidate declined to accept an office to which he was legally entitled, and which it was not only his privilege but also his duty to accept.

The Spanish form of government has existed for many years, so that it is now difficult to determine exactly what the aboriginal Cayapa government was. It would appear, however, that there were but three classes of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

officials: First, a chief, known as ü'nyi or ü'mi, and now gobernador; second, one or more sub-chiefs, casawa'lyi, now called gobernador nuevo; third, a class which might be termed officers of the law, called tca'itala. All the officers of the present Spanish form of government, other than the gobernador and the gobernador nuevo, are classed under the last head, and in reality all serve the same purposes as did the ancient tca'itala.

The center of government inheres in the chief, no matter where he may reside, and practically all matters, but especially matters of importance, are referred to him.

The Cayapa are separated, geographically and politically, into three divisons, each with its section of the river and its particular village which is used only at times of fiestas or for other gatherings. These divisions are those of Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, these designations being taken for convenience from the names of their respective villages in the order in which they are met in going up the Rio Cayapas. A part of Punta Venado is shown in pl. VIII, while a distant view of the village from the river is shown in pl. IX. This is the largest and most important of the three villages. In pl. X is presented a view of a part of Sapayo Grande, with the chief's house in the left foreground.

In each of these villages the chief has a large house, and it is here that most matters of importance are settled, justice is dispensed, and punishment inflicted. In such a house there is a large special room, at one end of which is a heavy stocks for the confinement of prisoners when necessary. In the Cayapa country the stocks is strictly

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

In the Cayapa country the stocks is strictly
681 a Spanish institution, so far as can be learned, and has
177 no Cayapa name, but is always called by the Spanish term cepo, or, as it is rendered locally, se'pō. So far as known it was introduced among the Cayapa by early missionaries.

622 In speaking of ceremonies (page 392), detailed descriptions are given of the methods of punishment, which theoretically is meted out only by the chief and the subchief. The remaining officers of the government, however, take a hand in the actual punishment when asked to do so by the chief, though their special duty is to apprehend and bring the offenders to justice, to keep order at fiestas and other gatherings, and generally to execute the laws devised by the chief, whose authority is supreme and whose word in all matters is absolutely binding. His attitude, however, is in no way oppressive; on the contrary, he displays great deference to public opinion and conducts the affairs of government in a harmonious and satisfactory manner. Perhaps the operations of the Cayapa governmental machinery are shown to best advantage in the settlement of what may be termed civil difficulties, for, as has been previously pointed out, there are few fixed laws among the Cayapa, largely for the reason that few crimes are committed. The laws are more in the nature of canons of ethics than statutory enactments, and they may be varied to a certain extent by public opinion concerning the particular case in hand.

674 The Cayapa maintain that they have no punishment for theft, because theft does not exist either among themselves or against their neighbors. This reputation is borne out by the whites and negroes of the region, who

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

declare the Cayapa absolutely honest. It is claimed also that murder and other major crimes are entirely unknown among them.

On the other hand, there are strict rules with respect to marital relations, any infringement of which meets with severe punishment. The details of this phase of Cayapa life will be discussed in dealing with the subject of marriage. The Cayapa themselves claim that in aboriginal times the same regulations in respect to these matters were in vogue, but presumably they may have been at least strengthened, if not considerably influenced, by the rigid church laws introduced by missionaries.

It is said that formerly, when the Cayapa were a united mountain people residing in a village community, there was but one chief and one government for all, but that soon after they settled along the banks of the river they became segregated into the three divisions as above mentioned. There then arose the three separate villages for fiestas and other gatherings, and the three separate and independent governments. No special reason for this separation is given by the Cayapa, other than that it was more convenient than to have a single central government; and no explanation could be obtained as to how the officials of the three separate governments were first appointed or elected.

It is said that in aboriginal times the inauguration of a new official was attended by no special ceremony, but that he automatically assumed the duties of his office on the death of his predecessor. At present, however, such a person enters on these duties only after having been duly inducted by the priest during his annual visit to the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

village. The successor of an official is definitely known long before the death of the latter, but an official vacancy is not actually filled until the coming of the priest. Then, in the presence of all the other officials and anyone else who may wish to be present, the priest delivers an address in which he names the new official, announces his duties and privileges, commends him to the respect of the people, and charges him with the duties and responsibilities which he is about to assume. On the death of the chief, for instance, his duties are relegated to some other official, usually one of the "alcaldes," until such time as the priest shall arrive and inaugurate a successor.

None of these officials are supposed to receive compensation other than the honor and respect in which they are held. The chief, however, usually levies fines upon offenders, of which he takes personal possession and could, if he so desired, use a portion of them for his private needs, since no special account of such matters is kept by anyone. As a matter of fact such a thing rarely or never happens; on the contrary the chief uses the fines for paying the services of officers of the law whom he may send on missions of various kinds, such as bringing culprits to justice, settling disputes among his people, and the like. A portion of the money he uses also for the payment of shamans whom he employs now and then to expel dangerous spirits from his village, from deep pools in the river, or from other places where these mysterious beings are supposed to endanger the lives of the people at large. At the present time, when coins of Ecuador and Colombia are comparatively easy to obtain, fines are paid in money, but in earlier times they were always paid in commodities.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

BIRTH

Contrary to the conditions prevailing among many 846
aboriginal peoples, among the Cayapa there are few
restrictions associated with birth. Parturition is usually 844
in a more or less erect position, the woman sitting upon a
low stool of the type shown in pl. LXXXIII[3], and no medi- [278]
cines are taken, excepting sometimes a small glass of hot,
strong rum. The woman is attended by other women of 846
her family, but submits to no ceremonial restrictions;
indeed the only prohibitions to which she is subject are
those against bathing, and eating meat. She lies still
for a period varying from a day to about a week, but
during this time and subsequently she may prepare any
food she desires, may feed herself, comb her own hair,
touch her own face, and perform various other acts which
are forbidden under like circumstances among many
other aboriginal peoples.

Couvade, which is so rigidly observed among many South American tribes, is not practised here. In fact, during his wife's confinement a man appears to be entirely unrestricted: he follows his usual pursuits, and even hunts and fishes, two occupations which by a great many tribes are especially forbidden to fathers of new-born children.

With respect to the new-born child itself certain 844
customs are observed. Much care is taken in connection
with the umbilicus and the placenta. The cord is cut
at a distance of three or four inches from the body, and
the end is dipped in hot grease and securely tied. The
afterbirth is immediately wrapped in leaves and is

[3] [P. 154(B), Cat. 116.—Analyst]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

844 either carried far into the hills and there deposited in some lonely, out-of-the-way spot, or it is placed to dry in the upper part of the house for about a month, when it may be thrown away in a place where no one is likely
846 to find it. When the umbilicus finally sluffs from the body, it is kept in the house for a month or so and also thrown away in some secluded spot.

844 This great care that no one shall come upon either the
846 umbilical cord or the afterbirth is apparently not due to fear that the child or a member of its immediate family will be injured if either should be found, but it is claimed that the magic effect upon a person encountering either would be very serious, and might even result in death.
[754] No evidence could be obtained that would point to the use of either the umbilicus or the placenta by shamans or others for bringing about magic spells or other malevolent effects.

844 Immediately after its birth, the child is bathed in warm water and its entire face is painted with red achote, but neither the child nor the mother is obliged later to undergo any purification or other ceremony.

NAMES

553 According to their profession of the Roman Catholic faith the Cayapa baptize their children for the first time
553 within a few days after birth. This first rite is per-
608 formed by a man and a woman, special friends of the family, who are selected by the parents. If the child is a boy, he is held by the man who is to become his godfather while the woman who is to become his godmother

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

baptizes him with a tumbler of water as she gives him his name, which is almost invariably the given name of the godfather. If a girl, the child is held by the godmother, baptized by the godfather, and given the name of the godmother.

A child may be, and usually is, called by its first baptismal name, but sooner or later in its babyhood some act or circumstance connected with its life will appeal to the members of the family as particularly ludicrous or interesting. Its name is thereupon changed, it being called by the name of this act or circumstance to the almost total exclusion of its baptismal name. At the first opportunity the child is baptized by a priest, and then receives from him its true Christian name, which is usually that of the patron saint of the day upon which the child was born. Some months, however, may elapse before this second christening, since it is possible to have such a baptism only when a priest makes a visit to the region or when a part of the family has occasion to go to Esmeraldas or to some other point where a priest resides. In spite of the fact that the child may now have two Christian names, it almost invariably happens that some nickname given to it in the nature of a joke clings to it, perhaps for the rest of its life, and always at least until after marriage. This nickname may at any time be changed according as some new propensity is displayed by the child, or some new incident occurs which appeals to its associates or to the family.

Such a nickname persists usually until the person becomes a father or a mother, when the name is immediately changed and the person is no longer known by his or

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

551 553 her original name, but as the father or mother of this first-born child. Thus, the chief of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa is known by the Christian name Antonio Napa, but is almost invariably called pi'tcû-apa, signifying "father of pi'tcû." Correspondingly his wife is known as pi'tcû-ama, "mother of pi'tcû." Such a name usually persists regardless of the names of any of the younger children and regardless of whether or not the eldest child still lives. In the case cited, the eldest son, pi'tcû, died several years ago and there are several younger children in the family, but the names pi'tcû-apa and pi'tcû-ama still persist. Now and then a person is found whose original nickname is used even after the birth of his children, but this is very exceptional.

PUBERTY

881 As in the case of birth, there appear to be almost no restrictions upon or ceremonies for either sex on reaching puberty, which is again contrary to the customs of most aboriginal peoples. Some even maintain that there are absolutely no restrictions, but others claim that girls at the age of puberty are prohibited for a short period [841] from going about and from bathing. This latter statement seems the more probable, in view of the fact that during their menstrual periods the older women are subject to the same restrictions, though they are not otherwise restricted in their actions at such times.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

MARRIAGE

When a young man or a young woman desires to marry a certain person, all work other than that absolutely necessary, and all social relations with other individuals, are at an end. Such a person sits throughout the day without speaking to anyone, and no matter how much he or she may be addressed or made fun of, etiquette does not permit such a person to respond or even to laugh.

It sometimes happens that a young man is desirous of marrying a woman who cares nothing for him. In such a case, if his ordinary endeavors to gain her interest and attention fail, he resorts to the use of certain sweet-scented herbs, the woods of certain trees, and various other objects, which are supposed to have magic power to attract and to give him good luck in such matters. He wears such charms about his person, especially attached to his necklaces.

A young man in love bides his time until the other members of his family have retired for the night, when he takes his canoe and paddles to a point near the house of the young woman he wishes to marry. On nearing her home he sings softly certain magic love-songs and then cautiously approaches the house. He then, according to some informants, attracts her attention by one means or another and endeavors to persuade her to leave the house with him for a time. According to others, he cautiously enters the house and passes a part of the night with her under her own mosquito canopy. In either case they part toward morning, so that the lover is able to return to his own home without the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

583 knowledge of his family. These visits are repeated for
584 some time, when the young couple announce their desire to marry and obtain the consent of their respective parents. After this, conditions very largely govern their procedure. By some it is said that at present they go immediately to the house of the bride's or the groom's father, or to a new house of their own as soon as one can be built, and there live as man and wife without any
585 special ceremony; indeed the only ceremony celebrated is that of the church on the next annual visit of the Catholic priest. Others maintain that, having obtained the consent of all parties concerned, some time elapses before what may be called the preliminary wedding feast and ceremony. In this interval the young man and his friends must hunt and procure game, which is dried for the feast, and must provide presents for the parents and other relatives of the bride. The bride, on the other hand, provides certain of the other foods, such as plantains and corn, and she and her family make gifts to the family of the groom. There is no exchange of presents between the bride and the groom, however, and there is nothing which can in any way be construed as a purchase of the bride. Finally the relatives and friends of the contracting couple assemble, and a feast of from one to two or three days is held. At this feast the young couple are brought in and are given each ten lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails by the chief. This whipping is considered as a consummation and legalization of their
585 marriage, so far as civil procedure is concerned. It
177 seems probable that this custom is a survival of aboriginal times and that the marriage ceremony has not been so

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

greatly modified by intrusive religious ideas as have many other features of Cayapa culture. With the coming of the priest, on the occasion of his annual visit, the regular church marriage rite is performed. At this ceremony there is further chastising of the contracting parties by the chief or by some one delegated by him.

On the occasion of the annual visit of the priest to one of the Cayapa pueblos, usually in August or September, a fiesta of from one to three weeks is held, during which it is customary for couples who have been married between the time of the priest's last visit and the present occasion to celebrate a marriage feast. Should it be inconvenient to celebrate the marriage feast at this particular time, it may be held at any other gathering of the people at the village, or it may even be deferred until the next annual visit of the priest. These marriage feasts are the occasion of much merrymaking. Quantities of food, rum, and tobacco are provided, and the whole village celebrates for a day or two. During the forenoon of the first day, a table, made by spreading upon the floor of the large assembly and dance hall of the chief's house a covering of hoja blanca, is filled with all kinds of food, among them being one special dish of eggs, prepared much after the manner of scrambling. At this feast a most exceptional departure from the rule of the separation of the sexes at public gatherings is observed. At all other feasts, men and boys only are permitted to enter the room in which the feast is held, but on this occasion the bride and her godmother are present. The mother of the bride, however, does not enter. Another interesting feature of this feast is that,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

585 other than the bridegroom and his godfather, and the bride and her godmother, all of those seated at the table are the heads of families. At the head of the table are seated the chief and three or four others of the principal officials. Along the side of the table and immediately to the right of these officials are seated, in order, the godfather of the groom, the groom, the bride, and the godmother of the bride. The rest of the places on both sides and at the foot of the table are occupied by the heads of the families attending the feast. It should be noted that this godfather of the groom and this godmother of the bride are not usually the same as the godfather and the godmother arising from the baptismal relationship above described, but are usually persons somewhat older than the contracting parties and act as sponsors for the two, much as do the groomsman and the bridesmaid among civilized peoples.

585 608

585 One of these wedding feasts witnessed in 1908 proceeded as follows: After the usual church invocation, which is always pronounced at any feast, the chief took up the bowl of scrambled eggs above mentioned and personally served a spoonful to each of the four parties most closely concerned with the marriage—first to the groom, next to the bride, then to the groom's godfather, and finally to the bride's godmother. All those at the table were then at liberty to partake of the other foods of the feast. In addition to the abundance of dried meats and other foods with which the table was laden, pottery plates containing a mush made of ripe plantains and meat were served, one to each person. Everyone ate freely, except the bride and groom, who throughout

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the morning had remained one in one room and one in another, each specially dressed for the occasion, and each with a cloth carefully bound so as to cover the mouth. The groom was attended by his godfather, the bride by her godmother, and neither conversed with any other persons. The same silence and covering of the mouth were maintained throughout the feast, and indeed throughout the remainder of the day. Toward the end of the feast, one of the officials delivered an extended address in which he exhorted the bride and groom to live peacefully and helpfully together, and outlined the paths each should follow in order to insure model married life for themselves and a useful career to the community. He especially warned the groom that under no circumstances had he any right or privilege in chastising the bride, but that in case she were to become remiss in any of her duties he was bound to report the matter to the chief or to some other official, whose duty it was to see that she was properly punished. Likewise he was warned that remissness on his part would also be met by the officials with severe castigation.

The feast being ended with the usual benediction, and the floor having been cleared, dancing was next in order. Practically all dancing among the Cayapa consists, as is elsewhere described, of a kind of shuffling step back and forth along a line in the middle of the dance floor. A single couple only participate in one of these sets, the man dancing backward, followed by the woman, and vice versa.

A feature of special note in connection with the wedding dance is the order in which the participants came

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

upon the floor. First, the godfather of the groom, who at the same time is master of ceremonies, danced with the bride; next the groom danced with the godmother of the bride; and finally the chief, followed in order of rank by the other officials, danced with the bride. The groom danced but once during the day, whereas the bride was kept dancing almost constantly. She, however was relieved from time to time by some other member of her family, who danced in her place for a few minutes. During all this time the groom sat at one end of the dance hall with his mouth covered, and conversed with no one except his godfather, and rarely with him. During the intervals between dances the bride sat likewise in silence in an adjoining room. The dancing was kept up during the entire afternoon and night, with a single brief intermission. During this intermission the bride and groom put on new clothing and were decked with pendants and necklaces of silver coins, and with garlands of the yellow flowers so much used by the Cayapa for decorating the images of saints in the church.

After donning this finery, the groom resumed his place at the end of the hall and the bride continued her dancing, which lasted till nearly morning. With the coming of night, light, as usual, was provided in the dance hall by means of candles, small kerosene torches, and native torches (al'lyâ). Throughout the entire period the dance had been the simple one used by the Cayapa, but finally there was danced what is called the "San Juan," a recent importation from the mountain region which appears to be more or less, if not entirely, of Spanish origin.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

534

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

[p. 326 (11)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

In the particular ceremony witnessed on the occasion referred to, at about four o'clock in the morning, four couples danced the "San Juan." The men and the women formed two lines, at the head of which respectively were the groom and the bride; next came the godfather of the groom and the godmother of the bride, while the other couples were those who chanced to be selected for the dance. The music for this is very different from that for the ordinary dance. The marimba was not used at all, and the players of the drums and rattles did not station themselves at the end of the hall near the marimba, but each took his instrument and marched in time to the music up and down and across the hall (pl. CXXVIII). As the musicians and others thus proceeded about the hall, each man exchanged instruments, or hats or other articles of apparel, with whomsoever he met, the latter having no option in this exchange, his duty and privilege being to grasp the instrument or article of apparel from the man whom he next met. Notwithstanding this riot of fun and jollity among the musicians, they played in unison, and the dancers were able to keep their time and step perfectly.

The dance itself proceeded as follows: The two lines, one of men and one of women, danced up to each other and passed to the opposite side of the hall in such manner that each man passed between two women, and vice versa. Having arrived at the wall, they faced about, passed back again, and crossed until this had been done three times and the two lines were left facing each other and in their original positions, one near each side off the room. Next each one of the eight

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

danced alone and in turn along a serpentine path in and out of the two lines; that is to say, beginning with the bridegroom, who was at the head of the line of men, the dance proceeded as follows: He danced to the opposite side of the room, around back of the first of the women; then to the men's side of the room and around back of the first man; back again to the line of women and around back of the second woman; then to the men's line, and so on until he had completed this dancing across and back, passing each time around one member of the line, and finally had danced up the middle of the hall and had returned to his place. He was followed in the same manner by the woman opposite him, who in turn was followed by the man next in order, and so on, alternating until all the eight performers had danced in this serpentine manner and had returned to their places. Next, the first couple danced in the same manner, the man being closely followed by the woman. When they had returned to their places, the two lines danced across the room and back in the manner first described. Next, the second couple performed this movement and were followed by the dance of the lines across the room and back. The same cycle was repeated in the case of each of the two remaining couples. Finally, the eight dancers joined hands and circled three times to the right and three times to the left, there being meanwhile one drummer within the circle while the remainder of the musicians continued their riotous march up and down the hall. After this, the men led the bridegroom and the women led the bride to their mosquito canopy, which had been put up in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the adjoining room, and placed the two under it. They were followed to the canopy by the musicians and by all the spectators, the former playing their rattles, beating their drums, and whacking sticks most noisily, and all calling and shouting and making every manner of fun. Having been thus escorted to their mosquito canopy, the ceremony was ended, and the bride and groom were at liberty to remove their finery, appear in their usual dress, and go about without further restriction. 585

The Cayapa maintain that not only at present, under the influence of the Catholic Church, but also in aboriginal times, marriage between near relatives was strictly forbidden. Even marriage between remote cousins is prohibited. This relationship of cousin, however, is regarded in a way somewhat different from that of civilized peoples. Further in case of the death of a man or his wife, the survivor is prohibited from marrying any other member of his or her family. 582

Divorce is now strictly prohibited, and the Cayapa maintain that it was unknown even before they came under church influence. It is also held that even before the establishment of the church among them the family relations were as sacred and the family ties as binding as at the present time. Divorce, however, is only a theoretical prohibition. As a matter of fact it does occur at the present time, although very rarely. A man or a woman leaving his or her spouse is, if apprehended, severely punished by the Cayapa officials and every effort is made to force reconciliation. Although sometimes these efforts are successful, cases are known 586 586 684

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

586 in which, in order to escape the wrath of public opinion
604 and castigation by the officials, offenders against the divorce laws have left the Cayapa country entirely and taken up their abode in Columbia or in the interior of Ecuador. The same applies to the laws relating to
582 marriage between near relatives. The evasion or the
604 open violation of either the laws of divorce or those governing consanguineal marriage are, however, of such rare occurrence that the laws may be said to operate almost perfectly, and they, together with the laws requiring chastity and fidelity in both sexes, certainly produce a salutary moral effect on the community. In fact, it is most exceptional to find a tribe or a community of the size of the Cayapa in which the ethical standards are so high and so strictly observed.

DEATH

761 As was stated in speaking of medicine practices, death
753 is ordinarily attributed to the presence of malevolent
776 spirits in the body, whither they find their way by various means. For instance, they may be placed by some
[784] malicious shaman in the soul of the individual as it wanders about during sleep, or they may enter directly into the body as one passes some particular spot believed to be infested with these malicious, disease-breeding spirits.

774 There seems to be a difference of opinion as to the
775 soul. One informant maintained that there are numer-
177 ous souls, each residing in a different part of the body; that the one in the chest is the largest and most im-

3: Barrett E-S (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

portant and the one which ascends to the sky after death, there to receive its proper reward or punishment. This latter notion, however, appears to have been derived from modern religious ideas. The various souls residing in other parts of the body were said by this informant to live in and about the house of the deceased until such time as they are driven out. Most informants, on the other hand, maintain that the body has but a single soul, which lives in and about the house of the deceased until driven out to the ocean or into the mountains by a shaman, there to reside eternally. Having once been thus expelled, the soul is never again seen about the house, but it may return to the cemetery or to other parts of the region. It is said to do no special harm to the living after having been driven away, but will cause the death of other members of the family if allowed to remain unmolested about the house.

On the death of an individual the body is dressed in his best clothing and wrapped carefully in mantas or other available cloth; it is then placed in a wooden box made after the fashion of a coffin, or if the wood is not at hand a kind of coffin is made of bamboo.

If death occurs very early in the morning, the corpse may be interred the same day; usually, however, it is kept until the following day. Meantime the relatives and friends living within comparatively easy reach are notified. All who are able, journey to the cemetery, which is but a short distance from the village, and there a Catholic funeral service is held over the remains, after which they are buried in a shallow grave.

Before leaving the house with the body, the relatives

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

prepare for the occasion what might be termed a fence of palm-leaves. A row of palm-leaves is set together vertically along the river-bank in front of the house, the row being sometimes a hundred yards or more in length. Opposite the house and at the point where the path ordinarily used for going to the river crosses the row, one leaf is omitted. When the family departs with the corpse, the head of the house sets in place the leaf necessary to complete the fence, and the house then becomes tabooed to all passers-by. No one, not even the negroes of the region, would think of going through or around this fence or in any way approaching the house, owing to their fear of the soul of the departed which is supposed to linger about the house and which would be sure to wreak vengeance upon them. If it has been determined, however, that the relatives of the deceased shall again inhabit the house, they return after the funeral and pass through the fence, but not until the head of the house has removed the single palm-leaf referred to as the one last planted by him. The remainder of the fence is never taken down, but is allowed to fall of its own accord.

In many cases such a house is never again occupied. This is true when the deceased is an important member of the family, as the father, mother, or a favorite son or daughter; indeed almost any of the older members of a family are considered sufficiently important to warrant the abandonment of the house. After the death of a young child, on the other hand, a house is almost always reoccupied. The abandonment of a house is a matter of no small importance to a Cayapa family, since its

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

construction is attended with considerable difficulty, especially in the matter of cutting and adzing the house-posts, which are long and heavy and are made of very hard and durable wood. Furthermore, when a house is abandoned on short notice, other shelter must be found for the family, either by building a temporary structure or by sharing quarters with a relative until a permanent dwelling in a new locality can be constructed. Frequently the move is only a short one; as, for instance, to the opposite side of the river, the fields of plantain and other products being still used. If, on the other hand, the site of the new house is at a considerable distance from that of the abandoned one, new fields and an entirely new equipment are established in a short time. An abandoned house changes very little in appearance for a season, but by the end of a year or two it becomes overgrown with the rank vegetation, and in the course of four or five years is almost entirely invisible. There are instances in which an abandoned house has been sold by the surviving relatives, not to be inhabited where it stood but to be taken apart and the materials transported to a new locality. It rarely or never happens, however, that the surviving relatives themselves will take such a house to pieces and use its materials for the construction of their new home.

In case it has been determined to abandon a house, some maintain that it is never again visited by anyone after the body of the deceased is removed, but others claim that one or more of the surviving relatives return to it with a shaman for the purpose of driving out the soul or spirit of the deceased. As a matter of fact

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

there would be no other reason for returning to it, since when the corpse is taken away all property which the relatives do not care to abandon completely is removed from the house at the same time.

In large measure the property of the deceased is destroyed or disposed of by the surviving relatives. Some of his property, along with some of their own, is usually buried with the corpse. The greater part of the remainder of the property of the dead, and also frequently much of that of the relatives, is thrown into the river, given to other persons, or sold. Ordinarily one or two articles, as for instance a manta or an adz formerly belonging to the deceased, is kept by near relatives, but often there seems to be a definite desire to destroy all evidences of the life of the deceased and to get rid of any articles that would recall him to their minds.

KINSHIP

The terms of relationship among the Cayapa are as follow:

Ascending Relationship

English	Cayapa	Equivalent
father	a'pa	
mother	a'ma	
grandfather	antc-a'pa	antc-father
grandmother	antc-a'ma	antc-mother
uncle	yapi'pi, api'pi, api'kû	a'pi-a'pa
older than parent	apa-kari'we	father-kari'we
	apikû-rûkû'we	father-kû-old-man
younger than parent	ka'i-apipi	little-father-pl

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

uncle's son	apī-na′ʃala	father-brother
uncle's daughter	apī-na′ʃa-tsu′kkī	father-brother-sister
aunt[16]	mañgō′kō	
older than parent	mañgū′kū-cimbū′we	aunt-old-woman
younger than parent	karī′-mañgūkū	karī-aunt
aunt's son	mañgō-na′ʃala	aunt-brother
aunt's daughter	mañgō-naʃa-tsu′kkī	aunt-brother-sister

The terms for each of the corresponding ascending relationships through the father and the mother are identical.

COLLATERAL RELATIONSHIP

ENGLISH	CAYAPA	EQUIVALENT
brother	naʃa′la	
elder brother	ūnya′kō	
younger brother	bē′ña	
brother's son	apī′-nya	father-son
brother's son's son	apī′-nya-na	father-son-son
brother's son's daughter	apī-nya-na′ma	father-son-daughter
brother's daughter	apī′-na′ma	father–daughter
brother's daughter's son	apī-na′ma-na	father-daughter-son
brother's daughter's daughter	apī-na′ma-nama	father-daughter-daughter
sister	tsu′kkī	
elder sister	tsu′kkī	

[16] From one informant was obtained the term a'tciū, said to signify both aunt and uncle, and there was also obtained the term *unyunyu*, said to signify aunt. No verification could be obtained for either of these terms, which, combined with the fact that they are so at variance with the whole system of relationship, make them both seem very doubtful.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

younger sister	kai-in-tsu'kkī	little-my-sister
sister's son	atcī'-nya	atcī-son
sister's son's son	atcī-nya'-na	atcī-son-son
sister's son's daughter	atcī-nya-na'ma	atcī-son-daughter
sister's daughter	ūpū-na'ma	ūpū-daughter
sister's daughter's son	ūpū-na'ma-na	ūpū-daughter-son
sister's daughter's daughter	ūpū-na'ma-nama	ūpū-daughter-daughter

DESCENDING RELATIONSHIP

ENGLISH	CAYAPA	EQUIVALENT
child	ka'ilya	
son	na	
elder son	awē'-na	big-son
younger son	ka'i-na	little-son
daughter	na'ma	
elder daughter	awē-na'ma	big-daughter
younger daughter	kai-na'ma	little-daughter
grandchild[17]	pa'nya	
great grandchild	tyū'ī-panya	tyūī-grandchild

RELATIONSHIP THROUGH MARRIAGE

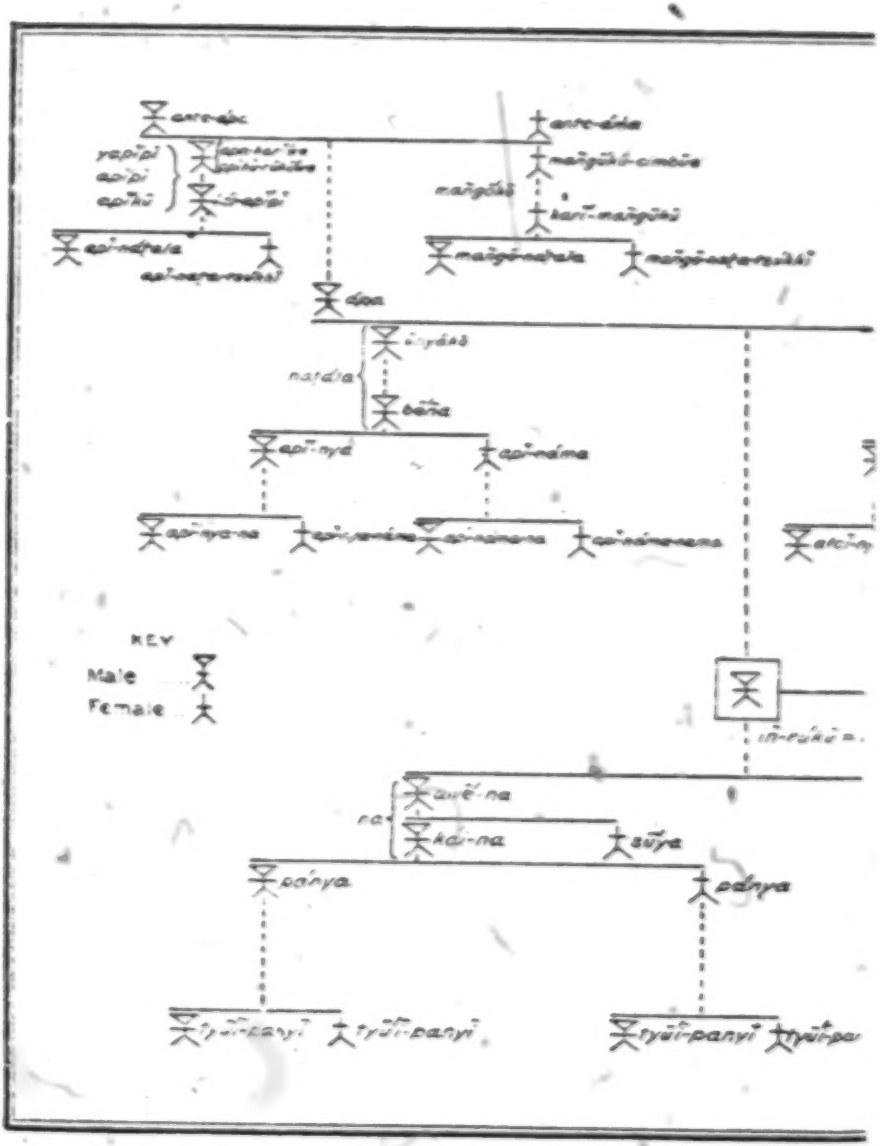
ENGLISH	CAYAPA	EQUIVALENT
husband	iñ ru'kū	my-old-man
wife[18]	iñ ci'mbū	my-old-woman
father-in-law	antc-a'pa	antc-father

[17] Under ordinary circumstances the simple term pa'nya is used to designate all grandchildren, but there is an indication that more specific terms exist. These terms, according to the particular informant from whom they were obtained, appear to be as follow: son's son, lyūpū-na-pa'nya, or na-na'-mīabe; son's daughter, na-sūpū-nama-na'-mīabe; daughter's son, nama-na'-mīabe; daughter's daughter, sū'pū-nama-pa'nya, nama-sū'pū-nama-na-mīabe, or na-i'ñ-nama.

[18] The term iñ-tsa'kī was also said to signify wife, but the connection appears to be somewhat doubtful.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

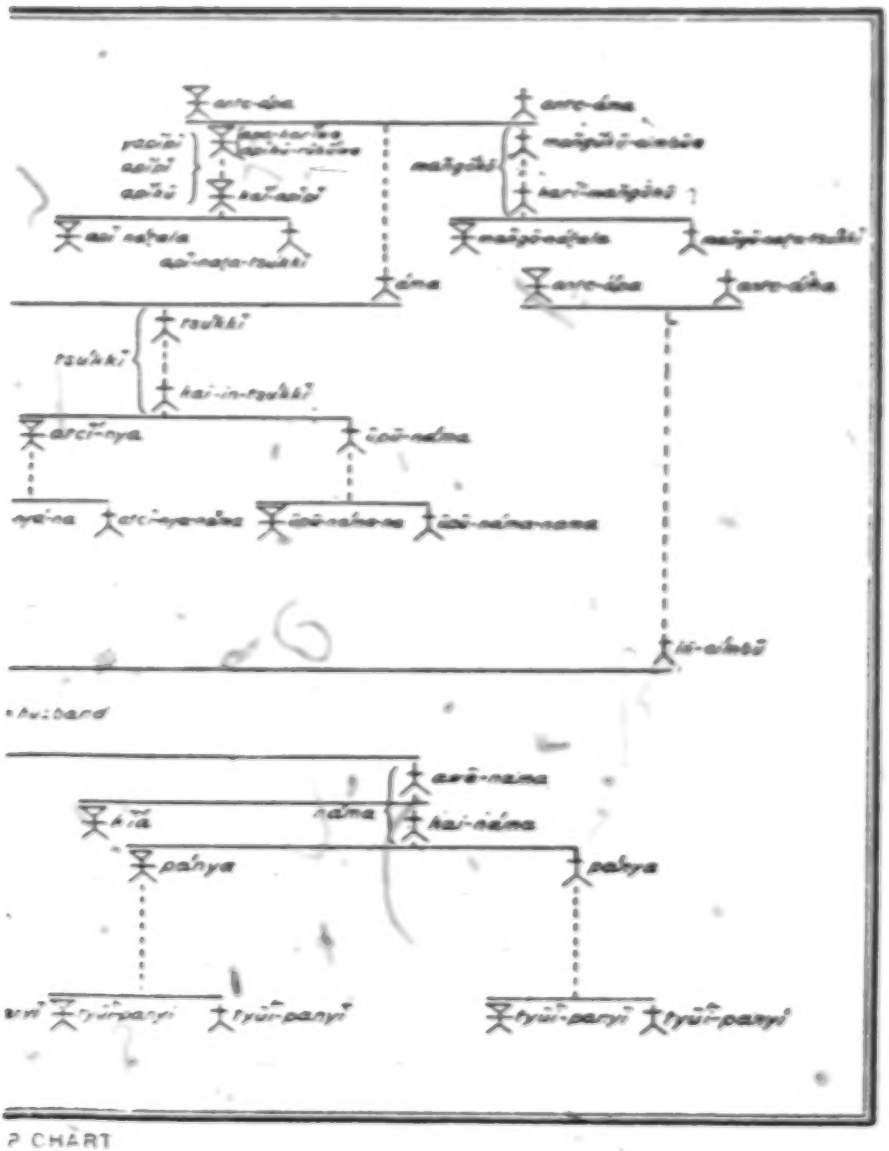
BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS



KINSHIP

PL. CXXIX

601



P CHART

[p. 336 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

mother-in-law	antc-a'ma	antc-mother
mother-in-law (term of derision)	a'ia	
son-in-law	kī'a	
daughter-in-law	sū'ya	

In pl. CXXIX is given a kinship chart showing graphically the principal relationships among the Cayapa.

Composition of Terms

Qualifying terms

All terms of relationship are preceded by the possessive pronoun, which varies according to the relationship of the person in question to the speaker, to the person spoken to, or to the person spoken of. Thus, in the singular these possessives are iñ, nyū, and ya, signifying my, thy, and his respectively. The full possessive forms are iñ-tcī, nyū-tcī, and ya-tcī, but the -tcī is usually dropped when these terms are used in this connection. The plurals are almost never heard in ordinary use. These, in their full forms, are la-tcī, nyū-tcī, and ya-tcī. In here dealing with the terms of relationship the possessive pronouns are systematically omitted in order to simplify the tabulation and discussion of the terms.

It is a notable fact that, though this possessive relationship between the person in question and the speaker, the person spoken to, or the person spoken of, is always expressed, no other possessive relationship appears in any of the terms. For example, my sister's daughter's daughter is always preceded by the first person posses-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

sive, iñ, to establish clearly the relationship of the speaker to the person spoken of, but within the term itself there appear no possessive elements whatsoever. When literally translated, therefore, the term signifies my-sister-daughter-daughter. All other terms which present analogous combinations of elements have similar forms. The only possible exception to this is the term for younger sister kai-in-tsu'kkī, little-my-sister.

In various terms the words son and daughter appear as qualifying elements, being compounded with other terms of relationship. In many of these cases, however, the terms with which these qualifying elements are combined appear to bear no resemblance to those primary terms indicating the same relationship. For instance, brother's son and brother's daughter are apī'-nya and apī-na'ma respectively, but brother is na/a'la. The differences in the case of sister's son and sister's daughter are even more striking. These are atcī'-nya and ūpū-na'ma respectively, while the term sister is tsu'kkī. Thus none of these terms shows on its face even a similar form to that of the corresponding simple term for brother or sister.

The words father and mother also appear in the capacity of qualifiers in the terms ante-a'pa and antc-a'ma, signifying primarily grandfather and grandmother, and secondarily father-in-law and mother-in-law.

Elements indicative of size are used in certain terms, especially those in the descending series, as, elder and younger son, which are awē'-na and ka'i-na respectively, literally big son and little son.

The words old-man and old-woman are elements of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

certain terms. Husband and wife are simply my old man and my old woman, iñ ru′kū and iñ ci′mbū respectively. Uncle and aunt elder than the parent through whom the relationship exists are respectively apīkū-rūkū′we (also given as apa-karī′we) and mañgū′kū-cimbū′we, signifying uncle old-man and aunt old-woman respectively. 60

As is frequently the case, the relationships existing between the children of brothers and sisters is conceived to be the same as that of brother and sister. In this case, however, it is not considered as a simple brother and sister relationship, but the term indicates the person through whom it is traced. Thus, uncle's son and aunt's son are apī-na′*t*ala and mañgō-na′*t*ala respectively, signifying literally father-brother and aunt-brother. It seems possible that the first part of this term aunt, which in full is mañgō′kō, may have been derived from mother, a′ma, just as the basal element of the term uncle is clearly derived from father, a′pa. In the case of aunt, however, the term is now so complex, and the term mother, on the other hand, is so simple, that it is difficult to establish clearly this derivation. If such a derivation is assumed, then the term aunt's son is equivalent to mother-ñgō (untranslatable)-brother.

When the terms uncle's daughter and aunt's daughter, however, are considered, it is found that these are formed by the simple addition of the term sister to the terms signifying uncle's son and aunt's son. These are then literally father-brother-sister and mother-ñgō-brother-sister.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

MODIFYING CONCEPTS

The sex of the individual spoken of is indicated in all terms except grandchild and great-grandchild. The sex of the person through whom the relationship to the speaker is traced is carefully maintained in the terms of relationship in the collateral line, and there is some evidence that at times terms bearing somewhat of the quality are used in the descending line, though ordinarily the one simple term indicating grandchild is used for all grandchildren and the one term great-grandchild for all great-grandchildren. In the ascending line, on the other hand, no account whatever is taken of the sex of the individual through whom the relationship in question exists. That is to say, all the relatives through the mother are the same as those through the father. In short, this entire phase of the Cayapa kinship system may be summed up in the statement that (1) the respective relatives traced through the father and through the mother are the same, that (2) the respective relatives traced through the brother differ from those traced through the sister, and that (3) all descendants beyond sons and daughters have the same respective designations.

A rather unusual condition is shown in the terms of the collateral line. First of all the three terms brother, elder brother, and younger brother are entirely different each from the other, while the comparable terms for sister show the opposite condition, being formed on the same base. The terms for sister and for elder sister are in fact identical, while that for younger sister

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

is formed by the simple addition of the term signifying "little."

Proceeding to the terms for brother's children and grandchildren we find them built up on a single basal element, a′pī, which is entirely unrelated to any of the three terms naʃa′la, ūnya′kō, and bē′na, signifying brother. It is evidently related to the term uncle, the root of which is a′pī, which in turn appears to be the phonetically altered a′pa, father.

A different condition, however, is found when the analogous relationships through the sister are considered, for here enters what may be regarded as a double sex feature. Sister's son and sister's son's son and daughter are formed on the basal element a′tcī, with the addition respectively of the terms signifying son, son-son, and son-daughter. However, when the term sister's daughter and the terms for her two children are reached, it is found that they are formed on an entirely new basal term, ū′pū, which fact may be considered as indicative of a double sex distinction in the basal term. That is to say, while in the first instance the basal element a′tci is evidently employed with the signification of daughter of the sister of the speaker, it may be employed only when the following elements with which it is combined are those relating to the son of this daughter. If, on the other hand, it is desired to mention in these following elements the daughter of this daughter, a different basal term, ū′pū, is employed. Furthermore, there is no apparent connection between either of these two basal elements and the term tsu′kki, indicating

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

sister. It therefore seems fair to assume that these features of sex which appear in the elements that follow the basal element in these terms may perhaps react on this basal element itself in such manner as to alter it. However, it must be borne in mind that a similar condition does not obtain in the analogous terms that indicate the descendants of the brother of the speaker. Here the basal element is the same in all terms indicating these descendants, though it differs entirely from the three terms for brother.

There are two modes of indicating relative age—one is by the use of augmentatives and diminutives, the other by the use of terms signifying "old-man" and "old-woman." The latter are used in only two terms each. Old-man appears as a part of the term signifying uncle older than parent, apīkū-rūkū'we (also given as apa-karī'we), and in the term husband, iñ ru'kū, signifying literally my old-man. Old-woman likewise appears in the corresponding two terms, aunt older than parent, mañgū'kū cimbū'we, and in the term wife, iñ ci'mbū, literally my old-woman. In only one instance are terms entirely different from the basal one used to indicate relative age. This is in the case of brother, which is nata'la, while elder brother is ūnya'kô and younger brother is bē'ña.

The augmentative a'wẽ, meaning big, is used to indicate elder in only two terms, those for son and daughter. The diminutive ka'i, meaning small, is used to indicate younger in the terms for son, daughter, sister, uncle, and possibly aunt.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The various terms of relationship in which the element of age enters are as follow: 601

English	Cayapa
brother	na'a'la
elder brother	ūnya'kō
younger brother	bē'ña
sister	tsu'kkī
elder sister	tsu'kkī
younger sister	kai-in-tsu'kkī
uncle	yapī'pī, apī'pī, apī'kū
older than parent	apa-karī'we apīkū-rūkū'we
younger than parent	ka'i-apīpī
aunt	mañgō'kō
older than parent	mañgū'kū cimbū'we
younger than parent	karī'-mañgūkū
son	na
elder son	awē'-na
younger son	ka'i-na
daughter	na'ma
elder daughter	awē-na'ma
younger daughter	kai-na'ma

In all cases the terms of relationship employed by the women are the same as those used by the men.

From the table of analyses of the terms of relationship it will be seen that in most respects these terms among the Cayapa are fairly simple. They comprise a limited series of fundamental terms on which as bases the rest are built up by combination with qualifying elements bearing certain definite relations to these basal elements. The two important concepts which enter into these qualifying terms are sex and age, of which the latter is the more important.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

MEDICINE PRACTICES. SHAMANISM

753 Among the Cayapa practically all illness is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits. In large measure [778] the particular spirits which cause illness reside in small, black, water-worn stones, in fragments of ancient pottery, in mammals, snakes, insects, and the like.

By the entering of one of these spirits into the body of an individual, and especially, as is usually the case, if one of the mentioned objects which is the special abode of this spirit enters also, a serious and often fatal illness results. This illness may take the form of any one of the numerous diseases common to the tropics.

There are various ways in which one of these spirits may enter the body. It may, for instance, enter directly into the body itself as the individual is passing the abode of the spirit, or it may enter the soul of the person which, while he sleeps, is traveling about the earth. In the latter case the spirit, on the return of the individual's soul, is taken into the body and the same symptoms and illness result as when it enters directly without the medium of the soul.

755 In almost every case a cure may be effected, provided a competent shaman is called in time. Each shaman has his own method of treatment, but in general these methods are similar and consist of (1) whistling and singing to call certain guardian spirits to the shaman's aid; (2) when these spirits have been summoned, the affected part of the body is sprayed with a decoction of rum and bejuco, and is massaged and rubbed with the hands or is sucked with the lips in order to draw through

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the skin the stone or other object which, by traveling through the body, together with the spirit which resides in it, causes the illness. 755

Shamans or doctors form, to a certain extent at least, a special class by themselves, but, so far as could be ascertained, they have no secret or special organization. They are not, on the other hand, "predestined" or specially selected by natural temperament. Any one may become a shaman if he so wishes by simply training under the guidance and instruction of one or more old shamans of recognized ability. For this training he pays a stipulated sum, and is instructed every night until he has learned thoroughly the songs and incantations and the various rituals of his instructor, and also has become more or less familiar with the special spirits which his instructor invokes. He does not, however, rely solely on the spirits of his instructor, but sooner or later acquires others of his own. Likewise, he may devise new songs and incantations. 756 [465]

Not only has the shaman to cure by expelling the spirits from the body of a patient, but he has the more important function of expelling spirits from a locality or from a particular house infested with those which cause illness. This expulsion of spirits from a locality or a house is usually accomplished by several persons under the direction of a head shaman. A decoction of rum and bejuco is almost always used by the shaman himself in this exorcism; the other participants are provided with a kind of decoction made by soaking a species of native mint in water. A large number of cigars are also provided, and it is the blowing of the tobacco smoke, 789

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

along with the spraying of the decoctions from the mouth, that makes the particular locality or house untenable for the spirits. The shaman intersperses his blowing and spraying with incantations and with low whistling. He also carries a special lance-shape wand which he waves constantly with a forward motion.

In one instance in which the spirits were to be expelled from a house, the procedure was as follows: The party commenced at one end of the main floor and went slowly toward the opposite end. As they proceeded, each person thoroughly sprayed the floor in front of him and blew clouds of smoke into the air before him. Also every basket, bench, and pottery vessel, and every nook and corner wherein a spirit might be hiding, was thoroughly sprayed and smoked. The main floor being finished, the loft was treated in a similar manner. Next the party descended to the ground under the house, where everything was thoroughly sprayed, even to the pigs and chickens in their pens and coops. Finally, to be sure that the spirits had been completely expelled, the party proceeded, with its spraying and incantations, into the adjoining clearing, and even for a short distance into the jungle.

Such a ceremony is not an especially solemn occasion. In fact the participants laugh and talk throughout, much as if they were engaged in any daily pursuit. This expulsion of spirits is resorted to when several members of a family have been stricken with the same disease. For instance, in case several members have been attacked in succession with fever, one or more shamans are summoned and the spirits which are believed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

to be resident in the house or in the surrounding ground are expelled in the manner described. 755

Similarly after death, since the soul of the departed is believed to return to the house and may cause illness or even death of other members of the family, shamans are called in and the particular soul expelled.

Such a soul is not simply driven into the jungle, but ordinarily is driven into the ocean. It goes to one of two places: to the island of Gorgona off the southern coast of Colombia, or to a large mythical sandbar far out at sea. Sometimes souls are driven only down to the sand beaches along the ocean near the mouth of the river, or in some instances to some secluded and lonely spot far in the mountains. In any event the services of one or more shamans must be enlisted within a month or so after the death of a person in order that his returning soul shall not bring illness and perhaps death to any of the surviving members of the household. 755 775

In speaking of souls and spirits it must be borne in mind that as these two terms are here used they are not identical in Cayapa conception. Every animate being has a soul or shade which is a definite part of itself and without which life is impossible. This soul lives on after death. It has the form of the body it occupies, and has the power of leaving the body and wandering about when the body sleeps or is otherwise unconscious, and in this particular resembles a spirit. A true spirit, on the other hand, is a supernatural entity which resides in an object, animate or inanimate, or in a particular spot, but which has nothing to do with the existence of that object. It may take the form of the object it inhabits, especially if the object is animate; but fre- 774 776 774 776

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

776 quently it has the form of a dwarf or even of a normal human being, especially if its abode is an inanimate object. These spirits may leave their abodes and travel at will, or they may take their abodes wish them. They have great magic powers, both for good and for evil.

754 In addition to the benevolent offices of the shaman,
756 he may exercise a malevolent function by calling spirits to his assistance for the purpose of killing or otherwise doing harm to his enemies. The spirits which he uses for this evil purpose may be those which he uses for good in other cases—they may aid him in killing an enemy at one time and in curing a friend at another.

776 The abodes of spirits are numberless. They may live
778 within almost any smooth water-worn stone, especially a black or a red one; they are always resident in prehistoric potsherds, especially those of human or animal form; and abide also in almost any object of stone or other hard material of unusual form, particularly if it is smooth. Many mountains and hills contain spirits, both within them and on their slopes and summits. Also nearly every mammal, bird, reptile, and insect is the abode of a spirit entirely distinct from its soul or shade. It is these many spirits residing in both animate and inanimate objects that are the media by which shamans work their magic for both good and evil. A spirit is sometimes called forth from its abode to serve the shaman while thus separated from the object in which it dwells; but it may equally well serve him while in its abode, in which event the object in which the spirit abides accompanies it on its mission.

Furthermore, treatment by magic is almost the only

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

shaman's treatment by magic is almost the only 755

remedy known to the Cayapa, and implicit confidence is reposed in the shaman with his conniving spirits. It may be said that almost without exception no herb remedies are taken internally, and very few are applied externally.

For cuts or serious bruises where it is obvious to the 752
Cayapa mind that spirits are not at fault, the wound is generally sealed with brea, the wax of a small bee. This is applied while hot, and appears to have a genuine medicinal value, since it tends to sterilize the affected spot and reduce the probability of infection, so deadly in tropical countries. Similarly a piece of green leaf may be placed over a cut or bruise or over a running sore to protect it from the air, and especially from annoying and dangerous insects. This treatment is used especially for the ulcers which result from the bite of a small mosquito found in large numbers in this part of the tropics. Almost any kind of a leaf serves this purpose, and the 6
treatment has of itself no aseptic virtue.

For anything more serious than a cut, bruise, or ulcer, no treatment is used other than bathing the wound occasionally and perhaps bandaging it, since such cases are considered too serious to yield to treatment. This is 752 755
especially true of an ailment caused by something of foreign origin, as a gunshot wound, which, being due to an instrument of which the Cayapa have no aboriginal knowledge, cannot be cured by a shaman. If, on the other hand, a wound of this kind results in complications, such as increased temperature, a shaman is summoned to treat it for the reason that the affection is obviously due to the presence of malevolent spirits; but the Indians

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

752 maintain that a shaman never attempts to cure the wound itself. A case of this kind observed in 1909 was that of a young man who had been accidentally shot at close range. There were seven buckshot holes through the calf of the leg, and each formed an ugly gangrenous wound. When first seen seven days had elapsed since he had received the wounds, but no treatment, magic or otherwise, had been given other than the bathing and bandaging above mentioned.

756 A shaman's paraphernalia consists almost invariably of three classes of objects. First, one or more small lance-shape wands of black wood, each possessing special magic power from the spirit or spirits residing therein; second, a bottle of a decoction of rum and bejuco; third, a number of smooth black stones, potsherds, and similar objects of unusual forms. Especially valued are the ancient stone axes, either whole or fragmentary, which are found now and then about old village-sites and mounds or along the banks of streams. These objects, as before stated, are all supposed to be inhabited by spirits. One may be the abode of only a single spirit, while another may contain as many as ten or a dozen. One stone ax, for example, in possession of a shaman near Punta Venado, was said to contain five spirits. When an attempt was made to purchase this ax from him, he was greatly in doubt whether it would be wise and proper for him to part with it. To settle the matter he sprayed the stone with the decoction of bejuco and rum, and sang and whistled to it for a considerable time, meanwhile gazing at it intently. At last he pointed out the exact positions

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

of the five spirits which the stone harbored, and explained how each was angry at him because he had even thought of disposing of the stone. He of course refused to sell it, stating that it would be of no use to the purchaser for the reason that if the spirits were not willing that it be sold they would return, together with the stone, on the following night, to the basket in which he kept it, and that the purchaser would lose the price paid for it, since it would be impossible for him ever to keep the stone, no matter in how strong a receptacle it might be put, because the spirits were able to take it at will wherever they liked. 756 778

While these stones and other objects used by shamans in their practices are so highly prized and so carefully handled by them, little care is taken to guard such objects from contact with other persons. Ordinarily they are kept in an open basket upon the floor and within the reach of uninitiated adults as well as of children. There seems to be no fear that the mere handling of these objects will cause any ill effect on the uninitiated—it is only when such a person attempts to use one of them for the purpose of doctoring that there is danger. 756

As above indicated, objects containing spirits may be bartered among the shamans whenever the spirits themselves are willing, and they are sometimes sold without consulting the spirits; but if it is a particularly valuable object and the abode of several spirits, these are always consulted before it is disposed of. 756 778 437

Although there are several shamans in the three divisions of the Cayapa, shamanism is comparatively little practised, and the position of a shaman in the tribe 756

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

is not a very important one. The Cholo of the southern part of Colombia, on the other hand, are noted, at least among the Cayapa, for their knowledge of magic. In fact there are no fewer than five or six Cholo shamans who live constantly on the Rio Cayapas, and it is to these that the Cayapa often apply when in need of shamanistic services. The negroes of the region also have their shamans, who are often summoned by the Cayapa, particularly for the purpose of treating the sick. For the expulsion of spirits from a locality or from a house, however, the Cayapa rely almost entirely on either their own shamans or those of the Cholo.

RELIGION

THE UNIVERSE

There is a gigantic being, called Tyapatci tena'tû, who supports the lower world upon the palm of his hand. Upon the lower world, called ta'ñca, which means literally "within," is mounted a great pillar of gold and silver that holds up the middle world upon which we live. Upon this middle world there rests another pillar of gold and silver which supports the upper world, called ka'ica, above which there is nothing. The lower world is inhabited by the pehûrû pu'tyû; the middle world is inhabited by human beings and the various spirits, and the upper world is the abode of a still different people, ideas concerning which are not very clear.

In the lower world conditions are in every way the reverse of those in this world. There, for instance, the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

sun and the moon travel from west to east, they being the same orbs, however, which illumine our world.

The sun and the moon, pa''ta and pō pa''ta, are two men whose eyes are their source of light. Formerly they both gave the same amount of illumination, but owing to this fact night was, in ancient times, as bright as day, and the inhabitants of the earth were able to hunt at all hours. They thus menaced the existence of all animal life, a fact which, when the Creator saw it, caused him to alter conditions by covering up one of moon's eyes, so that now the moon gives only half as much light as the sun.

Near the eastern margin of our world there is a large hole through which the sun comes up from the underworld in the morning. He then walks up a trail in the sky, shedding as he goes the light of day upon the earth. By some this is referred to as "walking up the big mountain of the sky." As elsewhere noted, it is supposed that at this eastern margin of the world there lives a race of pigmies called pa'ʟa'mbele, whose diminutive size is due to the great heat of the sun, which is so near them as it emerges from the lower world.

At the zenith there is a chair in which the sun takes a brief rest at noon. Here he eats a small lunch consisting of cornmeal mush and boiled grouse-eggs, after which he continues along the trail down the western slope of the sky until evening, when he reaches another opening near the western margin of the earth through which he disappears into the underworld to furnish it with light. His only companion during these endless journeys is a white dog. He himself is dressed in pure white, his

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

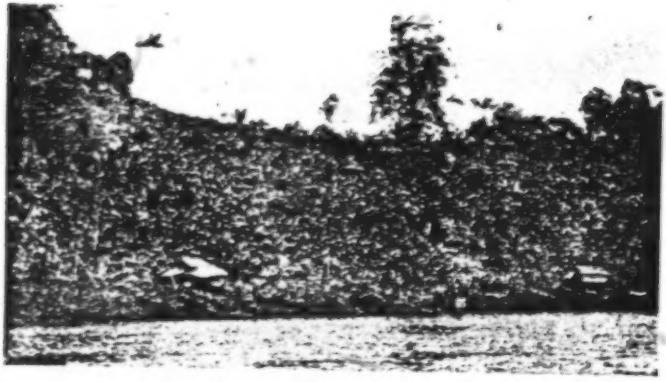
clothing being made after the fashion of the shirt and trunks commonly worn by Cayapa men.

The moon travels the same trail and in exactly the same manner as does the sun, stopping at the zenith to rest and eat. He is in every way the equal of the sun, except that he is unable to give so much light and is entirely alone, not even having a dog as a companion. His clothing also is pure white and is the same as that of the sun. Being in ordinary human form, neither the sun nor the moon is able to fly, but they keep up their journeys along this endless trail year in and year out with no halt save those short stops at the zeniths of our world and the underworld.

No accounts of eclipses of either the sun or the moon could be obtained, and no theories concerning the phases of the moon were advanced. In fact, other than the foregoing meager mythical account of the sun and the moon, no information whatsoever was obtainable from the Cayapa respecting either of these celestial bodies. Furthermore, no particular information was obtainable in regard to any of the individual stars or any of the constellations. The almost total absence of star-lore and of acquaintance with the heavenly bodies may possibly be accounted for by the fact, already noted in referring to the climate of the region, that the sky is almost continuously overcast, the clouds hiding from view almost constantly all the heavenly bodies. To be sure the Cayapa formerly lived in the interior where these conditions do not prevail to such an extent, but they have lived in their present environment for several generations and have had ample time to lose much of any system of star-lore that they may have possessed originally.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

772



SETTLEMENTS OF WHITES AND NEGROES ALONG THE RIO CAYAPAS

[p. 354 (N)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

224
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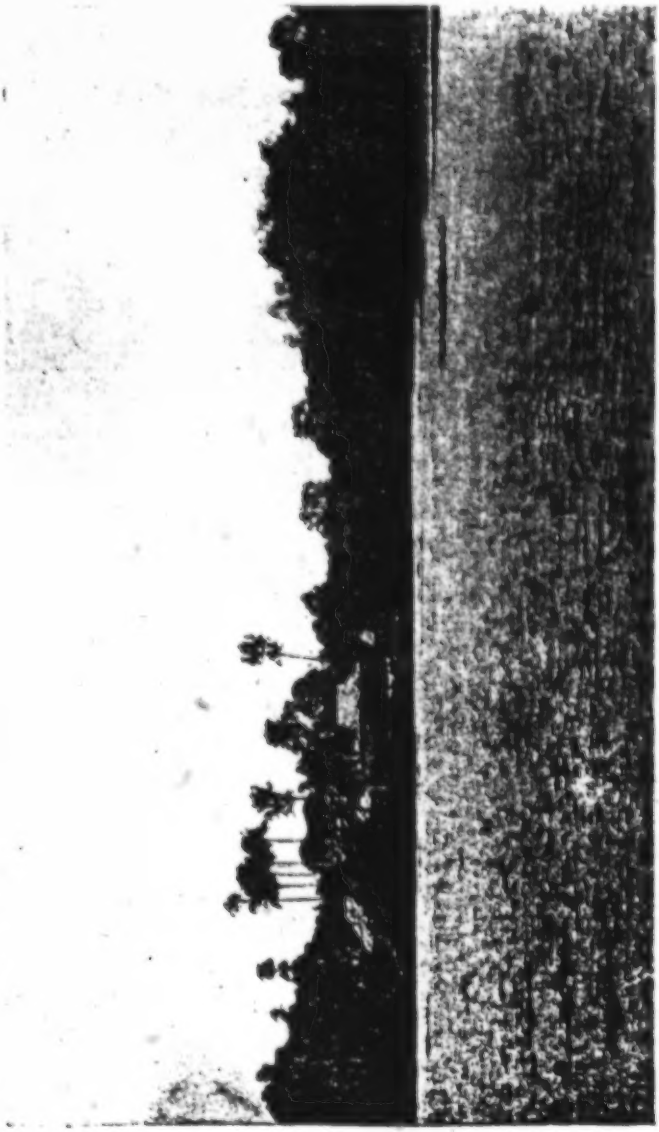


BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

HACIENDA OF A NEGRO IN A GROVE OF COCONUT PALMS

[p.354(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The three worlds of the Cayapa are each flat, approximately square, and of about equal size. A short distance beyond the openings through which the sun and moon emerge and depart from it, are the eastern and western edges of our middle world. There are also a northern and a southern edge to the world. Beyond these edges there is nothing. 772

The upper world, ka'ica, is similar to our middle world, but it lacks rivers, the sea, and indeed any body of water. Furthermore, it never rains there. It is illuminated constantly by another sun, which is stationary. Ideas concerning the inhabitants of the upper world are not very clear. It is known that they have houses, but these are of a different form from the Cayapa dwellings, being described as somewhat like the houses built by the white people in the settlements at the mouth of the Rio Cayapas, which means that they are not set high upon piles and that they have sides (pl. CXXX-CXXXI). By some it is claimed that the souls of departed human beings reside in this upper world, but most say that they reside at certain out-of-the-way places on the earth. It is said that this upper world is inhabited by spirits, but their exact nature is not clearly understood. [775]

CREATION

The Cayapa appear to have no native account of the creation of the universe, at least all attempts to obtain such were futile, and there appears to be only a remnant of an account of the creation of human beings, and this is more or less mixed with introduced religious con- 773 177

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

ceptions, if indeed it is not entirely a distortion of the biblical account of the genesis. According to this, God (Dios apa) fashioned out of clay five pairs of individuals in the form of human beings, at a point far in the mountains east of Quito; he then spat in their mouths and they sprang up in the full vigor of life. They went immediately to the region of Ibarra and became the first Cayapa. No details are given of their further existence up to the coming of the Spaniards. It is said that at that time they had so far increased as to fill the country completely. This account further states that, owing to their fear of the Spaniards, and especially of horses, they migrated to Pueblo Viejo in the lower mountains between Ibarra and the coast at a time shortly after the arrival of the first Spaniards. According to other accounts it would appear that this migration was probably prior to the conquest and may have been due to the encroachment of other tribes. It seems not improbable that the active conquest by the Quichua of Peru, which extended throughout the interior mountain region of Ecuador at a time immediately prior to the Spanish conquest, may have been the cause of this migration. Other than this meager account, the aboriginality of which is doubtful, it was impossible to obtain a trace of a creation myth accounting for the presence of human beings on the earth.

As for the universe itself, it seems to be accepted by the Cayapa as having always existed and as having required no act of special creation.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The Soul

The soul, called kū′mī, inhabits every human body as well as the bodies of certain other animate beings. In general it has the form of the body that it inhabits, and has the power of leaving the body during sleep and of traveling about at will. In their travels the souls visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends, etc., and are subject to considerable danger while thus wandering about. A shaman with malicious intent may by his magic summon one of these wandering souls and, by appearing friendly, may gain its confidence sufficiently to induce it to drink chicha, thus partially intoxicating it and enabling him to insert within it a pebble, a snake, an insect, or some other object which will work ill. On returning to its body, the soul takes with it this malevolent object, which also enters the body. As a result, illness follows almost immediately and the person dies within a short time, usually at or just before sunset, unless properly and promptly doctored by a shaman. Such illness is said to resemble an attack due to a natural cause, which is to say that it resembles an attack caused by the entrance of similar objects into the body by means other than through the agency of the soul; for it must be remembered that all illness other than that resulting from wounds, bruises, or other visible external means, is attributed to the presence of one or more of these magic objects in the body. It is said that fevers, for instance, which result from the presence in the body of these malevolent objects brought to it by means of the soul, cannot be distinguished in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

753 their symptoms from fevers resulting from drinking water in a new region. This alludes to the fact that in [164] this region it almost invariably happens, even with people in perfect health, that if they travel from the coast into the interior mountains, or vice versa, they become ill for a short time with a fever of greater or lesser gravity. This is attributed directly to the change of drinking water, though in the Cayapa mind there is here also a direct connection with spirits.

754 775 A still greater danger to the soul as it travels about during sleep arises when a shaman sets a trap or a deadfall at any point he thinks a soul is likely to pass. If the soul gets into this trap or deadfall, it is killed, so to speak, and its owner never awakens. The soul itself, being immortal, later escapes from the trap or deadfall and passes on with its future existence, but once the life has left the body which it formerly inhabited, the soul is never able to return to it.

775 After death, souls travel about as they do in sleep, frequenting for a time special burial places and the homes which their bodies formerly inhabited. They would, if unmolested, continue indefinitely to go about their former haunts, but, owing to the danger to the living from their presence, means are taken to expel them. The expulsion of these souls, as also of malevolent spirits, by one or more shamans has been described in detail in speaking of medicine practices.

774 By many it is claimed that certain mammals, birds, reptiles, and other animate objects do not possess souls, but by others it is claimed that every animate object has a soul. Inanimate objects, such as waterworn

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Inanimate objects, such as waterworn
pebbles, fragments of ancient pottery, ancient stone 774
implements, and practically all hard objects of unusual 778
form, are the abodes of spirits, but have not souls like those of animate objects. The souls of other animate objects may travel about during sleep and unconsciousness, just as do the souls of human beings. The spirits resident in inanimate objects, which of course do not sleep, travel only at night. As a matter of fact the souls of animate objects also travel almost exclusively at night, since, with but few exceptions, these animals sleep at that time. The souls of animate objects and the spirits resident in inanimate objects seem to be endowed with about the same attributes, and they mingle on friendly terms, assembling in various places to dance together, visiting burial places together, and in general making common cause in their wanderings and associations.

What seems to be an intrusive idea from Catholic 775
sources is that human souls ascend at death to the upper 777
world, but ideas concerning this abode and the ascension of souls are largely indefinite. However, it is maintained by some who hold rather vaguely to these concepts that God keeps there a long ladder which, when the person is about to die, he drops down in order that the soul may ascend. But the majority of the Cayapa, and [784] even those who claim to believe in this ascent to the upper world, avoid burial places at night and have the souls of departed friends and relatives expelled by shamans from their houses and driven out to the ocean in the old orthodox Cayapa manner.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

SPIRITS

776 In addition to human beings and other animate creatures, the world is peopled by a myriad of spirits of many kinds. As has been already indicated, these spirits live in or upon mountains, at certain places in streams, in stones, in fragments of ancient pottery, and in every sort of object of unusual form. Many are benevolent spirits, while others are always malevolent, and still others may be both malevolent or benevolent as occasion demands. Some classes of spirits are entirely male, others entirely female, while in still others are found men, women, and children, and full family relations. Some are giants, some dwarfs, and many are of ordinary human size. Most are in human form, though the bodies of some are deformed or are lacking some particular parts or organs. Many of these spirits dress as do the Cayapa, though others have special forms of dress, and still others no dress at all. Spirits are of various colors also, though the greater number are of the same color as well as of the same bodily form as the Cayapa. In large measure they move about only at night.

THUNDER

776 821 One of the most important of the spirits recognized by the Cayapa is Thunder, kū'ĭdya. According to some informants the Thunders are two, a male and a female; they somewhat exceed in size the average spirits, and have light-blue bodies covered with coarse hair somewhat like hog-bristles. The thunder spirits wear no clothing

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

and do not paint their bodies; they have large blue wings with which they fly from place to place, and the flapping of which causes the detonation we call thunder. They have no special abode, but frequent certain places more than others: especially do they frequent a particular high hill far up the Rio Cayapas.

Other informants differ in some particulars in their description of Thunder. By them it is said that he has no wings and does not fly, but that he and his wife sit constantly on top of a large tree on a high hill far away in the mountains. They are giants, with very massive backs, and are very strong. They have very long finger-nails, which are hard like rocks; these they shed from time to time and when found they are much prized by shamans for curing disease. Instead of having bluish bodies covered with bristles, the Thunders wear the ordinary attire of the Cayapa, but of a blue color. In addition they both wear blue caps, and both have long hair on their arms. When in a bad temper, Thunder talks loudly and growls, thus making the thundering noise. His bad disposition is especially manifest in the rainy season, while at other periods he is mild-tempered, growling only occasionally. Thunder's wife never has anything to say. It is said that up to about a generation ago the Thunders lived toward the lower course of the Rio Cayapas, but that in recent years they moved into a very remote part of the mountains and that thunder is consequently less frequently heard now in the Cayapa country.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

LIGHTNING

776 821 Lightning, kū'ĭdya pĭdya, which almost all peoples seem to recognize in one way or another as directly connected with thunder, is attributed by the Cayapa to the sword-like weapon carried by the Thunder spirit. [177] As they describe this weapon at the present time, it is obvious that modern ideas have intruded, although it seems probable that the concept of lightning coming from an implement carried by the Thunder being is aboriginal. The sword is said to be of steel and to be carried in a scabbard; it is highly polished, so that when it is unsheathed the glint of the sunlight upon it is like the reflection from a mirror. It is maintained by some that Thunder strikes and kills people with this sword, or at any rate with the glint of light from it.

It is said that in the dry season Thunder is quite contented and lives at peace with the world. In the rainy season, however, he becomes restless and very much discontented with human beings and with conditions generally, and it is then that, according to the first informant mentioned, he flies from place to place through the clouds, flapping his wings and making an uproarious noise, swinging his sword and causing the flashes of lightning. In due time, however, his wrath subsides and he becomes weary, and during the remainder of the year he grows restless only occasionally, with the result that thunderstorms rarely occur and lightning is seldom seen.

3: Barrett E.-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

CAVE SPIRITS

Another important class of spirits are the bū''tcūlya, or tūnda, called also by the Spanish name malava. These spirits are very numerous, and live, each family by itself, in what may be termed hollow mountains, that is to say, mountains containing enormous caves (a tū'hūrū), with numerous chambers, each illuminated by means of a sande-sap torch. Within such a mountain the house arrangement is much like that of a Cayapa dwelling, except that it is not elevated upon house-posts and of course has no thatch. It also has no storage loft, and its floor is simply the dirt or stone floor of the cavern. Access to it is by means of a tunnel entrance in the side of the mountain, never through a shaft on the summit. The entrance is covered by a very large mat and is not visible to human beings. Here the parent bū''tcūlya lives with his family in exactly the same manner as would a Cayapa. He also has domestic animals and birds as have the Cayapa. His "dogs" are the jaguar, ocelot, and puma. He also keeps as pets the wild-hog, the peccary, the two large species of rodent called in Spanish guatin and guanta respectively, and various smaller mammals. His "chickens" are the two species of wild turkey, the grouse, and the doves of the various species common to the region. All these mammals and birds living in the cave of bū''tcūlya are the same as those which run wild in the mountains, except that they grow to immense size and are always very fat. Also all the wild birds and mammals of the jungle are the pets of the bū''tcūlya and are under his special protection.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

776 He always has stored large quantities of the eggs of these birds, especially those of the large species of grouse known locally as perdiz. The house furnishings are similar to those of the Cayapa, except that the coiled equis, a very poisonous snake, is ordinarily used for a bench or seat, while the coiled boa is used as a receptacle for serving food.

In personal appearance the bû"tcûlya is similar to the Cayapa, except in color. By some he is said to be whiter and of a more reddish cast than the Cayapa, but by most his face is said to be bright yellow, for the reason that he paints it all over with yellow achote. It is claimed that the rest of the body is not painted. The women bû"tcûlya are said to be very beautiful and to have long flowing hair. By some it is claimed that the bû"tcûlya have bodies of normal form, but by most informants they are said to have no buttocks or anus, and hence are unable to defecate. For this reason they never eat, but gain sustenance from the water they drink, and especially from the steam and aroma arising from boiling meat and other foods. Although unable to defecate, they can urinate and hence are able to drink water and inhale steam. Their genital organs are perfect, but they are incapable of sexual intercourse except in bright moonlight.

In ancient times the bû"tcûlya were much feared by the Cayapa because the sight of one of them would bring illness and ultimate death, and also because they would steal children and even adults. In more recent times, however, it is claimed that they do not steal people, but confine their depredation to dogs, pigs, and chickens, and the vegetal foods raised by the Cayapa.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

They go about inhabited places always at night, and 776
although ordinarily they are invisible to the human eye, their presence is known by their blubbering speech, although they can speak intelligibly if they so desire.

That, to the Cayapa mind, the bū"tcūlya still exist and that they are much feared is shown by the following incident. While the guest of one of the Cayapa officials it was the author's custom sometimes to sit for [123]
hours in the evening conversing with him on various phases of Cayapa life. On one of these occasions, on a pitch-dark night, we were talking merely of the ordinary pursuits of the people. A lighted torch had been placed between us, which precluded the probability of the informant being able to see into the darkness outside the house. Suddenly, in the midst of our conversation, he sprang to his feet, ran over and untied the dog, and sent him down the ladder, while he himself ran to the railing at the side of the house, meanwhile urging the dog on in pursuit of something out in the darkness. He later explained that he had heard the blubbering speech of a bū"tcūlya near the house; he had seen nothing of the spirit and knew of its presence only by the sounds it made, but had hastened to drive it away to keep it from stealing his pigs and chickens which were confined under the house.

These spirits are believed to travel during the day as well as at night, and in case a house is left without occupants they frequently visit it and either carry away the food stored in it or cook it on the spot for the purpose of inhaling the steam and aroma which arise therefrom.

Although it is maintained that the bū"tcūlya do not

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

776 carry people away bodily at the present time, they nevertheless entice them to their caves, but this is said to be done out of a spirit of sociability and not with the desire of doing them bodily violence, though there is considerable danger attached to a visit to such a cave. These spirits, though ordinarily invisible, have the power to make themselves visible to human beings at will and when a person is off in the jungle, or in any lonely place, he is likely to be visited by a bū"tcūlya and invited to return with the spirit to his cave. If he goes and enters only the outer chamber of the cave, he can return, but if he is enticed into the inner chambers, escape is impossible, for these are guarded by vicious jaguars and pumas. On entering an outer chamber a guest usually is invited to sit upon a bench consisting of a coiled equis, and is offered food upon plates made of coiled boas. Stories are told of people who, on falling asleep or becoming intoxicated in some lonely spot, have been enticed into one of these caves by a bū"tcūlya and have seen and experienced various things in the outer chamber and yet have escaped
[753] and returned home. After such an experience a person is likely to become ill, and if not properly doctored by a shaman will ultimately urinate blood and then die. Merely to see and to talk with a bū"tcūlya, however, is not of itself fatal as is the case with some other classes of spirits.

An experience is related by a Cayapa who once had occasion to make a canoe at a place back in the hills and far from his house, so that it was impossible for him to return home every day. He therefore, as is customary, built near his work a small "rancho," or temporary house,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

for himself. Upon returning to the hut late one afternoon, he found in the fireplace a fresh fire, which he could not account for; but he was more greatly surprised the next evening to find not only a fresh fire but a potful of cooked food. He therefore determined to spy upon the hut, and accordingly, on the third day, returned early in the afternoon, when he found there a very beautiful yellow-complexioned girl with a large pot of cooked food and with bala prepared for the evening meal. She had been cooking and preparing this food in order that she might inhale the steam and aroma from it. He entered the house and spoke to the girl, but received no answer. He then said to her, "Come, give your husband some food." She gave him the food, but still made no reply to his remarks. Later she left the "rancho" abruptly, saying that she did not wish to marry a man who ate all kinds of food while she was unable to eat anything.

Another Cayapa, out hunting, shot a turkey, and while reloading his gun was suddenly felled by a heavy blow from behind. Some one cried, "Why do you kill my pets?" He looked all about, but could see no one. This also was a ɬû"tcûlya, which had been angered by the shooting of the turkey, for all wild birds and mammals are the pets of these spirits.

Another old man, who was adzing a canoe near the bank of the river at a point a short distance above the house of the chief at La Herradura, became somewhat intoxicated and feel asleep. A bû"tcûlya came and invited the old man to his home. Accepting the invitation, he soon found himself in the large outer chamber of a cave. Here the bû"tcûlya showed him various mammals

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

776 and birds, all very large and fat, which he kept as pets. He then invited the old man to sit upon his bench, which was a coiled equis, but the old man declined. He then offered him a cup of champo, a drink made of corn, the cup being a coiled boa. Again the old man declined. The spirit then invited him to go enter the inner chambers of the cave, but on approaching these the old man found them guarded by jaguars tied at each side of the entrance, which so frightened him that he did not dare to proceed. He had not gone more than about twenty-five feet into the cave, so was enabled later to escape. He sat in the outer chamber for some time, and talked with the bū"tcūlya, who explained his mode of life, how he obtained his food, and various facts concerning himself and this class of spirits, all of which the old man related on returning home. This old man returned the same day; but in the case of another Cayapa who was enticed into a cave of the bū"tcūlya, he was detained for three days, but the spirit was not able to induce him to enter one of the inner chambers. During his entire stay the spirit from time to time offered him foods of various kinds upon plates made of coiled serpents, all of which he refused. At the end of the third day he was permitted to return home, although he was much more dead than alive from the ordeal through which he had passed. The man almost immediately became ill, his body was covered with sores, and in the course of a week he urinated blood [753] and died. After such a protracted visit to the cave of one of these spirits, death is almost certain.

That the mammals and birds kept by the bū"tcūlya spirits in their caves are so large is said to be because

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the spirits themselves never eat any of the material part of the great quantities of food which they appropriate and cook; consequently this food is fed to their pets. The food is thrown to them upon the floor, as we might feed an animal, but all food offered to human beings who are guests in the cave is served upon coiled serpents. 776

While the bē'tcūlya live primarily on the earth, they are able to ascend into the upper world by means of the rainbow (bē'tcūlya cingūtiñatū) to visit Thunder. The object of this visit is purely a friendly one, since the bē'tcūlya are not servants of Thunder and neither do favors for nor receive favors from him. [82]

INDIOS BRAVOS

A class of beings which seems to be partly mythical and partly to have a basis in fact are the Indios Bravos, or he ūya'la. As was mentioned in speaking of the history of the Cayapa, it is claimed by them that their occupancy of the country adjacent to the Rio Cayapas dates only from comparatively recent historic times, and that formerly there lived upon the river the Indios Bravos, a people who subsisted, partly at least, on raw human flesh. In other respects these people were much like the Cayapa themselves. They lived in isolated family groups and had no villages; they were a little taller than the Cayapa, but of the same general appearance and color; their clothing, however, consisted of a short skirt of black cloth, which was the dress of both men and women; they used no paint on their faces or bodies; their most striking physical feature was their very large eye 776 173

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

776
173

teeth, similar to the fangs of the jaguar. After the Indios Bravos had preyed on the Cayapa for many years, the latter arose against them and descended upon their territory with a strong force armed with magic weapons, almost annihilating the cannibals and taking possession of their country. A detailed account of this trouble between the Cayapa and the Indios Bravos is given on pages 32-36.

It is said that a few Indios Bravos still exist far back in the mountains near the headwaters of the Rio Guayabamba, where, contrary to their ancient custom while on the Rio Cayapas, they have a village. They are never visited by any surrounding peoples, and are much feared by all. In recent years the only definite report of them which has reached the Cayapa is that, while a party of negro rubber gatherers was on the headwaters of the Guayabamba, they came upon three Indio Bravo boys whom they captured after a desperate struggle. Being on their way to Quito, the negroes endeavored to take the boys along. En route two of them died, but the third reached the city and was placed in the care of some priests. One of the Fathers later had a finger bitten off by the boy, thus showing the innate viciousness of the Indio Bravo tribe.

It is said that the Cayapa fought the Indios Bravos with a short palm-wood spear. These weapons are still found occasionally, partly embedded in the sand of the river where they have drifted from ancient times. These implements are said to be so dangerous that if a person attempts to pick one up or touches it in any way, illness is sure to follow. It is probable that this short

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

palm-wood spear is in reality the magic wand which was used by the Cayapa against the Indios Bravos when they were driven from the Rio Cayapas, as before mentioned. The Cayapa were able to do this by virtue of their superior magic and the superior magic of their wands, and not by means of ordinary conflict, hence it is the magic of these wands or spears which still clings to them that renders them so dangerous even at the present time.

776 173

THE GIANT ASLAŪ'HMŪ

A class of male giants said to have been very numerous in former times in the foot-hills bordering the Rio Cayapas is the aslaū'hmū. It is said that these giants became frightened at the first firearms possessed by the Cayapa and that they gradually disappeared into the mountains farther back from the river. Here they still reside, and even yet capture people who venture too far into the jungle. These giants are from eight to twelve feet in height, have skin of the same color as the Cayapa, and have very long fingers without nails. Their noses are very large also, being about three inches in length; their eyes are very large, and the mouth is irregular in shape; they have no teeth, and are unable to talk; the upper part of the abdomen appears normal, but the back from the ribs down is lacking, and within the abdominal cavity the liver is the only organ present. They wear a kind of skirt of bluish cloth, somewhat similar in texture to that woven by the Cayapa, and a bluish shirt reaching to the umbilicus and with sleeves which come to a point just above the elbows; they also wear a tall blue cap

776

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

776 which has no vizor. The aslaū′hmū travel in bands of five or six, or even more, and often attack hunters or others who are alone in the jungle. They carry long whips slung over the shoulders, the lashes of which are provided with thorns, and with these they strike and kill people. As the whip is swung over the shoulder to strike a blow it makes a loud noise like *thrūm-m-m-m-m!* They eat no food whatever, and make no use of the bodies of their victims—the body is simply left where it has fallen and may be easily recognized by the black stripes from the whips with which it has been struck. These spirits are themselves vulnerable, having been killed by hunters with lances, and it is from this fact that the Cayapa are able to give so exact a description of them. While out in lonely places hunters and others must use great care to protect themselves from the windward side, since the aslaū′hmū travel rapidly with the wind and usually attack from that direction. They travel, on the contrary, very slowly against the wind, even though it be no more than a breeze.

ŪRA″TŪ

In a large village in the mountains to the east of Quito reside the ūra″tū, who have no other abode, but are able to travel very swiftly over any part of the world. Here they live in every respect like the Quichua Indians of the mountain region. They have low, thatched houses, without sides and with earthen floors. Every night the floor of one of these houses is thoroughly cleaned and a dance is held, in which most of the ūra″tū participate

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Some dance on their feet, some on their hands, and some on two long fleshy projections like horns or ears which grow on top of the head, but which are quite different from the ears of men. These spirits are about the size of the Cayapa, and live in family groups in their village as do human beings. Their skin is very black, and their hair kinky and bushy. The mothers carry their babies upside down on their backs. The women wear simply a black skirt, while the dress of the men consists of short trousers reaching almost to the knees, and a reddish short-sleeved shirt. In the mountain region nearer to the home of the ūra"tū they are a great menace to the people, since they steal human beings bodily, and merely to see one of them assures illness of some kind and probably death in a short time.

KŪ'ME

Another dangerous class of spirits is the kū'me, who live in the mountains and in deep pools in the river. These are described as being of about the size and general appearance of human beings, but with very black skin. The kū'me always go about with their heads thrown far back, so that they face the sky and are unable to look forward. They travel late in the afternoon and at night, and are in the habit of pursuing people who are out at such times. If a person is caught by one of the spirits, and especially if he is hugged by the spirit or if the spirit's breath touches his body, illness is sure to follow and death is certain unless the patient is properly treated by a shaman. These spirits are entirely invisible

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

753 776 to ordinary human beings, and when they attack a person they remain with him throughout his illness and until death, when they snatch the soul as it is departing from the body and carry it away. They may be seen and driven away, however, by shamans who have drunk of the decoction of rum and bejuco, and who are able to chant the proper incantations.

PĪ''TCŪLYA

776 Especially dangerous to canoemen are the pī''tcūlya, a class of spirits which live in caves in the bed-rock at the bottom of deep pools and at various places along the banks of rivers. In these caves the families of pī''tcūlya live in the same relations as do those of the Cayapa. Their women are especially beautiful and all have very long flowing hair. In the evening and at night, especially 776 753 if the moon is bright, these spirits rise to the surface of the water and sport about, and it is at such times that the danger to canoemen in passing is greatest, since to see one of these spirits, and especially to approach so near that the spirit may blow its breath upon one, assures a severe attack of fever and is likely to cause death, although the patient may be cured by a shaman. The 776 pī''tcūlya women wear a black skirt, and the men employ the same kind of clout and shirt as those of Cayapa men. All wear very large necklaces of various objects made by the prehistoric inhabitants of the region. Both sexes paint yellow all exposed parts of the body. Like certain other spirits, they are unable to eat solid food, but subsist on the steam and aroma rising from cooking fish.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

776

Almost all deep pools in the river are the abodes of pī''tcūlya, although some contain more than others. Opposite Punta Venado is a large pool which contains many of these spirits. To reduce the danger to the people, the chief of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa summons from time to time one or more shamans for the purpose of driving out the spirits at this particular place, because, being so near the village, they are believed to endanger the lives of those who assemble to attend the fiestas.

PAIŪ Ū'HMŪ

The paiū ū'hmū are a mythical people who formerly inhabited the region of the Rio Cayapas, but who are now rarely, if ever, seen in this section. By some they are described as creatures of about normal size and with heads similar to those of human beings, except that in place of the mouth they are provided with a sharp beak with which they kill people, and afterward, by inserting this beak into the skull, suck all the blood from their bodies. They never eat human flesh, but subsist entirely on human blood obtained in this way. By others they are described as giants, nine or ten feet in height, who, in place of a head, are provided with a long, bird-like beak with which they kill their victims and suck their blood. All informants declare that the paiū ū'hmū are black in color, that they wear no clothing, and make practically no sound except a low call. They particularly attack hunters who wander far out into the mountains, and for a lone hunter to encounter one is almost certainly fatal, though two together may overcome and kill such a being.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

PEHŪRŪ PŪ'TYŪ

776 Another class of spirits, which are not particularly dreaded since they are never seen by man, are the pehūrū pū'tyū, a race of beings which in every respect are like the Cayapa except for the absence of buttocks and anus. There is a difference of opinion as to the abode of the pehūrū pū'tyū. Some claim that they are the creatures who inhabit the lower world, while others maintain that they live within the earth itself and that formerly they inhabited the region now occupied by the Cayapa themselves. According to these informants, at a time before the creation of the Cayapa there came a tremendous earthquake which overturned the earth and buried these pehūrū pū'tyū within it, where they still live in the same manner as when above ground. Then the Cayapa were created to live upon the earth; but at some future time another great earth convulsion will overturn the world again, bringing the pehūrū pū'tyū to the surface and burying the Cayapa and all other human beings.

The pehūrū pū'tyū, like certain other classes of spirits, subsist exclusively on the steam and aroma arising from caldrons of cooking food, this being sea-fish, which are very abundant where they reside. They have no homes, but constantly travel about. Like two other classes of supernatural beings, the pehūrū pū'tyū are incapable of sexual intercourse except when the moon shines brightly.

PA'LA'MBELE

A race of unimportant pigmies, called pa'la'mbele, inhabits the eastern margin of the world, in the vicinity

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

of the hole through which the sun emerges from the lower world in the morning to make its daily tour of the heavens. These beings are said to be extremely small, owing to the proximity of their homes to the path of the sun, which is so hot as to stunt their growth. They never travel, and do neither good nor harm to man. There are, however, no corresponding peoples living about the orifice through which the sun disappears in the west.

176

PEJE BRAVO

In addition to the various spirits which inhabit deep pools along the river, there are what are known as peje bravo, large fish, armed with strong teeth, which sometimes attack canoes and canoemen, but which are also much feared because of their magic. Almost every pool of any considerable size along the river is reputed to contain one or more of these dangerous fish. To be sure they molest travelers only at comparatively rare intervals, yet they are much feared by canoemen. Like the spirits they may be driven from a particular locality, or they may be imprisoned in a cave or a crevice in the bed-rock of the stream and rendered harmless to passers-by. For instance, at a point known as La Herradura, on the Rio Onzole, there is a large pool at the lower mouth of a short, precipitous stream which cuts across a narrow neck of land for a distance of eight hundred or a thousand feet and connects one point of the main stream with another at least a hundred feet lower in altitude. The narrow neck of land connects a large hill with the mainland, and it is around the base of this hill that the main stream

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

of the river takes its course, thus traversing a distance of five miles or more in reaching the same level that the smaller and more rapid stream reaches in a comparatively few feet. It is this long bow in the main stream which gives this point on the river the name of La Herradura, "the horseshoe." During periods when the water of the river is at the ordinary level, the shorter stream is small, but in times of flood it is a raging torrent. By the time the water has run its short course and reënters the main stream, it attains a high velocity and shoots a powerful, billowy current far out into the main stream which here widens into a deep basin. At the sides of this current are numerous eddies, and often great logs and even whole trees are held by them and whirled about for hours, in which process large limbs are twisted from trunks and everything fragile is splintered into bits. It is impossible for a canoe to pass through this pool at such a time; it is, in fact, none too safe to skirt the extreme edge of the pool opposite the torrent which enters it, on account of swirling logs. It is small wonder, then, that the Cayapa should conceive some great supernatural force to be hidden in this pool. It is said that up to within the last few years there lived in this pool a school of immense bright-red fish, which were a constant menace to travelers. Even to see one of these fish assured the illness of a person, and death was almost sure to follow. Still more dangerous was it to touch one of them. These monsters had a trick of floating as if dead upon the surface of the pool, especially when the water was at normal level and the surface reasonably calm. Curiosity of passers-by sometimes tempted them to paddle near

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

enough to take a good look at the red object, or even to touch it, either of which proved fatal. At last, however, some powerful shamans visited the pool and by their incantations were able to impound the fish in a cave in the bed-rock at its bottom. They then sealed the mouth of the cave, it is said by some, with iron, so that for some years the pool has been passed without harm. However, there is still fear that the fish may some day break their bonds and again come to the surface and menace the lives of canoemen.

PĪ PĪ′NĪ

While there are many large pools along the Rio Cayapas which are given the general Spanish name charco, there is one so large and important that it is always known as El Charco. This is situated at a point about three miles down-stream from the confluence with the Rio Onzole. It was the former habitation of a kind of dangerous fish, or serpent, called pī pī′nī, literally "water serpent," concerning which the following story is told:

In former times El Charco was much larger than at present, covering the plain now adjacent to it and reaching from hill to hill on each side. Here lived an especially large pī pī′nī, which devoured everything coming down the river. It had a mouth twenty fathoms wide, and everything, including all driftwood and even entire trees that floated down-stream, was consumed by the monster. Within this great serpent there was an immense dry area in which accumulated all the logs and trees that

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

776 he swallowed. Naturally, all human beings who went down the river upon rafts (for in those days canoes were not used) were swallowed by the pī pī′nī, so that the population of the region decreased rapidly. In fact, this serpent became such a menace to travelers that at last no one attempted to pass El Charco by water. From a point above El Charco a trail crossed the hills and returned to the river at a point called Nañjara, a short distance below El Charco. When travelers wished to pass down the river, they moored their rafts at the upper end of the trail and passed El Charco by land, taking another raft at Nañjara and continuing their journey to the sea. The same change was made on the return trip. Finally, four powerful shamans determined to rid El Charco of its danger, and after devising a method of keeping fire for a long time, they started down the river upon their raft. On approaching El Charco, they steered for midstream, and passed, as did everything else floating on the river, into the mouth of the pī pī′nī. Within they found great quantities of dry wood, and also the bones of the people who had been devoured during the preceding years. These people were not food for this monster, but starved and thirsted to death inside him. Once within, the four shamans set fire to the dry driftwood and then proceeded with their palm-wood knives to cut out the vitals of the pī pī′nī. The heat of the fire caused the monster to vomit forth the four shamans, together with much of the driftwood and other things that had floated during all these years into his mouth. Thus the shamans escaped. The pī pī′nī had been killed, but continued to burn. The

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

shamans remained to see that every atom of the monster was consumed, for if even the smallest particle had remained a new pī pī'nī of as great or greater size would have grown from it. After this event the size of El Charco became what it is now, and a comparatively safe place to pass so far as supernatural dangers were concerned. As a matter of fact, however, at the present time it is a dangerous place in times of flood. There is a big bend in the river at this point, and a large pool with very strong eddies that make it necessary to use care in passing through it.

INVISIBLE TREASURE

There are stories current among the Cayapa of great invisible treasures in the form of caves filled with gold and silver which are guarded by invisible spirits, each of which carries a golden wand or lance. A shaman once visited one of these treasure caves and was told by the guardian that he would be given its contents if he would bring to him in exchange a child, a white dog, and a white cock. Neither he nor any one else has ever yet brought these, and the cave of treasure still remains unclaimed.

MYTHOLOGY

It is interesting to note that although there is such a highly-developed idea concerning local spirits, both malevolent and benevolent, and although these play an important part in the life of the people, almost nothing is obtainable in the way of myths. It seems strange

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

773 that with this highly-developed spirit concept there is not a similar development of related myths and tales, but no such special tales appear to be current among the Cayapa, and indeed the only resemblance to tales at all is the alleged experiences that certain individuals, during intoxication or sleep, claim to have had in their encounters with strange spirits.

773 There is nothing resembling a culture-hero cycle or 825 any other cycle of myths. Animal stories, so common among aboriginal peoples, are almost unknown among the Cayapa. The two following short, fragmentary tales were the only ones obtained, and it is doubtful whether these are truly aboriginal with this people.

It is said that in ancient times birds and mammals had the power of speech, their language being that of the Cayapa. The toucan wore a silver necklace, and was constantly crying because there was no chonta dura to eat, although there was an abundance of other fruits. When he changed from his human form to his present bird form, his silver necklace became the white rim of feathers, which he now has, at the yellow throat patch, and his former crying for chonta dura he still keeps up in his constant propensity to give his characteristic call, "tcandō'tō," from which he derives his onomatopoetic name.

The jaguar also was formerly a human being who had a Cayapa wife. During the day he remained about the house in the ordinary manner and without wearing his shirt. At night, however, he put on a fine shirt ornamented in colors and went out to hunt. He killed much game, and ate the greater portion of it raw on the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

spot. He brought home a small amount, but when it was cooked and his wife called him to eat, he never appeared hungry, consuming but a small amount and declaring that the food was not good. Later his form was changed to that which he now has, and he is obliged to walk on all four feet. His finely-colored shirt became his present spotted skin.

CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCES

Of aboriginal ceremonies there are few traces left among the Cayapa, so completely have the fiestas of the church supplanted them. In these festivities there are certain remnants of aboriginal customs, but they are entirely subordinated to the practices of the Catholic church.

Contrary to the customs of many aboriginal peoples, there are not at present, and apparently never have been, any special ceremonial observances associated with birth, puberty, and menstruation, although there are certain restrictions and slight observances of an ordinary character connected with each of these.

The marriage and mortuary ceremonies, already described, are, on the other hand, quite elaborate, and apparently retain much of their aboriginality, although largely assuming the nature of these ceremonies as celebrated by the church.

Two regular church festivals, that of "Noche Buena" or Christmas, and that of "Semana Santa" or Easter, are celebrated, as one might suppose, entirely according to church custom.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Another festival, having its origin in the Ecuadorian national holiday, August tenth, is also celebrated by the Cayapa, although the date of the event is never a fixed one with them. This is ordinarily the one time of the year when a priest visits the villages, and the date of its celebration depends largely on his convenience. However, regardless of the date of its celebration, this festival is always designated "La Fiesta de Agosto."

Usually combined with all these fiestas are what are called *bodas* and *ofrendas*. In its restricted sense the boda is a marriage ceremony or a marriage feast, while the ofrenda is the feast of the dead. The latter term is used in its more restricted sense among the Cayapa, and is a special feast held usually in honor of one or more relatives of the family giving the feast who have died within the previous twelve months, although such a feast may with equal propriety be held in honor of relatives long dead, especially if they had been notable people. The boda, on the other hand, partakes as much of the nature of a mortuary ceremony as of a marriage feast, and the word *boda* is used generally to include all kinds of feasting. At all gatherings of the Cayapa, regardless of their chief purpose, the people feast and dance a great deal, and much rum is consumed.

The three fiestas mentioned, as also the boda and the ofrenda, will be described from observations made on these ceremonies during 1908 and 1909.

La Fiesta de Semana Santa

"La Fiesta de Semana Santa," or the Easter festival, which is the most important and most elaborate of the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

fiestas of the Cayapa, illustrates the completeness with which intrusive religious ideas may become engrafted on the beliefs of a primitive people. 796

As celebrated in 1909 at Punta Venado, this fiesta was of five days' duration, and in detail was as follows:

First day. Hueves Santo, April eighth

While many of the fiesteros reached the village on the previous day, a considerable number did not arrive until toward evening of this the first day of the fiesta. By evening, however, all had reached the village, and its population now aggregated about five hundred. On the first day there was no dancing or special feasting, but during the day several religious services were held in the church, consisting of simple "rosarios" said by one or another of the leading men of the village, or by one of the negroes present. The greater part of the day was spent by the men in completely clearing the plaza. Owing to the rapid and rank growth of vegetation, the entire village was overgrown with weeds, grass, shrubs, and vines, although it had been cleared to a considerable extent for the Christmas fiesta.

Second day. Viernes Santo, April ninth

The second day saw also no dancing or special feasting. Services similar to those of the first day were celebrated in the church throughout the day. A large number of banners were made of bandana handkerchiefs and bright-colored cloth, and about twenty-five candle torches of bamboo were constructed. These torches were made by 796 373

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 373 fastening in pairs, on opposite sides of a long bamboo pole, short joints of bamboo of the proper size to hold a candle. Some torches had as many as fifteen of these pairs of candle sockets, and in all there were spaces on the torches for upward of five hundred lights. The 796 several stretchers used in carrying the images of saints and also an image of Christ were newly draped and prepared for use in the processions.

At about 7 o'clock P.M. criers were sent out to summon the people to the church for the first of the more important services of the fiesta, which everyone is obliged to attend. By 7:30 all had assembled. The doors were then closed and fastened, and guards placed over them to prevent anyone from leaving during the service. 796 This rite was conducted by the sindico, or warden of the 795 church, assisted by some of the head-men of the village, and at intervals as it progressed first one and then another of the numerous candles about the altar were extinguished until at last but one flame remained. This the sindico took into the vestry behind the altar, leaving the room in utter darkness, whereupon each of the men and boys immediately produced one or two large paddle-shape pieces of tough green bark, which he had kept concealed upon his person, and proceeded to castigate himself severely. The men all wore shirts made of light calico or of bandana handkerchiefs. That they might receive the full force of the punishment, however, each man pulled his shirt up about his neck and struck himself upon the bare back with his paddle. The blows were delivered with great force, making a loud whacking sound, but no severe pain was inflicted, as the paddles

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

EASTER FESTIVAL AT PUNTA VENADO

342
346
716

[p. 386 (1)]

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

342
346
796

[p. 386(a)]

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

were flat and very wide. After about ten minutes of this castigation, the síndico returned from the vestry with the candle, the paddles were dropped, and all the men and boys scurried off to the side and rear walls of the church.

This self-inflicted punishment is in this particular region confined to the Indians alone. Although there is a large negro population, and many negroes attend this ceremony, none participate in this part of it. The negroes in certain other sections, namely, to the south of Esmeraldas, are said to inflict similar punishment on themselves, while those of some other parts are quite unacquainted with the custom. This, together with certain other observances, such as whipping with a cat-o'-nine-tails on Easter Sunday, may be due to the influence exerted over the Cayapa by early Catholic priests. That the same customs do not prevail among the negroes is due seemingly to the fact that at the time of the later influx of negro slaves, other orders and other church customs had superseded those which may have given these particular ideas to the Cayapa. It is possible also that in certain of these customs there is a vestige of some aboriginal ceremonial observances, but if so it is not now possible to segregate them.

On the return of the single light to the altar, several other candles were lighted and the service was concluded by further responsive chanting.

Next was formed a procession, in which practically everyone appeared, headed by bearers of a cross and images of saints, followed by bearers of the candle torches and the banners, and by a large number of other fiesteros. Each person, whether carrying anything else or not, bore

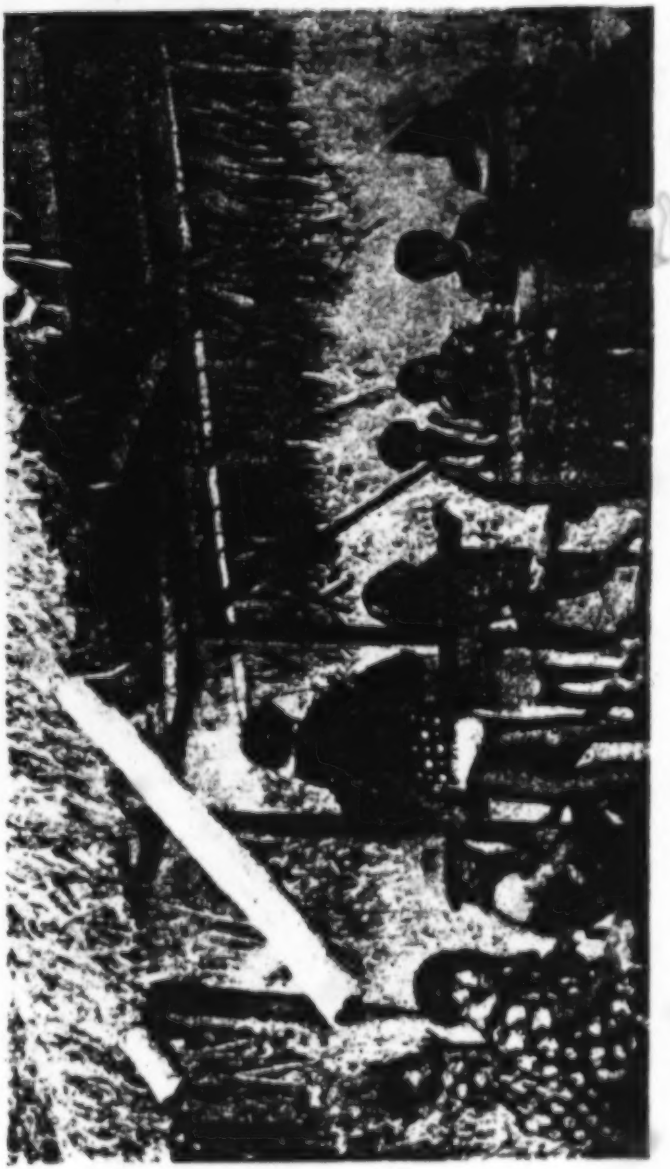
3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 a short candle in one hand. In addition, a considerable space in front of the church was filled with row upon row of candles, and nearly all the houses in the pueblo, especially those near the church, were illuminated with candles. In all, not fewer than twelve or fifteen hundred candles were thus used. As is usual with such processions, there was much shooting of firearms in front of the church immediately before the procession came forth. After passing round the church and about the plaza, the procession returned to the edifice, where the images of the saints were redeposited at the altar, and the banners, and also the torches, which were still burning, were placed about the walls.

After the chanting of another rosario, two long spears were taken to the front of the church and crossed between the front house-posts, which were twenty feet apart and about fifteen feet back from the door. The spears were crossed at about a foot from their points, the shafts passing upward and their ends resting each upno the shoulder of a man at one of the posts. Directly behind the point where the spears crossed was placed a short piece of lighted candle, one that would burn out in twenty or thirty minutes. As such a piece of candle was consumed, two other men relieved the guards with the spears. These remained on duty during the burning of another candle, when they in turn were relieved. This guard, typifying the guard before the tomb of Christ, was maintained uninterruptedly until about 3:30 A.M., when the procession with the images of saints, the candle torches, and the banners, was repeated. For the exit and reëntrance of the procession, the guards with-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

PL. CXXXIV



342
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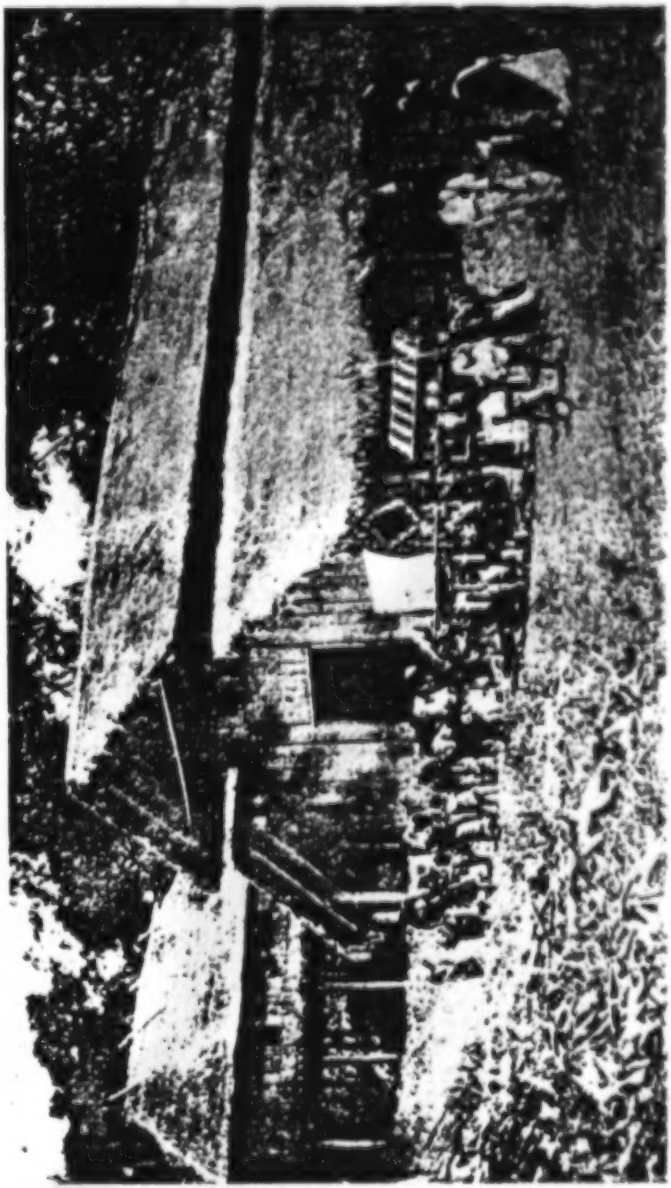
MUSIC IN A RANCHO

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 388(A)]

346
796

PL. CXXXV



BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

PROCESSION CIRCLING THE PLAZA

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

drew their spears and permitted passage through the central space between the house-posts. At all other times no one was permitted to pass between these posts, although frequent services were held throughout the night. 796

On the return of the procession to the church and the redepositing of the images, banners, and torches, the space between the house-posts was closed by the spears and the guard kept as before until about 7:30 A.M., when another service, a "gloria," was chanted. During this service the guards circled about each other, each slowly twirling his spear in the right hand, much as a man may twirl a cane. Toward the close of this service the spearmen mounted guard at each house-post, with the spears held vertically and with the points up, but after its conclusion the guard was no longer maintained.

Third day. Sabado Santo, April tenth

After the early morning ceremony above referred to, nothing other than the chanting of rosarios took place in the pueblo until about noon. A dance was then commenced in one of the houses and continued until nearly dawn of the following morning. [535

Fourth day. Domingo de Pasqual, April eleventh

Shortly before dawn, four images of saints were placed in a small "rancho" in the plaza. Here also were brought the marimba, the drums, and the rattles used in the dance during the night. The exterior of this structure, with the rank growth of grass and weeds in the plaza about 796 342 [534]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 it, is shown in the background of pl. CXXXII. In pl. CXXXIII part of the structure is just visible below the 342 cloud of smoke before the church, and in pl. CXXXVI it is shown in the background. In both of these the plaza is shown completely cleared of vegetation as it appeared during this particular fiesta. The interior of the "rancho" with the instruments and their players is shown in pl. CXXXIV. Here throughout the day, until about 4 P.M., 796 the music was continued almost without cessation, regardless of the fact that services, processions, and feasts were at different times in progress in the pueblo. It is the custom to give the images guarapo to drink on this one day of the year, and this must be done very ceremoniously and with much music. The images themselves are supposed never to drink rum, nor is it drunk in their presence, but great quantities of guarapo are consumed actually by the fiesteros as well as ceremonially by the images. A small calabash is filled with this drink and is held to the lips of the image for some minutes, or if the image is so placed that the calabash cannot be placed to its lips, they are moistened with guarapo by dipping the finger into the liquid. The images having been allowed to imbibe from this calabash, its contents are either thrown on the ground or drunk by some of those present. In addition, other guarapo is constantly drunk by the fiesteros. Almost no rum is drunk in the [576] vicinity of the "rancho," but in case it is desired to drink rum, etiquette requires that a person must turn away from the saints, otherwise they would be displeased at the sight.

At about 8:30 A.M. a service was held in the church,

PANTOMIME OF THE ANGEL DESCENDING TO THE TOMB

[P. 390(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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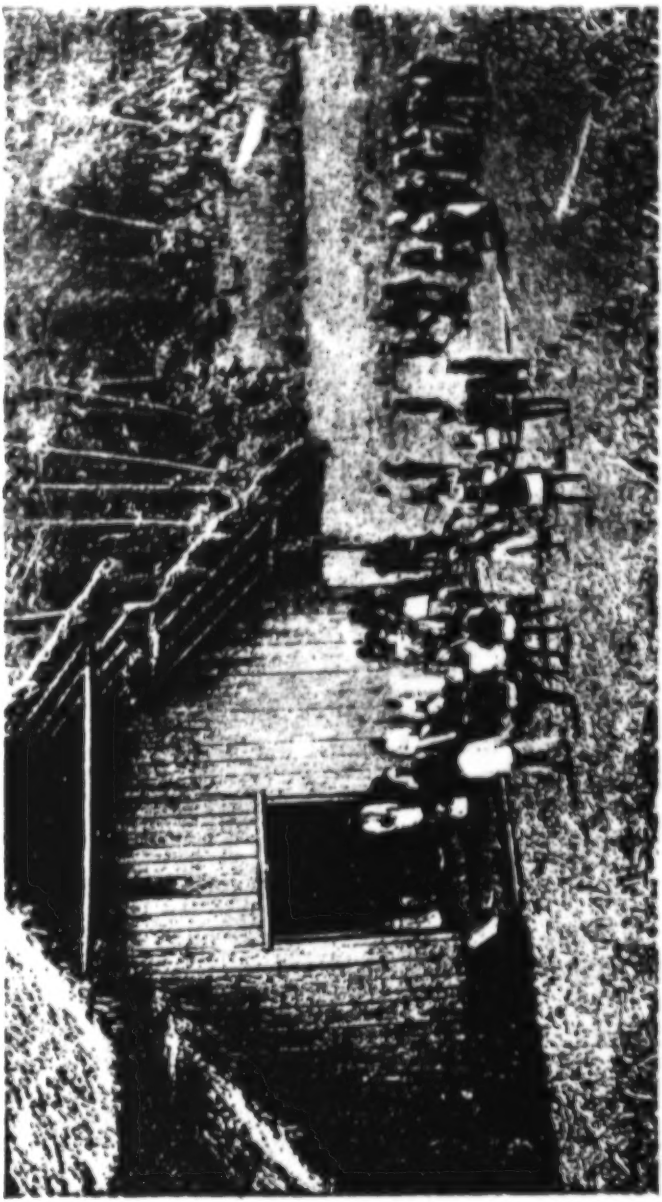

PROCESSION REENTERING THE CHURCH

[p. 390(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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followed by an ofrenda, or feast for the dead, in one of the houses, and simultaneously by a procession about the village, some attending one and some the other. The procession was similar to those held during the night, except for the absence of the candle torches and the addition of a pantomime of the descent of an angel upon the tomb of Christ.

Among the Cayapa there is celebrated on this particular day a kind of passion play in which an attempt is made to act out in a small way the resurrection of Christ. In the center of the plaza, and not far from the "rancho" where the saints were drinking guarapo, was a scaffold about fourteen feet in height, in the floor of which was an opening through which a small boy, dressed in full European costume of white cloth and with white-cotton imitations of the wings and tail of a bird, was lowered by means of a rope upon a representation of the tomb of Christ. This tomb was a kind of box made of slats carved in ornamental forms, in which rested an image of Christ and over which a black cloth had been placed. As the boy who impersonated the angel was lowered from the staging by a couple of men, he extended his arms and legs as a bird might extend its wings and tail, and, nearing the tomb, he siezed in his mouth the black cloth and was drawn back to the staging, typifying the return of the angel to the sky. In pl. CXXXVI is shown part of this scene. The boy dressed in white and holding the black cloth obtained in his descent upon the "tomb" may be seen standing with the two men on the scaffold. The "tomb" is just being removed from under the scaffold. The procession then wended its way, circling round the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

church, as shown in pl. CXXXV, and passing again down the plaza, this time to the "rancho," which it circled, finally returning and reëntering the church (pl. CXXXVII).

At about 10 A.M. the sub-chief took his place at the extreme left of the altar, and criers were sent to summon all to the church for the annual castigation with the cat-o'-nine-tails, which punishment is obligatory upon all the Indians, both old and young. This ceremony, however, is never participated in by the negroes. If a man, the devotee bows or sits upon the left heel; if a woman, she bows or sits before the altar and receives one or more strokes from the cat-o'-nine-tails, which always has five points, so that each stroke counts as five lashes. The devotee must receive one stroke, and may take as many more as he desires. Often a person takes two or three strokes, and later returns once or even several times for an equal number. The castigator uses discretion in inflicting the punishment—to an adult he admisters blows with full force, but to a child the blow is light. The men come in their usual attire and receive their lashes upon the thin and very tightly drawn clout. The women, on the other hand, dress especially for the occasion, putting on always a calico or bandana covering to completely hide the face and the upper part of the body and wearing their newest and best manta. Frequently several mantas are worn one outside the other, for protection against the blows. It is customary for the women to make and to keep a manta for this special occasion and which after the ceremony may be worn every day, but it must never be worn before the ceremony. Comparatively small boys and girls come vol-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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CASTIGATOR WITH CAT-O'-NINE-TAILS

[P. 392(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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THE CEREMONIAL WHIPPING

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 392 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

untarily for this castigation, but children of from two to five years are usually accompanied. If necessary they are brought forcibly by their elders. The very small children generally receive but a light tap from the castigator. 796 785

A few minutes after the castigation at the altar commenced, an assistant took up his position just outside the door of the church and there administered punishment to any who desired it, after which they were at liberty to enter and receive still more at the altar if they desired, although this was not necessary. Pl. CXXXVII presents a view of this castigator with his cat-o'-nine-tails. Pl. [284]

FIG. 28.—Technic of cording on cat-o'-nine-tails

CXXXIX, 2, shows him in the act of striking a devotee. In actual practice this was done at the door of the church. These two pictures, however, were posed at a short distance from the building in order to gain a better light. [284] Fig. 28 shows the technic of cording on the whip.

By 11:30 the castigation of the devotees was finished and the second ofrenda of the day was called. Nearly everyone attended, but a few remained at the "rancho" to play before the saintly images there.

At about 4 P.M. the saints from the "rancho" were re- 796

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 turned with proper ceremony to the church, and the ceremonies of the fiesta proper were ended.

The night was spent in dancing, although this was not an essential part of the ceremony. By evening of the following day (Monday) all the fiesteros had started toward their homes, and some even left the village during the afternoon of Sunday.

796 484 This fiesta is the most important of all the gatherings of the Cayapa and is one which almost all attend even though they may be so situated that the journey to their particular village is a difficult one, and may never attend the other gatherings of the year. Even those Cayapa who live on the Rio Verde and at other distant points endeavor to return to their old home village to celebrate this particular ceremony.

La Fiesta de Noche Buena

796 "La fiesta de Noche Buena," or the Christmas festival, is the less important of the two strictly religious ceremonies of the Cayapa, and, while the services are held by the sindico, or guardian of the church, and by others, these are not so elaborate as are those held at Semana Santa just described, and less interest is displayed. All these services and indeed the entire conduct of the fiesta are almost identical with those of Semana Santa, except that various of the ceremonies and processions, especially those concerned with enacting the resurrection of Christ, are absent, as is also the ceremonial drinking by the images of saints. There is much dancing both day and night, and there are frequent feasts, some being

1 [i.e., Easter. --- Analyst]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

of the type known as bodas and others of the type known as ofrendas, given by different persons. 796

This is one of the principal times when offenders against tribal laws are punished, although they may be punished with equal effect at any other public gathering. This fiesta usually lasts from three days to a week. [126]

LA FIESTA DE AGOSTO

As before stated, the date of the Fiesta de Agosto is quite irregular, depending largely on the convenience of the priest who is to attend. The whole fiesta had its origin in the Ecuadorian national holiday, August tenth, and by the whites and negroes of other parts of the province it is celebrated always on that date. Among the Cayapa, however, this festival takes the place of the Easter fiesta as celebrated among the whites and negroes, in so far as the services of the priest are concerned. Whereas he always celebrates Easter at some point near the coast, and the whites and negroes almost always attend, the Cayapa await the arrival of the priest at their own villages for any such special services.

At a time when they know that the priest is in one of the villages at the mouth of the river, usually the village of La Tola, during the late summer or early autumn, a deputation is sent by the Cayapa to invite the priest to come to their villages to hold this annual fiesta. Governed largely by other engagements, the priest appoints a time when he will be able to be present; the Cayapa officials then notify all the people of a given village to assemble at that particular time. A day or so

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

796 before the appointed time a large canoe manned by a deputation of Cayapa is sent by the chief to La Tola, or wherever the priest may happen to be residing at the time, and he is brought up. His arrival at the pueblo is usually preceded by the gathering of practically all the Cayapa who can attend the fiesta, although some straggl[illegible]

376 In each of the three Cayapa villages there is a special house, known by the Spanish term convento ("monastery"), which is reserved for the priest and at no time is ever occupied by anyone else. After establishing himself the priest usually goes directly to the church and holds the first service, and thereafter throughout his stay he is kept busy holding services of one kind or another. Usually two regular services are held each day, besides the various special masses for the repose of the souls of the dead, especially those who have died within the year. In addition to these services the priest officiates at all the marriages, baptisms, and confirmations for the year past. He remains usually from a week to two weeks at each of the three Cayapa villages, depending on the interest of the Indians and the apparent need of his presence.

[785]

As in each of the other fiestas described, ofrendas and bodas are held almost every day, and sometimes several in a single day. Except in one particular these are the same as the ofrendas and bodas at the other fiestas and those celebrated between times. On this occasion every one who intends to give a feast usually brings to the morning service in the church a small portion or several small portions of each kind of food to be used at the feast.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

These are placed on a table specially provided for the purpose in the center of the church, and a particular blessing is given these by the priest during the service. They are then usually taken to the convento as a gift to the priest, or they may be taken back to the feasting table. 796

During his entire stay the priest is provided by the Cayapa with an abundance of all kinds of native foods. Every morning quantities of plantains, yuca, fruits, game, and fish are taken to the convento, and in every way the Cayapa see that he is abundantly supplied. In addition, of course, he is paid in money by them for the various masses and special services which he conducts.

Boda

In the strictest sense of the term, a boda is a marriage feast or ceremony. Among the Cayapa, however, it has attained in addition a more general signification, being applied to any gathering at which there is feasting and dancing, but which is without special church services such as are held in the fiestas. A boda therefore usually includes, besides the ordinary feasts proper, other special feasts known as ofrendas, which are really feasts for the dead. In addition there are usually held certain simple church services which do not require the presence of a priest. Usually a number of bodas are held during the course of the year. Each in a way is a personal or family festival, and is almost always given by one, or not more than two, families. They are all practically alike in their essential features. A detailed description of one will give an adequate idea of all. 796 585 765 796

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 A boda held from January seventh to tenth, 1909, was as follows:

At the Christmas fiesta announcement was made that two certain families would give a boda on January seventh. Meanwhile the members of these families commenced to accumulate the provisions for the feasts. Much hunting and fishing and drying of meat were done; rum was distilled; vegetal foods were procured; and, not the least in importance, a trip was made to the ocean to procure shellfish and crabs. On the afternoon of January seventh, accordingly, a considerable number of people assembled, still others coming in on the following day. No feasts or special ceremonies were held until the next day.

First day. January eighth, 1909

At about 9 A.M. a service was conducted in the church, followed by feasts in one of the houses of the village.

The first of these feasts was an ofrenda. While the service was being held in the church, the members of the family, assisted by friends, were placing upon the table all the food which had been prepared the night before. The table, as usual, was prepared by spreading upon a considerable area of the floor a covering of the large leaves of hoja blanca, and upon these were placed all manner of eatables. Liquids or semi-liquids were contained in pottery or calabash dishes, and dry foods were placed directly upon the leaves. There were many of
796 the various mammals, birds, and fishes of the region
252 dried and smoked until almost jet black; monkeys,
262 guatins, squirrels, zorras, woodrats, and other mammals

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

dried whole; and guantas, deer, jaguars, pumas, armadillos, sloths, and wild hogs, all in dismembered parts. Among the birds were parrots, toucans, doves, grouse, wild turkeys, herons, and egrets, all dried whole. Dried fish of various species, especially the shad, were present. In vegetal foods also there was great variety, as the plantain, yuca, papaya, rascadera, sugar-cane, coconut, guabo, zapote, bread-fruit, orange, chonta dura, and palma real. Care was taken in arranging the table to see that there should be as much display as possible. The dried mammals and birds were in many cases placed in erect poses, and fruits or pieces of other foods were placed in the beaks of the birds and in the mouths or between the paws of the mammals. In one or two instances mammals were so posed as to appear as if fighting.

Directly after the service in the church, to which a small portion of the food was taken in order that by its presence during the service it might receive the blessing for all the food used in the feast, all the people of the village congregated at this particular house. The men and larger boys occupied the room in which the table was spread, and the women, girls, and small boys the room adjoining. The givers of the feast then presented to whomsoever they thought proper various articles from the table, such as a dried mammal, bird, or fish, and some fruit. These were for the recipients personally, and were to be taken home by them. On receiving such a gift, a man always took it personally or sent it to some of the women of his family in the adjoining room. This division of the food took a considerable part of what was

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

upon the table; the rest was divided into small bits, and, after an invocation by the warden of the church, the men and boys, all seated on low benches about the table, proceeded to feast. The women meanwhile partook of a portion of the food that had been sent to the next room to them. Having finished the meal, a benediction was pronounced by the warden and the floor was cleared of all scraps of food and the leaves forming the table.

Immediately fresh leaves were spread as at first, and the boda, the word being here used in its more restricted sense, was served. While an ofrenda has a very elaborate assortment of foods, a boda has only fish, oysters, or meats cooked in ripe plantain in the form of a thick gruel. This is served always in the aboriginal pottery plates of the kind shown in pl. LXXXVII, 4, although for everyday use dishes of European manufacture have almost entirely supplanted the pottery plates formerly used. In this particular case the boda consisted of a single course of plantain and fish, but sometimes other courses are served in order. The feast having been finished, the majority of the people went to their respective abodes in the village or to the house of the chief.

At such gatherings offenders against the law are usually brought before the chief, by whom justice is dispensed and differences between individuals adjudicated. On this particular occasion several matters of this nature demanded the chief's attention. The details of these will show something of the methods of dispensing justice among the Cayapa.

Immediately after the boda on this first day the chief sent some officers to bring before him certain offenders

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

against the law. The offenders were, in this case, a man and a woman. The man had deserted his wife and child after abusing them for a considerable time and had assumed relations with a young widow. He had therefore been guilty not only of infidelity and abuse, but also of violating the immutable law forbidding divorce. The woman's crime was somewhat less grave. Being a widow, she had a right to remarry, but she had no claim to the husband of another woman. In justice to the Cayapa as a tribe it should here be remarked, as has been elsewhere pointed out, that cases of infidelity, wife-desertion, and abuse are extremely rare. Almost without exception the family relations are held sacred by both men and women, and in general the relations existing between the sexes are governed by stringent laws which are regarded faithfully. In this instance both the offenders were brought to the house of the chief and were placed in the stocks where they remained during the afternoon. The man displayed no sign of emotion, but the woman wailed and chanted the greater part of the time. Both were remonstrated with by friends, and the mother of the woman sat beside her almost constantly, weeping and chanting her plaint at the disgrace that had been brought upon the family by the daughter's misconduct.

It would appear that the keeping of such offenders for many hours in the stocks is an exemplary measure and is done for the effect which it will have on the community at large. The punishment which they are to receive is often decided on long before its infliction, but they are kept in the stocks as an example to the people at large

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

627 and especially to the younger generation, and their con-
796 duct is discussed both privately and publicly throughout the village and its evils are pointed out. Especially is this done by the public utterances of officials, who speak in the large hall in the chief's house where the offenders are incarcerated.

Toward evening the prisoners were released from the stocks and permitted, under guard, to take food, being later returned to the stocks. About nine o'clock a gathering assembled in the room, the man was taken from the stocks, and several of the officials, including the chief, made short speeches concerning the pair and their crime. One of the speakers was a woman, a relative of one of the offenders. At last the sub-chief spoke rapidly and eloquently for about twenty minutes, berating the man for his conduct and his disobedience to the laws of tribal society.

Finally the commission of officers who had been sent in the morning to bring the two for punishment was called forth and its leader gave a ritualistic invocation, after which the offending man was brought forward and made to stand before the stocks with his body inclined slightly forward. The chief then administered fifteen strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, the equivalent of seventy-five lashes. The culprit was destined to receive a greater number of strokes, but owing to the chief's infirmity due to a recent gun-shot wound, and to the fact that the culprit proposed to buy partial immunity with rum for the assemblage, he was given his liberty after receiving the punishment noted.

The woman was then brought forward and received

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The WOMAN was then brought forward and received ten strokes, or fifty lashes. Her case, however, was different from that of the man, and she was not then set at liberty. By living with the man she signified her desire to marry, hence it was determined that a husband should be found for her. She was therefore placed under a guard of three officers for the night, while the officials set about to find a man who would consent to take her as his wife. She was thus held in custody until January eleventh. Meantime an old man living on the Rio Camarones was found who was willing to marry her. As a matter of fact, her relatives had tried to arrange the same marriage some months before, but as she was unwilling to marry the old man, the priest had refused on his last visit to the village in October, to perform the ceremony. When the boda ended on the afternoon of January tenth the woman was given into the custody of the chief's wife, being held in the chief's house until the following morning, when a commission of three officers called for her and delivered her to the old man who was supposedly destined to become her husband. As a matter of fact, she remained with him only a few days, when she and her paramour stole away to parts unknown.

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Second day. January ninth, 1909

A short service was held as usual in the church, followed by another ofrenda. This was marked by disorder in dividing the food, everyone grabbing for what he considered a proper share. This was in very bad taste, according to Cayapa etiquette, and was loudly condemned by the older men. This misbehavior was prob-

796 [264]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 ably due in part to the increased drunkenness, which was apparent throughout the day, but was due more largely to the greed of several negroes present.

264 796 After this feast the floor was cleared of remnants of the meal and of the leaves used to make the table. The second feast, the boda, was then served as usual. This consisted of three courses, each served on the same plate in the case of each individual, care being used in replenishing the supply that the plates of different individuals should not be interchanged. The three courses [162] of these mush-like foods consisted of plantain with fish, plantain with meat, and plantain with oysters. In case any individual did not eat any or all of his portion, it was taken to the next room by the host or by one of the attendants and given to one of the women of his family. The men giving the boda served the guests, while the women attended to filling the plates.

796 252 In this particular instance the whole of the previous night had been spent by the hostess and her friends in cooking and preparing the plantain mushes used in this boda. While hot they were poured into burden-baskets lined with leaves. When served they were cold and very thick.

796 627 684 Immediately following the feasts another refractory pair were brought to justice. In this case the man had forsaken his wife and for three months had been living with his first cousin, who had deserted her husband. Each of the culprits, therefore, was charged with the double crime of desertion of spouse and cohabitation with first cousin. These are considered great breaches of tribal law and are severely punished. As on the previous day,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the offenders were placed in the stocks, remonstrated with by relatives and friends, and finally whipped. In this case the man received a hundred and seventy-five lashes, or thirty-five strokes of the cat-o'-nine-tails, and in addition was required to pay a fine in money amounting to about fifteen or twenty sucres. The woman's punishment was a hundred and twenty-five lashes, or twenty-five strokes. The greater severity of the punishment in the cases of these two offenders was due to the fact that they were first cousins, which relationship prohibits marriage under any consideration.

Another example of punishment was witnessed late in the afternoon. A young man had inbided freely and while in his cups ran amuck in two or three houses. Others endeavored to quiet him, and to hold him and prevent serious trouble, but he seemed crazed with the rum and determined to fight, until finally it became necessary for officers to take him in hand. After a struggle he was carried to the stocks and secured by one foot. He fought desperately to release himself, but finally fell asleep and after several hours awoke in a much better mood.

In this instance was shown a good example of the devotion of the Cayapa women. Throughout his drunken frenzy the young man's mother had endeavored to quiet him, and for her trouble been struck by him repeatedly. Nevertheless, as soon as he quieted down in the stocks she took up her station beside him and fanned him almost continuously during the time he slept. Such instances are very common. It is not considered a disgrace for anyone, either man or woman, to become intoxicated,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 627 273 and the care of those who are sober is to see that a person does no serious damage while in that state. The rum used produces a cycle of symptoms, beginning with jollity and loquacity, passing through a desire to display skill, such as bending hands with an opponent, and ending with a frenzied desire to fight. It is then that the women usually take a hand and try to pacify the men. Sometimes several women are required to hold a drunken man and prevent serious trouble.

In the case of the young man above mentioned, no further punishment was inflicted. When he awoke in a fairly sober state he was taken before the chief, who lectured him on the error of his ways, and warned that if he repeated the offense he would be castigated and fined.

Third day. January tenth, 1909

796 A brief church service, preceded and followed by a procession about the plaza, was held in the forenoon as on the two previous days, and was followed by an ofrenda and a boda. Whereas on the two previous days the ofrendas had been more for the dead in general, in this case there was a feast for a person who recently had died. This fact brought out another interesting custom. After [785] the feasting (both the ofrenda and the boda) was finished, the sub-chief took his position at one end of the hall and administered a stroke or two with the cat-o'-nine-tails to each member of the family who had given the feast, and many others presented themselves for similar castigation, but it was compulsory only with the members of the immediate family and their relatives.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

During the feasts the cat-o'-nine-tails used for the castigation, together with various articles of apparel of the deceased and certain articles given for the purpose by relatives, was suspended upon a pitigua cord over the table. These articles were later distributed among some of the guests not related to the family. 796

After these feasts and the attendant ceremonies many of the people went again to the chief's house. The same pair of culprits who received punishment the day before were again brought in, placed in the stocks, and later castigated. The woman received twenty-five strokes, or a hundred and twenty-five lashes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, while the man was given between thirty and forty strokes. The whipping of the man was due chiefly to the fact that he still refused to return to his lawful family. Even after he had been thus severely whipped by some of the officers a second time and was brought before the chief, he refused to return to his family. The chief and others argued with him and tried again to persuade him to see the error of his way, but he stoutly maintained that he would not return, and the chief finally became so vexed that he gave the culprit a couple of resounding slaps on the side of the head and remanded him to the stocks where he remained nearly the rest of the day. Toward evening he was liberated and was not further punished. It is very unusual for the chief to slap a culprit, and such an act is done only under great provocation. In the case of almost anyone else, such a slap would be highly resented and would result in a fight, but a culprit does not dare offer resistance to the chief under such circumstances. 796 627

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

General Characteristics

The measurements of seventy individuals which follow were made during the last days of the stay among the Cayapa. On departing from New York for this region no anthropometric instruments were available, and arrangements were made to have a set sent later. However, month after month having passed without the arrival of the instruments, it became necessary, near the latter part of the stay, to make them. Through the kindness of Señor Don Donato Yannuzzelli, owner of the Hacienda of Palma, the author was enabled to make a serviceable measuring rod in the shops connected with Señor Yannuzzelli's sawmill. For this purpose a thoroughly seasoned piece of hardwood called in Spanish guayacan was procured and sized with exactness. This was then carefully graduated with a metric rule and when provided with a spring-arm made a serviceable instrument.

Care was always taken to keep the rod from getting wet or subject to conditions that would tend to change its length. After the completion of the measurements the rod was proved with metric rules to make sure that no change in length had taken place. This rod, a pair of calipers lent by Señor Yannuzzelli, and a small thirty-centimeter rule, provided the instruments necessary for the work, and it was possible with these in a short time to procure the measurements here presented.

In the majority of cases the Indians submitted readily to measurement, and had more time been available it

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

would have been possible to obtain a much more complete series. However, with this series of seventy measurements, of which thirty-six represent males and thirty-four females (including nineteen adult males and twenty-one adult females), it is possible to arrive at a fairly clear conception of the physical characteristics of the Cayapa as a tribe. These measurements and the indices computed from them appear in tabular form in the following pages.

The tables of measurements and indices show that the Cayapa on the whole are short in stature, the men averaging only 155 cm. and the women only 146 cm. The range of individual variation among the men, as also among the women, is 14 cm. Among the men there are at least a few individuals who appeared to be somewhat taller than the maximum here given, but as a tribe the Cayapa must be considered somewhat below the average in stature. The difference in stature between men and women is 11.27 cm.; that is to say, the men are 7.7 percent. taller than the women. Considering the fact that the Cayapa as a tribe are low in stature, this is a high percentage. In fact in most races of low stature this difference usually approaches 5 percent. of the female stature. Larger series would probably alter these results somewhat, but it seems probable that they would remain substantially the same since the individuals measured, of both sexes, were about the average of the tribe as a whole.

According to the averages of the cephalic indices of all four classes, men, boys, women, and girls, the Cayapa are clearly brachycephalic. Further, when the indi-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

141 vidual measurements themselves are considered, the boys, women, and girls clearly fall into this division, for there are in these three classes fourteen, seventeen, and eleven individuals respectively who are brachycephalic, as against three, four, and two who are mesocephalic, these nine only being below 83.33. In the case of the men, however, there is a slightly greater number of mesocephalic than of brachycephalic individuals, the numbers being ten and nine respectively. That the average index of the men falls within the brachycephalic division is due to the fact that the mesocephalic measurements, though greater in number, approach the brachycephalic limit, while six of the nine brachycephalic measurements are well up in that division, ranging from 87.5 to 90.5. This makes the average high and brings the class of men also just within brachycephaly.

Considering now the relations of these measurements from the standpoint of the interrelations of sex and age, we find that the heads of the men, with an average index of 83.58, are materially longer than those of the women, with an average index of 86.85. This is due to the fact that the head of the man is of much greater actual length (10 mm.) than that of the woman, while the actual width of the man's head differs comparatively little (only 2 mm.) from that of the woman.

Among the boys, however, this index, which is 86.37, approaches very nearly that of the women, and differs less than one degree from that of the girls, which is 87.30. Some discrepancy arises in this case from the fact that these averages are derived from different numbers of individuals (17 boys and 13 girls) and also because there

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

are certain differences of age, the girls being on the whole somewhat older than the boys. To obviate this a computation has been made in which the last 13 measurements of boys (nos. 5–17) only have been taken. As it happens, these measurements are of individuals more nearly of the same age of the thirteen girls measured, and the element of extreme youth among the boys is thus eliminated. This computation gives an index of 86.04, which still leaves the index of the boys much nearer that of the women than that of the men, the differences being 0.71 and 2.46 respectively.

It would appear therefore that the head proportions among the adult females differ very little from those of childhood, while in the males the head has a marked tendency to elongate with advancing years.

While dealing with the physical characteristics of the Cayapa it should be noted that in certain of those outward characteristics which are most manifest to the eye, the individual differences are very great. The hair varies from jet-black to a very dark-brown in color, and from absolute straightness to a very pleasing waviness, though in no case is there any near approach to curliness. It is ordinarily fine, though among the men some individuals are found whose hair is moderately coarse. These features are, of course, more noticeable in the women that in the men, since the women always wear their hair long and flowing, whereas the men keep their hair cropped fairly short, though in earlier times they too wore long hair. In many cases the women's hair reaches to the waist, and is very full and heavy. Such, for instance, is the case with the middle-aged woman

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

142 302 shown in pl. xx. Under ordinary circumstances most women wear their hair full-length in this way, but frequently a case (as in pl. xix) is found where the hair [765] is comparatively short. This is due to the custom of cropping the hair on the death of a relative. An example of waviness of the hair is given in the case of the woman shown in the latter plate. The hair in this case is dark-142 brown. With advancing years the hair tends to become 143 thinner, but no case of even partial baldness was observable either among the men or the women. Throughout life the hair retains its color in almost every instance, but rarely a person is seen who shows a sign of grayness, and one old man was found whose hair was white—it had become thus many years before, though no one knew the cause. No other individual with white or even partially white hair was encountered, and it was claimed by the Indians that the old man referred to was the only individual in the tribe who exhibited this [2917] peculiarity. The fact that the hair retains its color so well is probably due to the fact that the Cayapa practically never wear any form of head-covering.

142 Considerable variations are found in the form of the nose. In some it is wide and rather flat toward its tip, this appearance being due to a considerable distension of the nostrils, the openings of the nostrils being in many cases quite round. However, it escapes completely any approach to the true mongoloid type from the fact that in no case is there such a lack of bridge as is found in the real mongoloid nose. In fact, the contrary is quite the case, and in many instances the bridge is quite high, giving the nose the impression of slight aquilinity.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

One individual was observed whose bridge was quite high and aquiline, though this was a decided exception. In these high-bridged noses the actual width of the nose at the alæ is usually somewhat less than in the more monogoloid type above mentioned. 142

So far as noted, the eyes are invariably dark-brown, and the upper lids often show more or less of the mongoloid fold. In some instances this fold is so marked as to give the eyes a perceptible slant. In many other individuals, on the other hand, the fold is so slight as to be almost unnoticeable, and the eyes are wide and frank in consequence. In most cases the supraorbital ridges are not at all prominent; the forehead therefore appears full and is also fairly high. Now and then is found an individual, especially among the men, whose supraorbital ridges are fairly pronounced. The eyebrows are usually black, but are only moderately heavy.

In almost every case the malars are high and prominent, and the general appearance of the face as a whole is round, though now and then is seen a person whose face gives the appearance of much greater length than breadth.

In the majority of individuals the upper lip is fairly broad and heavy, though the lips are in no case unusually thick. In most instances the chin has moderate prominence, though it never shows any special degree of protrusion.

No opportunity was presented for actually weighing any individuals, but from their general appearance it may be said that as a rule they tend neither to obesity nor to thinness. Now and then slightly obese or slightly

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

142 spare individuals are found, but as a rule they are in that state which would be termed "in good flesh." It is noticeable, however, among the very young children that there is a marked protrusion of the abdomen. In most cases this may probably be ascribed to the fact that their diet consists very largely of green plantains and that they devour these in quantities at all times of day; however, it must be said that no illness seems to result from this practice. As the children advance in years this protrusion of the abdomen grows less, and during the greater part of their remaining years they are well proportioned in every respect. Now and then is encountered an old person who tends toward protrusion of the abdomen in declining years, but these instances are exceptional.

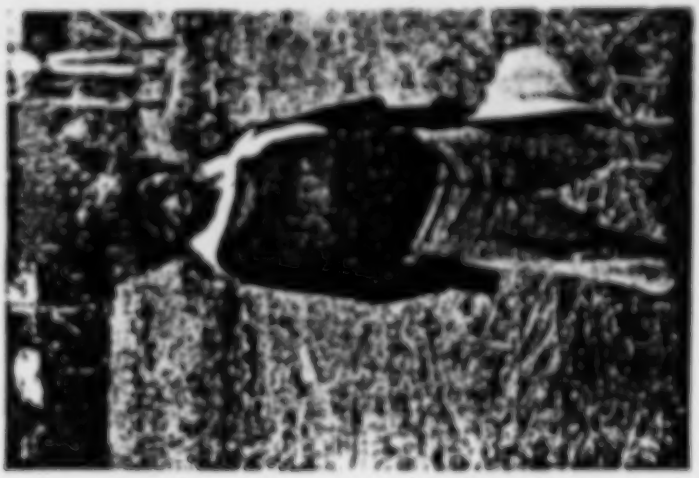
In color the Cayapa are a fairly light reddish-brown. They are, in fact, much lighter than the average of the North American Indians, and it seems probable that the climatic conditions under which they live have at least something to do with this particular feature. As was stated in speaking of the climatic conditions in the Cayapa country, the sky is almost continuously overcast, the sun rarely shining brightly for more than a few minutes at a time. Even these short intervals of sunshine are very infrequent, sometimes weeks and even months passing without full sunshine. Furthermore, the Cayapa region is almost windless. While rains are practically of daily occurrence, they are almost never accompanied with wind or other storm features. Tanning from sun or wind is therefore practically impossible so long as the Cayapa remain at home.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925

SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Cholo

CHOLO BOYS



BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 414 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

142 An interesting example of the possible differences in
464 skin color is shown, however, when any of the Indians
journey to the coast, and especially if they voyage a
considerable distance at sea, which they frequently do
when some of them have occasion to visit Tumaco or
Esmeraldas. On such occasions they take their canoes
[205] out to sea and paddle, skirting the shore-line for a con-
siderable number of miles. The trip from Limones to
Esmeraldas necessitates a journey of about fifty miles on
the open sea, and ordinarily requires at least a week.
[206] For such trips the Cayapa usually dress specially, in that
they put on extra necklaces, neckbands, and wristbands,
and otherwise ornament themselves for the occasion.
Their tight-fitting neckbands and wristbands are never
taken off while they are away from home, consequently
the portions of the skin covered by them are protected
from the influence of the elements. When they return
home, however, this finery is usually taken off. The
142 contrast between the covered portions of skin and the
exposed parts is striking, even though the intervals of
sunshine along the coast are practically as infrequent
as along the river. The sea breeze has a marked tanning
effect, consequently the traveler returns home almost
as brown as many of our North American Indians who
are subjected to sun and wind during much of the year.
The covered portions of the skin, however, remain the
same color as when the Cayapa leaves home, and it is
therefore possible to contrast the natural color with the
tan. No color charts were available for purposes of
comparison and exact record, but the differences between
these two tints are considerable and show the natural
color of the Cayapa, as previously mentioned, to be

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6
Cholo

42 much lighter than that of the average North American Indians.

In a word, therefore, the Cayapa may be said to be a well proportioned, though somewhat undersized, light-brown people, with brachycephalic heads, black or dark-brown hair which varies from straight to wavy, to show considerable variation in the shape of the nose, to have very dark-brown eyes, wide upper lips, full and fairly high foreheads, high cheekbones and round faces, and to have supraorbital ridges and chins that are not at all prominent.

No opportunity was presented to measure the few Cholo who live on the Rio Cayapas. They are, however, of quite a different type from the Cayapa, being somewhat shorter and more thick-set than the latter, and as a rule more mongoloid in general appearance. In pls. CXL-CXLII are shown two boys, two girls, and one young man of about twenty-one years, all members of this tribe.

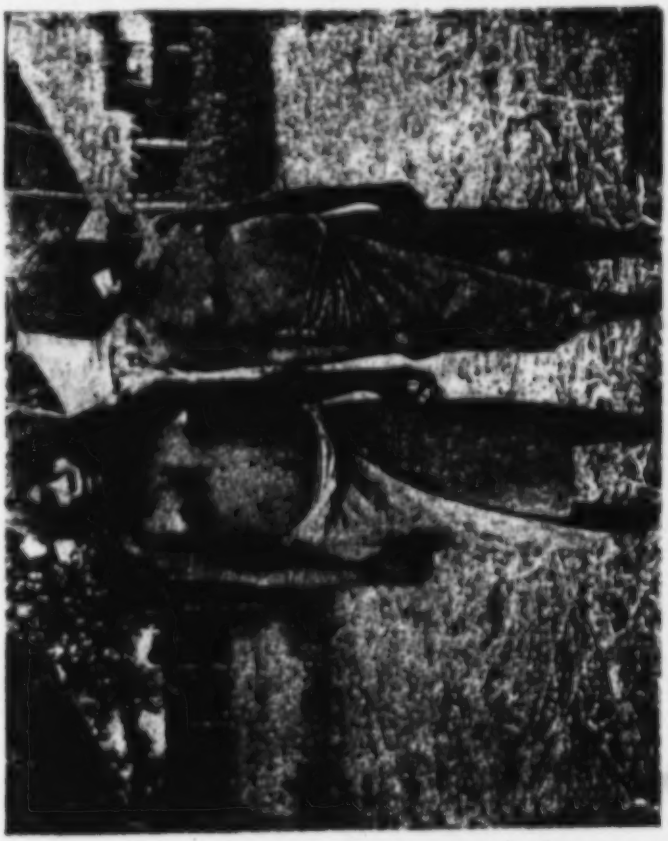
Measurements

1¶ 2¶ In the accompanying tables the following abbreviations are used:

St, Stature.
Sp, Stretch of arms.
Sa, Height of shoulder (acromion).
Hmf, Height of middle finger from surface upon which heel rests.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6
Cholo

PL. CXLI



CHOLO GIRLS

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 416 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6
Cholo

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YOUNG MAN OF THE CHOLO TRIBE

[p. 416 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

A, Length of arm (acromion to tip of second finger). 141
Hs, Height sitting. 128
Wsh, Width of shoulders between acromia.
Lfa, Length of forearm (elbow to tip of middle finger).
Lh, Length of head.
Bh, Width of head.
Wf, Width of face between zygomatic arches.
HfI, Distance from hair line to chin
HfII, Distance from nasion to chin.
Hn, Height of nose.
Wn, Width of nose between alæ.

$IStr, \frac{Str}{St}$

$IA, \frac{A}{St}$

$IHs, \frac{Hs}{St}$

$IWsh, \frac{Wsh}{St}$

$FI, \frac{HfII}{Wf}$

$NI, \frac{Wn}{Hn}$

$CI, \frac{Bh}{Lh}$

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

141

TABLE I.—TABULATION

MALES

1	4	1070	1065	850	385	465	580	260	295	160	144	127	153	91
2	4	910	890	700	340	360	495	230	235	161	138	114	128	81
3	4	950	940	730	330	400	560	230	260	161	133	109	135	80
4	4	850	845	660	300	360	495	215	230	158	133	112	116	73
5	6	990	990	780	350	430	545	240	270	164	137	117	136	84
6	6	1000	980	770	350	420	570	235	265	170	144	117	147	80
7	7	1115	1120	900	405	495	610	260	310	161	135	120	150	84
8	7	1090	1100	840	380	460	610	270	290	169	134	118	134	84
9	7	1125	1130	890	385	505	605	250	310	160	140	117	148	91
10	8	1185	1230	955	410	545	650	275	330	156	147	123	139	91
11	10	1285	1330	1030	450	580	685	325	360	166	150	128	150	94
12	11	1335	1415	1080	440	640	705	345	370	164	146	126	164	102
13	11	1310	1310	1045	460	585	705	330	360	165	147	131	148	93
14	13	1430	1505	1190	510	680	735	345	415	176	134	129	153	102
15	14	1385	1450	1120	490	630	730	355	400	164	149	133	166	100
16	15	1315	1390	1070	455	615	705	315	370	160	139	122	148	93
17	16	1395	1390	1140	510	630	775	335	375	167	151	133	167	108
18	18	1560	1570	1305	610	695	835	365	425	184	149	137	164	103
19	18	1490	1550	1235	550	685	775	370	420	184	148	135	161	103
20	21	1580	1630	1320	580	740	855	420	435	191	155	143	168	106
21	21	1490	1555	1240	570	670	805	355	420	180	149	133	159	102
22	24	1530	1560	1260	560	700	850	390	420	180	144	143	162	107
23	28	1470	1525	1225	555	670	785	430	410	175	147	144	181	117
24	30	1605	1615	1340	625	715	865	395	435	180	151	147	172	109
25	32	1595	1705	1330	600	730	850	440	450	175	158	146	168	110
26	32	1570	1650	1305	570	735	840	380	435	168	147	135	178	113
27	34	1580	1690	1320	570	750	850	420	445	187	152	143	187	118
28	35	1490	1540	1250	560	690	830	390	415	170	136	133	175	111
29	35	1505	1550	1210	535	675	815	390	415	172	144	141	179	115
30	35	1605	1720	1335	580	755	895	420	465	187	146	139	180	118
31	35	1530	1575	1275	575	700	860	410	420	165	146	137	166	113
32	40	1575	1660	1315	575	740	830	395	430	178	143	135	177	122
33	40	1570	1610	1300	600	700	835	410	430	178	161	144	166	112

* Measurements are in millimeters.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

OF MEASUREMENTS*

141

MALES

Ht	Wn	IStr	IA	IHs	IWsh	FI	NI	CI	No.
34	29	99.53	43.45	54.20	24.29	71.66	85.30	90.00	1
31	25	97.80	39.56	54.39	25.27	71.05	80.64	85.71	2
30	22	99.00	42.10	58.88	24.21	73.39	73.33	82.60	3
26	26	99.41	42.35	58.23	25.29	65.17	100.00	84.17	4
30	29	100.00	43.43	55.05	24.24	71.79	96.66	83.53	5
30	29	98.00	42.00	57.00	23.50	68.37	96.66	84.70	6
31	28	100.03	44.39	54.70	23.31	70.00	90.32	83.85	7
32	30	100.92	42.20	55.96	24.77	71.19	93.75	79.30	8
32	28	100.44	44.88	53.77	22.22	77.77	87.50	87.50	9
37	31	103.79	45.99	54.85	23.20	73.98	83.78	94.23	10
36	32	103.05	45.18	53.31	25.29	73.43	88.88	90.36	11
40	31	105.90	47 94	52.81	25.84	80.95	77.50	89.02	12
36	32	100.00	44.65	53.81	25.19	70.99	88.88	89.09	13
43	34	105.24	47.55	51.21	24.12	79.08	79.08	76.15	14
39	36	104.68	45.48	52.71	25.63	75.18	92.30	90.85	15
37	31	105.70	46.76	53.61	23.95	76.22	83.78	86.87	16
44	34	99.72	45.16	55.55	24.01	81.20	77.27	90.42	17
36	33	100.64	44.55	53.52	23.39	75.18	91.66	80.98	18
40	37	104.03	45.97	52.01	24.83	76.30	92.50	80.46	19
43	39	103.17	46.83	54.11	26.58	74.13	90.70	81.15	20
46	37	104.36	44.96	54.03	23.82	76.69	80.43	82.77	21
45	38	101.96	45.75	55.55	25.49	74.85	84.44	80.00	22
52	35	103.74	45.57	53.40	29.25	81.25	67.31	84.00	23
47	33	100.62	44.54	53.89	24.61	74.15	70.21	83.88	24
51	35	106.89	45.76	52.22	27.58	75.34	68.63	90.28	25
46	34	105.09	46.81	53.50	24.20	83.73	73.91	87.50	26
48	38	106.96	47.46	53.80	26.58	82.51	79.17	81.29	27
47	31	103.35	46.30	54.36	24.16	83.45	68.88	80.00	28
50	37	102.99	44.85	54.15	25.91	81.56	74.00	83.72	29
51	42	107.16	47.04	55.70	26.16	84.90	82.35	78.28	30
48	35	102.94	45.75	56.21	26.79	82.48	72.91	88.50	31
49	34	105.39	46.98	52.69	25.07	90.37	69.38	80.33	32
52	41	102.55	44.58	53.18	26.11	77.77	78.84	90.45	33

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE I.—TABULATION OF

141

No.	Age	St	Str	Sh	Hmf	A	Hs	Wsh	Lfa	Lh	Bh	Wf	Hfl	Hfll
MALES														
34	40	1600	1660	1340	580	760	860	405	450	178	158	146	169	117
35	45	1560	1560	1310	615	695	820	405	430	179	148	135	173	111
36	48	1570	1670	1320	570	750	865	425	440	178	148	142	168	107
FEMALES														
37	5	1045	1040	835	375	460	585	255	280	159	145	119	134	87
38	7	990	960	780	370	410	570	235	255	151	140	118	137	84
39	8	1270	1300	1050	460	590	660	300	360	171	140	124	144	85
40	9	1175	1180	930	415	515	640	280	315	167	144	123	145	93
41	9	1120	1120	895	420	475	625	265	295	158	139	120	143	88
42	11	1270	1280	1040	480	560	690	305	335	163	140	122	148	95
43	11	1120	1120	810	410	400	605	275	300	155	144	120	144	82
44	12	1250	1240	1030	480	550	680	295	340	162	140	125	150	96
45	12	1270	1245	1030	480	550	705	310	330	158	137	121	146	94
46	12	1270	1290	1030	460	570	660	290	340	163	142	123	152	96
47	12	1215	1255	975	430	545	650	285	330	160	141	122	140	92
48	12	1260	1280	1030	460	570	695	280	340	173	142	122	143	94
49	14	1390	1450	1145	500	645	740	340	395	169	145	131	155	102
50	20	1435	1470	1160	530	630	765	345	395	173	142	130	154	97
51	25	1435	1420	1180	560	620	780	350	370	162	146	131	159	98
52	28	1500	1515	1260	595	665	825	370	410	170	148	131	158	108
53	30	1510	1550	1260	580	680	810	370	415	170	143	132	156	104
54	30	1495	1505	1225	555	670	830	355	400	178	152	134	160	101
55	30	1425	1505	1180	510	670	760	335	390	172	151	133	164	105
56	35	1440	1470	1180	540	640	750	340	400	169	143	131	171	106
57	*35*	*1535*	*1540*	*1270*	*580*	*690*	*830*	*355*	*415*	*173*	*144*	*132*	*163*	*111*
58	35	1460	1510				800			169	144	136	172	106
59	35	1430	1460	1180	530	650	790	370	400	164	151	129	168	112
60	35	1450	1515	1210	550	660	80	370	390	162	144	135	145	94
61	35	1405	1420	1150	520	630	750	325	380	168	138	127	155	92
62	38	1510	1550	1245	565	680	805	370	410	164	150	131	165	108
63	38	1490	1550	1230	550	680	795	365	410	170	150	128	159	105
64	40	1450	1455	1205	575	630	795	355	390	172	148	130	173	118

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

MEASUREMENTS—*Continued*

141

MALES

Hn	Wn	IStr	IA	IHs	IWsh	FI	NI	CI	No.
48	40	103.75	47.50	53.75	25.31	80.13	83.33	88.76	34
44	36	100.00	44.55	52.56	25.96	82.22	81.81	82.68	35
46	37	106.37	47.77	55.09	27.07	75.35	80.43	83.15	36

FEMALES

34	29	99.60	44.01	55.97	24.40	73.11	85.29	91.19	37
33	29	97.00	41.41	57.57	23.73	71.19	87.87	92.72	38
35	32	102.35	46.45	51.96	23.62	68.62	91.43	81.87	39
36	30	100.35	43.82	54.46	23.82	75.65	83.33	86.23	40
33	28	100.00	42.41	55.80	23.66	73.33	84.84	87.97	41
35	31	100.79	44.09	54.33	24.01	77.87	88.57	85.88	42
38	29	100.00	35.71	54.01	24.55	68.33	76.31	92.90	43
40	30	99.20	44.00	54.40	23.60	76.80	75.00	86.42	44
36	32	98.03	43.30	55.51	24.40	77.68	88.88	86.72	45
39	31	101.57	44.88	51.96	22.83	78.04	79.48	87.11	46
37	29	103.29	44.85	53.49	23.45	75.40	78.37	88.12	47
38	32	101.58	45.23	55.15	22.22	77.04	84.21	82.08	48
43	36	104.32	46.40	53.23	24.46	77.87	83.72	85.79	49
40	30	102.43	43.90	53.31	24.04	74.61	75.00	82.08	50
39	33	98.94	43.20	54.35	24.39	74.81	84.62	90.12	51
46	33	101.00	44.33	55.00	24.66	82.45	71.74	87.06	52
46	36	102.65	45.03	53.64	24.50	78.78	78.26	84.11	53
45	34	100.60	44.81	55.52	23.74	75.37	75.55	85.39	54
44	33	105.61	47.01	53.33	23.50	78.94	75.00	87.79	55
44	31	102.03	44.44	52.08	23.61	80.91	70.45	84.61	56
48	33	100.20	44.95	54.02	23.12	84.09	68.75	83.24	57
40	38	103.42		54.79		77.94	95.00	85.23	58
49	31	102.09	45.45	55.24	25.87	86.85	63.26	92.07	59
41	32	104.48	45.51	55.17	25.51	69.62	78.04	88.88	60
43	33	101.06	44.80	53.38	23.13	72.44	76.74	82.14	61
42	32	102.65	45.00	53.31	24.50	82.50	76.19	91.47	62
44	34	104.02	45.62	53.35	24.49	82.03	77.27	88.23	63
50	36	100.02	43.45	54.82	24.48	90.77	72.00	86.05	64

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE I—TABULATION OF MEASUREMENTS
—*Concluded*

141

FEMALES

No.	Age	St	Str	Sh	Hmf	A	Ha	Wsh	Lfa	Lh	Bh	Wf	HfI	HfII
65	40	1445	1510	1200	530	670	790	340	400	158	137	125	165	108
66	45	1520	1545	1265	570	695	820	370	415	172	147	134	147	101
67	45	1440	1445	1170	560	610	770	355	380	164	148	133	157	103
68	50	1480	1550	1250	555	695	790	370	415	168	144	145	134	115
69	50	1430	1495	1160	505	655	775	385	400	173	143	135	155	100
70	60	1460	1490	1210	550	660	790	350	395	163	154	129	169	105

FEMALES

Hn	Wn	IStr	IA	IHa	IWsh	FI	NI	CI	No.
47	32	104.49	46.34	54.63	23.52	86.40	68.0	886.71	65
43	34	101.64	45.67	53.95	24.34	75.37	79.0	785.47	66
43	38	100.35	42.40	53.47	24.65	77.44	88.3	790.25	67
50	35	104.73	46.92	53.37	25.00	85.82	70.0	085.70	68
45	40	104.49	45.76	54.20	26.92	74.07	88.8	882.83	69
46	39	102.05	45.20	54.11	23.97	81.40	84.7	994.48	70

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE II

MAXIMUM, MINIMUM, AND AVERAGE MEASUREMENTS, AND INDICES OF ADULTS*

141

	Males (18 + yrs. of age) Nos. 18-36			Females (18 + yrs. of age) Nos. 50-70		
	Max.	*Min.*	*Aver.*	*Max.*	*Min.*	*Aver.*
St	1605	1470	1551.31	1535	1405	1464.04
Str	1720	1525	1609.73	1550	1420	1498.57
Sh	1340	1210	1291.05	1265	1150	1209.50
Hmf	625	535	577.89	595	505	550.50
A	760	670	713.42	695	610	659.00
Hs	895	775	836.84	830	750	791.42
Wsh	440	355	399.21	385	325	357.25
Lfa	465	410	431.05	415	370	399.00
Lh	191	165	175.86	178	158	168.28
Bh	161	136	148.94	154	137	146.04
Wf	147	133	139.89	136	125	131.42
HfI	187	159	171.73	173	145	161.00
HfII	122	102	111.21	118	92	104.61
Hn	52	36	46.66	50	39	44.52
Wn	42	31	36.42	40	30	34.14
IStr	107.16	100.00	103.78	105.61	98.94	102.33
IA	47.77	44.54	45.97	47.01	42.40	44.98
IHs	56.21	52.01	53.88	55.52	52.08	54.04
IWsh	29.25	23.39	25.73	26.92	23.12	24.39
FI	90.37	74.13	79.59	90.77	69.62	79.65
NI	92.50	67.31	78.46	95.00	63.26	77.00
CI	90.45	78.28	83.56	94.48	82.08	86.85
CI, Children (Nos. 1-17)			86.37	CI, Children (Nos. 37-49)		87.30

*Measurements are in millimeters.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE III.—STATURE (St)

Measurements (cm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
140		1
1		
2		1
3		4
4		2
5		3
6		2
7	1	
8		1
9	3	2
150	1	1
1		2
2		1
3	2	1
4		
5		
6	2	
7	4	
8	2	
9	1	
160	3	
No. of cases	19	21
Average	155.13	146.40

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE IV.—STRETCH OF ARMS (Str)

Measurements (cm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
142		2
3		
4		1
5		3
6		1
7		2
8		2
9		
150		2
1		4
2	1	
3		
4	1	2
5	3	2
6	2	
7	2	
8		
9		
160		
1	2	
2		
3	1	
4		
5	1	
6	2	
7	1	
8		
9	1	
170	1	
1		
2	1	
No. of cases.....	19	21
Average.....	160.97	149.86

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

141 TABLE V.—HEIGHT OF SHOULDER (ACROMION) (Sh)

Measurements (cm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
115		1
6		2
7		1
8		4
9		
120		2
1	1	2
2	2	1
3	1	1
4	1	1
5	1	1
6	1	3
7	1	1
8		
9		
130	3	
1	2	
2	2	
3	2	
4	2	
No. of cases.....	19	20
Average.....	129.10	120.95

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

141

TABLE VI.—HEIGHT OF MIDDLE FINGER FROM SURFACE ON WHICH HEEL RESTS (Hmf)

Measurements (cm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
50		1
1		1
2		1
3	1	3
4		1
5	2	5
6	2	3
7	6	2
8	3	2
9		1
60	2	
1	2	
2	1	
No. of cases	19	20
Average	57.79	55.05

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE VII.—LENGTH OF ARM (A)

(Acromion to Tip of Second Finger)

Measurements (cm.)	Number of Individuals	
	Male	Female
1		1
2		1
3		3
4		1
5		2
6		3
7	3	3
8	1	3
9	3	3
70	3	
1	1	
2		
3	2	
4	2	
5	3	
6	1	
No. of cases	19	20
Average	71.34	65.90

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

141

TABLE VIII.—HEIGHT SITTING (Hs)

Measurements (cm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
75		2
6		2
7	1	2
8	1	1
9		6
80	1	3
1	2	1
2	1	2
3	3	2
4	1	
5	4	
6	4	
7		
8		
9	1	
No. of cases	19	21
Average	83.68	79.14

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

191

TABLE IX.—WIDTH OF SHOULDERS BETWEEN ACROMIA (Wsh)

Measurements (cm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
32		1
3		1
4		3
5	1	6
6	2	1
7	1	7
8	1	1
9	4	
40	2	
1	2	
2	4	
3	1	
4	1	
No. of cases.....	19	20
Average.....	39.92	35.72

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE X.—LENGTH OF FOREARM (La)
(Elbow to tip of middle finger)

Measurements (cm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
37		1
8		2
9		5
40		5
1	3	7
2	5	
3	6	
4	2	
5	2	
6	1	
No. of cases.....	19	20
Average.....	43.10	39.90

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE XI.—LENGTH OF HEAD—(LA)

Measurements (mm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
158		1
9		
160		
1		
2		2
3		1
4		3
5	1	
6		
7		
8	1	2
9		2
170	1	3
1		
2	1	1
3		3
4		
5	2	
6		
7		
8	4	1
9	1	
180	3	
1		
2		
3		
4	2	
5		
6		
7	2	
8		
9		
190		
1	1	
No. of cases	19	21
Average	170.36	168.28

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE XII.—WIDTH OF HEAD (Bb) [9]

Measurements (mm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
136	1	
7		1
8		1
9		
140		
1		
2		1
3	1	3
4	2	4
5		
6	2	1
7	2	1
8	3	3
9	2	
150		2
1	1	2
2	1	1
3		
4		1
5	1	
6		
7		
8	2	
9		
160		
1	1	
No. of cases	19	21
Average	145.94	145.04

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[46] TABLE XIII.—WIDTH OF FACE BETWEEN ZYGOMATIC ARCHES (WI)

Measurements (mm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
125		1
6		
7		1
8		1
9		2
130		2
1		4
2		2
3	2	2
4		3
5	4	2
6		1
7	2	
8		
9	1	
140		
1	1	
2	1	
3	3	
4	2	
5		
6	2	
7	1	
No. of cases	19	21
Average	139.89	131.42

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE XIV.—DISTANCE FROM HAIR LINE TO CHIN (Hfl) 141

Measurements (mm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
145		1
6		
7		1
8		
9		
150		
1		
2		
3		
4		1
5		2
6		1
7		1
8		1
9	1	2
160		1
1	1	
2	1	
3		1
4	1	1
5		2
6	2	1
7		
8	3	1
9	1	1
170		
1		1
2	1	1
3	1	1
4		

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE XIV.—*Continued*

Measurements (mm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
5	1	
6		
7	1	
8	1	
9	1	
180	1	
1	1	
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7	1	
No. of cases	19	21
Average	171.73	161.00

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE XV.—DISTANCE FROM NASION TO CHIN (HIII)

Measurements (mm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
92		1
3		
4		1
5		
6		
7		1
8		1
9		
100		1
1		2
2	1	
3	2	1
4		1
5		3
6	1	2
7	2	
8		3
9	1	
110	1	
1	2	1
2	1	1
3	2	
4		
5	1	1
6		
7	2	
8	2	1
9		
120		
1		
2	1	
No. of cases.....	19	21
Average.....	111.21	104.61

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

141

TABLE XVI.— HEIGHT OF NOSE (Ha)

Measurements (mm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
36	1	
7		
8		
9		1
40	1	2
1		1
2		1
3	1	3
4	1	3
5	2	2
6	3	3
7	1	1
8	3	1
9	1	1
50	1	2
1	2	
2	2	
No. of cases	19	21
Average	46.68	44.52

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE XVII—WIDTH OF NOSE BETWEEN ALE (Wa)

Measurements (mm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
30		1
1	1	2
2		3
3	2	5
4	2	3
5	3	1
6	1	2
7	4	
8	2	2
9	1	1
40	1	1
1	1	
2	1	
No. of cases	19	21
Average	36.42	34.14

TABLE XVIII—(IStr)

Index	Number of individuals			
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
97				1
8		1		1
9		3	1	1
100	1	6	3	4
1	2	1	3	1
2	1		5	3
3	5	1	3	1
4	4	1	4	1
5	2	2	1	
6	1	2	1	
7	3			
No. of cases	19	17	21	13
Average	103.26	101.37	102.33	100.62
Average (Nos. 5-17)		102.11		

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

141

TABLE XIX.—(IHs)

Index	Number of individuals			
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
51		1		
2	2		1	2
3	5	3	7	3
4	8	5	6	3
5	1	4	6	2
6	3	1	1	2
7		1		1
8		1		
9		1		
No. of cases	19	17	21	13
Average	53.88	54.71	54.04	54.46
Average (Nos. 5–17)		54.18		

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

141

TABLE XX—(IWsh)

Index	Number of individuals			
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
22		1		
3	1	4	4	1
4	3	5	10	2
5	5	5	3	9
6	4	2	2	1
7	4		1	
8	1			
9	1			
No. of cases	19	17	20	13
Average	25.73	23.78	24.39	23.59
Average (Nos. 5–17)		24.25		

TABLE XXI.—(Ia)

Index	Number of individuals			
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
36				1
7				
8				
9		1		
40				
1				1
2		4	1	
3		2	2	2
4		1	3	4
5	6	5	7	3
6	6	1	5	2
7	6	1	2	
8	1	2		
No. of cases	19	17	20	13
Average	45.97	44.29	44.98	43.58
Average (Nos. 5–17)		45.04		

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

141

TABLE XXII.—FACIAL INDEX (FI)

Index	Number of individuals			
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
65		1		
6				
7				
8		1		1
9				1
70		1	1	
1		3	1	1
2		2		
3		2		2
4	2	1	1	
5	4	1	4	1
6	1	1		1
7	1		1	2
8	1	1	1	
9		1	2	
80	1			
1	1	2	2	
2	3		2	
3	1		1	
4	2		1	
5	1			
6			2	
7			1	
8				
9				
90	1			
1			1	
No. of cases	19	17	21	13
Average	79.59	73.61	79.65	74.69
Average (Nos. 5–17)		74.63		

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE XXIII.—NASAL INDEX (NI)

Index	Number of individuals			
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
63			1	
4				
5				
6				
7	1			
8			1	
9	3		1	
70	1		2	
1				
2			2	
3	1	1		
4	2			
5			2	1
6			2	1
7		2	2	
8			2	1
9	2	1	1	1
80	2			
1		1		
2	2			
3	1			1
4	1	2		2
5		1	2	2
6				
7		1		
8			1	2
9		2	1	1
90		1		
1	1			1

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

141

TABLE XXIII.—*Continued*

Index	Number of individuals			
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
2	2	1		
3				
4		1		
5			1	
6				
7		2		
8				
9				
100		1		
No. of cases	19	17	21	13
Average	78.46	86.80	77.00	83.64
Average (Nos. 5-17)		87.41		

TABLE XXIV.—CEPHALIC INDEX (CI)

Index	Number of individuals			
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
76		1		
.5				
7				
.5				
8				
.5				
9				
.5		1		
80	2			
.5	2			

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE XXIV.—*Continued*

Index	Number of individuals			
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
1	2			
.5	1			
2			2	2
.5	2	1		
3	1		2	
.5	1	1		
4	2	2	1	
.5		1	1	
5			1	
.5		1	3	
6			1	3
.5				1
7		1	1	2
.5	1	1	1	
8			2	2
.5	2			
9	1	2	1	
.5				
90		1	2	
.5	2	2		
1		1		1
.5			1	
2			1	
.5				
3				2
.5				
4		1		
.5			1	
No. of cases	19	17	21	13
Average	83.58	86.37	86.85	87.30
Average (Nos. 5-17)		86.04		
No. Mesocephalic	10	3	4	2
No. Brachycephalic	9	14	17	11

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

141

TABLE XXV.—TABLE OF RELATIONSHIPS

f	= father	g f	= grandfather
m	= mother	g m	= grandmother
so	= son	g so	= grandson
d	= daughter	g d	= granddaughter
br	= brother	h	= husband
si	= sister	w	= wife

1 = so of 34, 57; br of 13, 14, 44, 49.
2 = so of 23, 52; br of 37.
3 = so of 36, 66; br of 20, 39.
4 = (name, Sapo)
5 = br of 9, 43.
6 = (name, Yukito)
7 = so of 35, 56.
8 = so of 30, 60.
9 = so of 29, 61; br of 5, 43.
10 = so of 33, 63; br of 19, 21. (name, Pablo)
11 = so of 62; g so of 68; br of 15; h of 55.
12 = so of 59.
13 = so of 34, 57; br of 1, 14, 44, 49.
14 = so of 34, 57; br of 1, 13, 44, 49.
15 = so of 62; g so of 68; br of 11.
16 = so of 32, 65; br of 47.
17 = so of 67; br of 31, 45. (name, Jenaro)
18 = (name, Pipa)
19 = so of 33, 63; br of 10, 21. (name, Bellisario)
20 = so of 36, 66; br of 3, 39.
21 = so of 33, 63; br of 10, 19; h of 50. (name, Juan)
22 = h of 51. (name, Pehla'sa)
23 = f of 2, 37; h of 52. (name, Piwañtcitcios Barfikl)
24 = so of 68; br of 62, 59; f of 40. (name, Juan Vicente)
25 = h of 53. (name, José Lisandro)
26 = br of 46. (name, Antonio Tamonero)
27 = h of 58.
28 = br of 29.
29 = h of 61; f of 9, 43; br of 28. (name, Chibu)
30 = f of 8; h of 60. (name, Antonio Nyapa)
31 = so of 67; br of 17, 45; f of 42, 48. (name, Ramón Pichota)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE XXV.—*Continued* 141

32 = h of 65; f of 16, 47.
33 = h of 63; f of 10, 19, 21. (name, José Trejo)
34 = h of 57; f of 1, 13, 14, 44, 49. (name, Rosendo)
35 = f of 7; h of 56. (name, Sylvester)
36 = h of 66; f of 3, 20, 39. (name, Manuel Sanfilil)
37 = d of 23, 52; si of 2.
38 = si of 41.
39 = d of 36, 66; si of 20, 3.
40 = d of 24; g d of 68.
41 = si of 38.
42 = d of 31; si of 48.
43 = d of 29, 61; si of 5, 9.
44 = d of 34, 57; si of 1, 13, 14, 49.
45 = d of 67; si of 31, 17.
46 = si of 26.
47 = d of 65, 32; si of 16.
48 = d of 31; si of 42.
49 = d of 34, 57; si of 1, 13, 14, 44.
50 = w of 21.
51 = w of 22.
52 = w of 23; m of 2, 37
53 = w of 25.
55 = w of 11.
56 = w of 35; m of 7.
57 = w of 34; m of 1, 13, 14, 44, 49.
58 = w of 27.
59 = m of 12; si of 24.
60 = w of 30; m of 8.
61 = w of 29; m of 9, 43.
62 = w of 68; m of 11, 15; si of 24.
63 = w of 33; m of 10, 19, 21.
65 = w of 32; m of 47, 16.
66 = w of 36; m of 3, 20, 39.
67 = m of 17, 31, 45. (name, Maria)
68 = m of 24, 62; g m of 11, 15, 40.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

NUMERAL SYSTEM

302 The notes on and analysis of Cayapa numerals here given were made the subject of a short contribution to the *Putnam Anniversary Volume*, 1909, in which they appear under the title of "The Cayapa Numeral System." They are based on the accompanying table of numbers, which runs to 10,000. Only one informant could carry the count above a few thousands, but there seems no doubt that the higher thousands here given are correct.

The Cayapa numeral system is a quinary-decimal-centenary one with certain variations, to be noted later, and the rules on which it is based are well fixed and regular. In it there are certain points of special interest. One of these is its centenary nature, according to which there is no separate term for thousand; but hundred is used as the base of all numbers from 100 up, thus making a number like 4000 forty hundreds, not four thousands.

Also, there appear two terms which show what may be regarded as traces of other systems, though on account of the lack of other terms in support of these systems, they must be treated as only possibilities. Four is formed on the base two, thus showing what may be a trace of a binary system; but this is the only evidence of such a system found in the whole series of numbers. Especially significant in considering this term is the fact that three exists independently of two, and thus points strongly to a system higher than the binary. The second extraneous term is twenty, which appears entirely unrelated to any of the other numbers, either lower or higher. This might be taken as a trace of a system of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

vigesimal nature, but it lacks even so much support as four, and the binary system for it has not even one other number of a form in any way resembling it. On the other hand, though two other terms of the system are held in common with a neighboring language, the terms for four and twenty do not show this indication of possible borrowing either by one people or the other.

An unusual feature here shown is the use of two distinct terms for the same number in two different parts of the system. This occurs in ten, where *pa'i'a* is used up to nineteen; and *tcú'ñga*, apparently a borrowed term, from thirty up.

The order given to the figures of the various denominations is as follows:

All compound numbers from ten up which contain a figure of the units order have this as the final term. Thus thirteen is ten three. The numbers six to nine are compounds of five with the four lower numbers. Here the same rule is followed and the numbers one to four are terminal.

In all tens and in all hundreds, which in this system include the thousands also, the term tens or hundreds is the final one, being preceded by the number of tens or hundreds in the numeral in question. Thus 40 is four tens, 400 is four hundreds, and 4000 is forty hundreds.

In no case is there found anything in the nature of a connective term between the parts of a compound number.

Following the phonetic laws of the language, certain terms, if not used as the ultimate ones, are changed when they occur in a compound numeral. Thus *pé'ma*

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

SD2
194

is the unit three, and *pa'it'a pēma* is thirteen, but *pē'ñ tcūñga* is thirty. So far as two and three are concerned, the change is regular and universal. One changes in the hundreds place in the numerals one hundred to one hundred ninety-nine, and in six when this occurs as a terminal figure. Five has three forms. According to these phonetic laws also, these numbers, when occurring in units or in the units place, undergo the same changes if followed by other terms possessing the necessary sounds. Thus, in the sentence "he has three new ollas," *ya-tcī kasa pē'n pta'ma kū*ⁿ, literally "his new three ollas has," the change of form of the numeral is necessary. Equally correct, however, is *ya-tcī kasa pta'ma pēma kū*ⁿ, in which the surrounding sounds do not necessitate the change. It appears also that the numbers two and three, and perhaps one and five, may exert an influence upon the term following, as in the cases of *pa'i patsa* and *pē'ñ batsa*, in which the change of the second term would seem to be related to the preceding sounds.

Rules of Composition

*** The numbers on which the Cayapa numeral system is based are 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 20, and 100. On these the composition proceeds as follows:

Four is *ta-2*.

Six to nine are 5-*dic* 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively.

Ten alone and as a component of the numbers 11 to 19 and other higher numbers in which these occur is *pa'it'a*, a term quite different from tens (*tcū'ñga*) used

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

in the composition of the tens from 30 up and in all higher numbers in which these occur.

Beginning with 11 all units proceed regularly by the simple addition of the unit terms 1 to 9 to the particular ten under consideration.

Twenty has a name which, unlike the other tens, is not related in any way to the units.

Beginning with 30 all the tens proceed regularly by the addition of *tcū'ūga* to the unit terms 3 to 9, with certain changes in some of these terms, as elsewhere noted.

Hundred is the last grand division, and all the higher numbers are simply the term hundred preceded by the term indicating the number of hundreds in the particular numeral.

Basal Numbers

One occurs as a basal number in the following: In 1 where it is rendered *ma'iē*; in 6, where it is rendered *ma'lyō*; and in 100, where it is rendered *maw*, and in all higher numbers containing one of these in composition. In the accompanying table of numerals these three forms occur in the following numbers:

ma'iē occurs in 1, 11, 21, 60, 101, 600, 1100, 1600, 2100, and 6000.*
ma'lyō occurs in 6 and 16
maw occurs in 100, 101, 110, 120, and 10000.

Two occurs as a basal number in the following: in 2, 4, 7, and 9, in all of which it is rendered *pa'lyō*. It is

* While 1 in the composite number 6 is rendered *ma'lyō*, this is true only where 6 is the terminal figure in the higher composite numbers. In all other cases it is rendered *ma'iē*.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

also rendered *pa'lyé*, if in the units place, in all higher numbers in which any of these four occur. If, however, they appear in the tens or a higher column, 2 becomes *pai*, as in the case in ordinary sentence structure; for instance, *pai kä'ica*, two dogs. An exception appears in 20 and 2000, since 20 is rendered by a term, *ma'n-tsalóra*, entirely unrelated to any of the other numbers and also since the system proceeds strictly on a centenary basis from 100 up.

In the accompanying table these two forms occur as follows:

pa'lyé occurs in 2, 4, 7, 9, 12, 14, 17, and 19.
pai occurs in 40, 70, 90, 200, 400, 700, 900, 1200, 1400, 1700, 1900, 2200, 4000, 7000, and 9000.

Three occurs as a basal number in 3 and 8, in both of which it is rendered *pi'ma*, and in all higher numbers which contain either of these. In all cases in which either occurs in the units column it retains its original unit form given above. Wherever it occurs in the tens or in a higher column its form is changed to *pió*, here again following the ordinary phonetic rules. These two forms are here found in the following numbers:

pi'ma in 3, 8, 13, and 18.
pió in 30, 80, 300, 800, 1300, 1800, 3000, and 8000.

Five is used as a basal number as follows: in 5, where it is rendered *ma'n-da*, and 6, 7, 8, and 9, in all of which it is rendered *ma'n-dic*, and in all higher numbers in which these occur. In the higher numbers where 5 appears in any of the columns from the tens up, its

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

802.

form is *maé*. Though 5 appears in the units as *ma'o-de*, it would seem, when its other forms are considered, that this is really a compound and that its simplest form is *mao* or *maé*. As with the lower numbers, in all cases in which 5 appears in the units column, it retains its unit form, but in all other cases it is changed. Since the system is in part of quinary one, 6 begins the second set or group, and 6, 7, 8, and 9 are composed of 5, with 1, 2, 3, and 4, respectively, added. In these the term 5 takes the form *ma'o-dic*, probably *ma'o-de-ic* in full. In this form it occurs in all the higher numbers in which 6, 7, 8, and 9 appear. As above stated, in any of the higher numbers in which 5 itself appears in any of the columns above the units, it has the form *maé*, which is the same rendition that it has in a sentence when followed by such a term as *yo* or *ká'ica*, as *ma'é yo*, five houses, or *ma'é ká'ica*, five dogs. In the list of numerals the three forms occur as follows:

ma'o-de occurs in 5 and 11.
ma'o-dic occurs in 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 17, 18, 19, 60, 70, 80, 90, 600, 700, 800, 900, 1600, 1700, 1800, 1900, 6000, 7000, 8000, and 9000.
maé occurs in 50, 500, 1500, and 5000.

Ten occurs as a basal number as follows: in the numbers 10 to 19, inclusive, where it is rendered *pa'ii'a*, and in the higher numbers in which any one of these appears. This term ten is quite a different one from tens, *ta'iga*, which is used in the numbers from 30 up. This unusual use of a term for tens which is entirely distinct from the simple 10 appears to be explainable through borrowing, since in a neighboring

402.
177

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

language, the Quichua,* both 10 and tens are rendered *tsá'ēga*, though the cause of such borrowing, if such it is, remains uncertain. These two terms appear in the accompanying list as follows:

> *pa'ē'a* appears in 10 to 19 inclusive, and in 1000 to 1900 inclusive.
>
> *tsá'ēga* appears in 20 to 90 inclusive, and in 2000 to 9000 inclusive.

Twenty, *ma'nicalēra*, one of the two exceptions to the regularity of this numeral system, appears as a basal number in 20 and in all higher numbers in which it, as such, occurs. In the accompanying list

> *ma'nicalēra* appears in 20, 21, 120, 2000, 2100, and 2200.

Hundred, *pa'lsa* or *ha'lsa*, depending on its phonetic surroundings, forms the base of all numbers from 100 up. This includes the thousands also, since the system is centenary above 100. Thus, 8000 is not eight thousands but eighty hundreds.

* There is in Cayapa no nominal plural, hence *tsá'ēga* and *ha'lsa* are both singular and plural so far as form is concerned. The former, not being the term used for 10, is really used only in a plural sense, but the latter is used as both singular and plural. Further, the term *tsá'ēga* is, according to a short Quichua vocabulary obtained from a couple of informants temporarily on the Rio Cayapas, the regular term ten in that language and is used throughout their entire system. The term hundred has also a close parallel, *pa'lsak*, in Quichua, but, while Cayapa has a strict centenary system above 100, Quichua carries the hundreds only as far as 1000, which is *uara'ēga*, a term entirely unrelated to hundred.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

pa'lsa or *ba'lsa* appears here in 100, 101, 110, 120, 200 to 2200 inclusive and 3000 to 10000 inclusive. 802

Cayapa Numerals		Analysis
1	*maiá*	1*
2	*pa'lyá*	2
3	*pi'ma*	3
4	*ta'l-palyá*	*tal-2*
5	*ma'n-da*	*5-da*
6	*man-dic ma'lyá*	*5-dic* 1
7	*man-dic pa'lyá*	*5-dic* 2
8	*man-dic pi'ma*	*5-dic* 3
9	*man-dic ta'l-palyá*	*5-dic* *tal-2*
10	*pa'ti'a*	10
11	*pa'ti'a ma'iá*	10 1
12	*pa'ti'a pa'lyá*	10 2
13	*pa'ti'a pi'ma*	10 3
14	*pa'ti'a ta'l-palyá*	10 *tal-2*
15	*pa'ti'a ma'n-da*	10 *5-da*
16	*pa'ti'a ma'n-dic malyá*	10 *5-dic* 1
17	*pa'ti'a ma'n-dic palyá*	10 *5-dic* 2
18	*pa'ti'a ma'n-dic pima*	10 *5-dic* 3
19	*pa'ti'a man-dic ta'l-palyá*	10 *5-dic* *tal-2*
20	*ma'ntcalòra*	20
21	*ma'ntcalòra ma'iá*	20 1
30	*pi'ñ tcúñga*	3 tens [See pp. 453-54]
40	*ta'l-pai tcúñga*	*tal-2* tens
50	*ma'ñ tcúñga*	5 tens
60	*man-dic ma'iñ tcúñga*	*5-dic* 1 ten
70	*man-dic pa'i tcúñga*	*5-dic* 2 tens
80	*man-dic pi'ñ tcúñga*	*5-dic* 3 tens
90	*man-dic ta'l-pai tcúñga*	*5-dic* *tal-2* tens
100	*mam ba'lsa*	1 hundred
101	*mam batsa ma'iá*	1 hundred 1
110	*mam batsa pa'ti'a*	1 hundred 10
120	*mam batsa ma'ntcalòra*	1 hundred 20

* So far all efforts to reduce these terms to tangible objects such as are often used by primitive peoples in counting have not met with success.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

802

Cayapa Numerals		Analysis
200	*pai pa'tsa*	2 hundreds
300	*pẽñ ba'tsa*	3 hundreds
400	*tal-pai pa'tsa*	*tal*-2 hundreds
500	*mañba'tsa*	5 hundreds
600	*man-dic ma'iñ batsa*	5-*dic* 1 hundreds
700	*man-dic pa'i patsa*	5-*dic* 2 hundreds
800	*man-dic pẽ'ñ batsa*	5-*dic* 3 hundreds
900	*man-dic ta'l-pai patsa*	5-*dic* tal-2 hundreds
1000	*pa'iṭ'a patsa*	10 hundreds
1100	*pa'iṭ'a ma'iñ batsa*	10 1 hundreds
1200	*pa'iṭ'a pa'i patsa*	10 2 hundreds
1300	*pa'iṭ'a pẽ'ñ batsa*	10 3 hundreds
1400	*pa'iṭ'a ta'l-pai patsa*	10 *tal*-2 hundreds
1500	*pa'iṭ'a ma'ñ batsa*	10 5 hundreds
1600	*pa'iṭ'a man-dic ma'iñ batsa*	10 5-*dic* 1 hundreds
1700	*pa'iṭ'a man-dic pa'i patsa*	10 5-*dic* 2 hundreds
1800	*pa'iṭ'a man-dic pẽ'ñ batsa*	10 5-*dic* 3 hundreds
1900	*pa'iṭ'a man-dic ta'l-pai patsa*	10 5-*dic* *tal*-2 hundreds
2000	*ma'ntcalŏra patsa*	20 hundreds
2100	*mantcalŏra ma'iñ batsa*	20 1 hundreds
2200	*mantcalŏra pa'i patsa*	20 2 hundreds
3000	*pẽ'ñ tcūñga patsa*	3 tens hundreds
4000	*ta'l-pai tcūñga patsa*	*tal*-2 tens hundreds
5000	*ma'ñ tcūñga patsa*	5 tens hundreds
6000	*man-dic ma'iñ tcuñga patsa*	5-*dic* 1 tens hundreds
7000	*man-dic pa'i tcūñga patsa*	5-*dic* 2 tens hundreds
8000	*man-dic pẽ'ñ tcūñga patsa*	5-*dic* 3 tens hundreds
9000	*man-dic ta'l-pai tcūñga patsa*	5-*dic* *tal*-2 tens hundreds
10000	*ma'm batsa patsa*	1 hundred hundreds

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

A SYSTEM OF MNEMONIC WRITING

802
176
211
[177]

As has already been noted, the Cayapa have no written language and express nothing in writing of any kind. An interesting example of the power of adaptation, however, was given by one individual along this line. The incident, while it has no direct bearing on the general life and culture of the tribe as a whole, may perhaps be significant and of interest when the general subject of mnemonics and hieroglyphic writing is considered, for it shows how readily a single individual of a tribe may borrow a principle which is entirely foreign to the culture of his own people and, with this as a basis, may invent a new system which might give rise to an entirely new order of things if it were carried to its full possibilities. Furthermore, this system is of considerable interest from a phonetic point of view, since it shows that it is founded on strictly phonetic considerations and thus shows what may be termed the natural tendency of the mind of man to correlate and arrange at least some linguistic ideas along logical, phonetic lines.

On the arrival of the author in the Cayapa country he took up his residence with a prominent official of the tribe known, according to the present-day Spanish terminology, as "El Secretario del Gobernacion." When the author expressed a desire to learn the Cayapa language, his host manifested an equal desire to learn English. It was therefore mutually agreed that each should instruct the other. A beginning was made with the numeral system, the author being given the names of the Cayapa numerals. As the terms were pronounced,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

176
211

careful record of them was made in writing. However, when the Secretario was told the English numerals, he was entirely dependent on his memory, since no system of writing was known to him. On the following day, when each endeavored to recite his lesson to the other, the Secretario was greatly surprised to hear the author read from his notes and correctly pronounce the Cayapa numerals told him the day before, whereas he, on the other hand, had much difficulty in getting his pronunciation correct and in remembering certain of the English numerals. He asked the author how it was possible to remember these numbers and the pronunciation of them; and upon being told about the aid to the memory given by the writing, he was immediately desirous of trying such a plan himself. Being provided with pencil and paper, he thereupon carefully recorded the first ten of the accompanying set of mnemonic characters (fig. 29). With this paper before him he was able, on the following day, to the author's surprise, to recount with almost perfect exactness these first ten English numerals. A day or two more added another set, and in the course of about a week he had worked out a complete system of mnemonic characters for the numerals from one to one hundred. Furthermore, an interesting feature of this set of mnemonic characters is the fact that they are strictly decimal in their composition, whereas the Cayapa numerals form a much more complex system, it being quinary-decimal-centenary.

The units themselves appear to be entirely unrelated one to another, and as the author watched the Indian making these characters it was evident that a pure proc-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

802
176
211

ess of invention was evolving in his mind, his chief desire being in each instance to get some character that

FIG. 28.—Mnemonic characters

should represent the particular number and which should be different from all the others.

In forming most of the characters to represent the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

902
176
211

numbers from eleven to nineteen he took carefully into account those representing the units one to nine. In fact, he always referred to these and in most cases reproduced them entirely, or in part, as portions of the characters representing the 'teens. Indeed the characters representing fourteen to nineteen are clearly and obviously these same unit characters with the addition of the crowfoot beneath, which represented to his mind the idea of 'teen—not that it was related to ten, but the crowfoot actually represented to him the sounds comprising 'teen. It is even more evident in thirteen, where the crowfoot first appears but where the unit character for three is not present, that the various parts of these characters actually represented to his mind sounds, rather than precisely correlated ideas of the numeral system. This became clear whenever he used this table of characters, for when he first repeated these numbers he did so very slowly and pointed to the particular part of the character which represented the sound which he was speaking. For instance, in the case of fourteen he would point to the square enclosing the circle and say "four;" then his pencil would go down to the crowfoot and he would say "teen." Likewise in nineteen the oval was nine and the crowfoot 'teen. As still further evidence of the phonetic nature of these mnemonic characters, eleven and twelve are excellent examples. To our minds eleven and twelve belong logically to the set of 'teens, though "'teen" does not appear in them. To the Cayapa's mind, however, the vertical line with the four dots on each side in the sign for eleven represented "e," and the oval with its heavy crescent above

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

302
176
211

represented "leven." Likewise, in the case of twelve, the oval with the crescent on the side represented "two," and the vertical line with the four dots on the left represented "helve." Furthermore, he learned this number not as twelve but as "two-helve," and no amount of correction at any later time could change his pronunciation. In both of these instances we have a composition of the character along strictly phonetic lines. In the higher numbers a similar condition prevailed, though in many instances the same sound or set of sounds was represented by different characters. For instance, the "ty" in the higher tens was variously represented. In fifty it was the long heavy curved line, in sixty the crowfoot, and eighty the dot. In each instance this character forms the lower part of these respective characters. In seventy it was the vertical line, and in thirty the crowfoot, which form in these instances the upper part of the character. Forty and ninety are simply four and nine somewhat altered.

As above mentioned, the idea of the addition of ten to the unit in the numbers eleven to nineteen is indicated by joining directly to the characters one to nine certain other characters representing the sounds, not the idea, expressed in "teen." Likewise also in the numbers twenty-one to twenty-nine. The upper part of the character twenty is joined directly to the unit character and forms an integral part of it. From thirty onward, however, a different method was used. Here the unit character was placed directly after the character representing the particular ten which was being used, thus requiring two independent characters instead of one

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

302
176
211

composite character to represent any particular number. This arrangement of the characters may have been more or less due to the fact that the inventor had seen the English numbers and had had these explained to him. His arrangement of these may possibly have been influenced by the arrangement of the English, and the fact that the lower numbers were not arranged in a similar manner may be because when he invented them he did not thoroughly comprehend this arrangement of the English.

In the accompanying set of these characters it will be observed that in large measure the tens are formed on the units as bases. There are, however, certain exceptions to this rule. For instance, ten, twenty, and thirty are evidently formed independently without taking the numbers one, two, and three into consideration. The remainder of the tens, however, from forty to ninety inclusive, are palpably formed directly from the units four to nine inclusive by the simple addition of some extra stroke or by the alteration of the unit character.

In view of the above-mentioned phonetic nature of this whole system it appears natural that these three numbers, ten, twenty, and thirty, should be different from their corresponding units, since the sounds involved in these three are very different from the sounds involved in the same units. Attention should be called also to the fact that the character thirty strongly resembles thirteen and that to the informant's mind the upper branching portion of the character thirteen represented the portion of this numeral which we pronounce "thir," while the crowfoot below represented "teen," and that likrwise

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

902
176
211

the very similar lower portion of the character thirty represented the same sound "thir" while the crowfoot above it represented "ty."

It is therefore evident that, while this set of characters is strictly mnemonic in its use, it is formed on a phonetic basis. It is, as first stated, the original invention of a single individual and in no way represents a tribal characteristic, but with it at hand this individual appeared to be greatly assisted in his difficult task of learning to count in English, and so assiduously did he study his system that in the course of a short time he was able to count fluently from one to one hundred. For a considerable length of time he was unable to do this without the aid of his set of numeral characters, but ultimately, of course, he became so familiar with this that he repeated them easily from memory.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

INDEX

Achote, 69–70, 190, 296, 318, 364. See *Dyes*
Adze, 138–140
Agriculture, 37, 43, 72, 79–111
Alligator eggs as food, 73; in designs, 287
Amazon basin, 2
American Geographical Society, xvi
Amphibians, 14
Amusements. See *Dolls; Toys*
Animal designs, 288–311
Animals in myth, 382; of cave spirits, 363, 366
Ants, 17–22
Aridity. See *Climate*
Axes used by shamans, 350

Backs, William, xv
Bait, 235. See *Fishing*
Balsa wood, 47, 165
Bamboo, 7, 330, 385; quiver of, 115
Bananas, 36, 72, 79, 82
Bandilas technic, 229–232. See *Textiles*
Baptism, 318–319
Barbacoas stock, 26, 29, 30
Bark cloth, 106–108, 163, 183, 280
Basketry, 184–237, 299. See *Textiles*
Bayuco, Santiago M., xv
Beads, necklaces of, 66. See *Ornaments*
Beeswax, 22, 87, 111, 112, 129, 142–145, 180, 181, 349
Beetles. See *Insects*
Beetle-wings, necklaces of, 23
Bejuco, 344, 350
Belts, 273
Benches, 154–158. See *Seats*
Benediction, 325
Bruchat, H., cited, 29
Birds, 13, 72; in designs, 287, 299–311; in myth, 382; of cave spirits, 363, 368
Birth, 317–318, 383. See *Children*

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Blow-gun, 64, 111–119, 133
Bodu, 397–407. See *Fiesta*
Body-painting, 63, 69–71, 163, 285, 296; by spirits, 374. See *Face-painting*
Bolsas, 37
Bowls, wooden, 161
Bows and arrows, 111, 118, 133
Boys, instruction of, 42. See *Children*
Bread. See *Bananas*
Brinton, D. G., 26–28
Brushes, 142
Bumerangs, xii
Burden-bands, 230–239
Burden-baskets. See *Basketry*

Cacao, 43, 72, 79, 92–94, 152, 251
Cages, basketry, 236
Calendar, 72, 110
Calabash used in weaving, 272; utensils, 86, 90, 104, 108–109, 158, 166–173, 265, 288, 293, 390. See *Gourds*
Camarones, Rio, 35, 152, 403
Cane-mills, 60–61, 83–92
Canoes, 43, 107, 110, 111, 133–154, 171, 251, 285–286; attacked by spirits, 377. See *Fishing; Travel*
Castigation, 325, 396–397, 402–403, 602–607. See *Punishment*
Catholic influence, 316–323, 329, 331, 359, 363, 387, 395–396
Cat-o'-nine-tails, 322, 387, 393. See *Castigation*
Cave spirits, 365–369, 376–375
Cayapas, Rio, xiii, xiv, 1–5, 16, 18, 29, 32, 35, 37, 38, 49, 60, 108, 151–152, 165, 198, 313, 352, 355, 361, 369–371, 375, 379, 454
Centipedes, 17. See *Insects*
Cephalic index, 409–411, 444–445
Ceremonies, 104, 383–407. See *Fiesta*
Chapil, 190, 230. See *Palm*
Charcoal, 379, 380
Chiefs. See *Government*
Children, 42–44, 134, 152, 317; clothing of, 68–69. See *Names*
Chocolate, 174; stirrers, 160. See *Cacao*
Chocolatillo. See *Basketry*

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

INDEX

Chola, 30, 198, 203, 227, 352
Chonta dura, 98–99
Christmas, 383, 394–395
Churches, 61–63
Clay, sinkers of, 181; used with blow-gun, 116. See *Pottery*
Climate, 3
Cloth. See *Bark-cloth; Textiles*
Clothing, 63–71, 152; of Indios Bravos, 32. See *Dress; Textiles; Weaving*
Cockroaches, 18
Coconuts, 29
Coconuts, 72, 79, 102, 168
Coffins, 330
Coins, necklaces of, 66
Colombia, tribes in, 29, 30
Color, skin, 414–416
Colorados *Indians*, 26, 27, 29, 30
Cooking. See *Food; Pottery*
Cooking *implements*, 159–162, 172
Copper, ornaments of, 24
Cordage, 274–285, 393. See *Fiber; Nets and Netting*
Corn, 37, 79, 96–98, 161, 162, 172, 322
Corriente *Grande*, 2
Cosadera, 280
Cosmology, 352–356
Cotacachi, *Mt.*, 1, 30
Cotton, 79, 103, 113, 183, 251–253. See *Textiles*
Courtship, 321–322
Cousade, 317
Crab in designs, 288, 290–311. See *Land-crabs*
Cradles. See *Hammocks*
Creation, 355–356
Crime, 38–39, 315. See *Punishment*
Crinande, 184, 190. See *Basketry*
Crosses, decoration with, 67
Crustacea, 15
Cuaiqueros *Indians*, 27

Dabele, *Rio*, 1
Daily life, 39–45
Dances, 325–329
Darts. See *Blow-guns*

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Dasle, Rio, 27
Deadfall. See *Traps*
Death, 330–334, 383. See *Souls*
Decorative art, 71, 183, 285–311
Depredations, 38
Designs on basketry, 199; on calabash utensils, 168–169, 173; on canoes, 142–143; on mashers, 160; on paddles, 150; on pottery, 179; on textiles, 183. See *Body-painting; Decorative art*
Dip-nets, 78. See *Fishing*
Diseases, 15, 16, 26
Distillation, 163. See *Rum*
Divorce, 329–330
Doctors. See *Shamanism*
Dog in designs, 287, 292
Dolls, 43, 158–159, 285–287
Dot design, 292–293
Dō technic, 223–228
Dress. See *Clothing*
Drums. See *Musical instruments*
Dumarest Brothers, xiv
Dwarfs, 360
Dwellings. See *Houses; Pile-dwellings*
Dyes, 258–259. See *Pigments*

Ear-ornaments, 66, 67
Earthquakes, 376
Easter, 383. See *Fiesta de Semana Santa*
Eggs, 72–73, 287, 323, 353, 364
El Morro island, xiii
Esmeraldas, xii, 1, 28, 33, 35, 102, 387
Esmeraldas province, xiii, 1, 16, 24, 25, 37–38
Esmeraldas, Rio, 4, 26, 33, 252
Etiquette, 321, 403
Eye designs, 289–311
Eyes, 413

Face-painting, 165, 190, 287; by spirits, 364. See *Body-painting; Painting*
Facial index, 442
Family life, 39–40, 42–43
Fans, 183–185, 239–248, 285, 289

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Fauna, 11–25
Feast for the dead, 391. See *Fiestas; Wedding-feast*
Fiber, palm, 101–102. See *Cotton; Pita fiber; Spinning; Textiles; Weaving*
Field Museum of Natural History, xvi
Fiesta de Agosto, 384, 395–397
Fiesta de Noche Buena, 394–395
Fiesta de Semana Santa, 60, 384–394
Fiestas, 314
Fish, 14, 72; how cooked, 75–76
Fishing, 36, 41, 121–132
Fleas, 15–16, 25
Flora. See *Trees*
Food, 72–78; at fiesta, 398–400; insects as, 22–23. See *Feast; Game*

Galapagos islands, 3
Game, 11–15. See *Hunting*
Genesis. See *Creation*
Geographical situation, xvi
Giants, 352, 360, 361, 371–372, 375
Gifts, wedding, 322
Girls, duties of, 40. See *Children*
Glossary of manta designs, 307–311
Godparents, 324
Gold, ornaments of, 24. See *Metal-work; Treasure*
Gorgona island, 30, 347
Gourds, tops made of, 43. See *Calabash*
Government, 40, 312–316
Grubs. See *Larvæ*
Guabot, 72, 109–110
Guarapo. See *Rum; Sugar-cane*
Guayabamba, Rio, 370
Guayacan, 7, 9, 46, 134, 147–148
Guayaquil, 16, 25; Gulf of, 27

Habitat, 1, 31
Hair, 411–412
Hair-dressing, 69
Hammocks, 68, 251, 284–285
Hampers. See *Basketry*
Handles, basketry, 236–237

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

INDEX

Hats, 66
Health conditions, 25–26
Hodson, George D., xii–xiv
Hovadores, 35, 69, 367, 377, 378
Heye, George G., xi, xvi
Heye, Marie Antoinette, expedition, xi
History, 31–39
Hoja blanca, 10, 86, 103, 152, 189–190, 323. See *Basketry*
Hoja de chapil, 184, 190. See *Basketry*
Hoja negra, 184, 190. See *Basketry*
Hooks, wooden, 163. See *Fishing*
Horse in designs, 289
Horses, 31
Hospitality, 152–153
Houses, 5, 45–63, 313, 332–333
Human form in designs, 287
Hunters attacked by spirits, 375
Hunting, 41, 111–121

Ibarra, 2, 30, 31, 39, 356
Iguana as food, 72–73
Illness caused by spirits, 364. See *Diseases; Medicine*
Images, 60, 326, 389–391, 394. See *Dolls*
Implements. See *Calabash; Stone; Wood*
Inca, 30, 31. See *Quichua*
Indian Bones, 32–35, 369–371
Insects, 15–25; as food, 23, 73, 75; in designs, 290–311
Intoxicants. See *Rum*
Iscuandes Indians, 27
Ivory-nut. See *Tagua*

Jaguars, 363, 368; carved on seats, 287; in myth, 31, 382

Ka'pá technic, 207–216
Kechua. See *Quichua*
Kinship, 334–343
Knives of cane, 276
Königlicher Museum für Völkerkunde, xv
Ku'me spirits, 373–374

Lances, 111, 118, 133
Land-crabs, 19, 78. See *Crabs*
Language of the Cayapa, xv. See *Linguistic relations*

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

DEU *Larva* as food, 23, 73, 77
Lashing, 322. *See Cordage; Rope*
La Tola, xiii, 395–396
La Tolita, xi, xiii, xiv, 24, 33, 39
Laws. See *Government*
Leases, necklaces of, 66. See *Palms*
Lemons, 110, 114
Lightning, 362
Limes, 110, 114
Linguistic relations, 27–30
Lips, 413
Lizard in designs, 298. See *Reptiles*
Looms. See *Textiles; Weaving*
Low-charms, 321
Low-songs, 321

Machetes, 157–158, 168–170
Magic, 33–35, 321, 330, 371. See *Sorcery*
Malaria, 16, 26
Mammals, 12, 72
Manabi, 4, 156, 287
Manisis Indians, 27
Mantas, 273; designs on, 299–311. See *Dress; Textiles; Weaving*
Manufactures, 133–285
Marimba. See *Musical instruments*
Marriage, 315, 321–330, 383, 401
Marriage feast. See *Boda*
Material culture, 45
Mats, 183, 185, 248–251, 285, 289
Mealing-stones, 163–165
Meat, how cooked, 75–76
Medicine practices, 165, 344–352, 357–359
Mesh-sticks, 281. See *Nets and Netting*
Metal-work, ancient, 24, 33
Migration, 31, 356
Mill. See *Cane-mill*
Milpese. See *Palms*
Minerals, 23–25
Mnemonic writing, 457–463
Moches, 273–274
Mollusks, 14

3; Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Monkey in designs, 298, 292
Monsters. See *Ghosts; Spirits*
Moon affects house-building, 57. See *Cosmology*
Mosquitoes, 15–16, 25, 349
Murder, 313. See *Crime*
Musical instruments, 327, 329, 380
Mythology, 381–383

Names, 318–320
Nahjara, 380
Napa, Antonio, xiv, 83
Necklaces, 23, 65–66, 67. See *Ornaments*
Negroes, 30–31, 37–39, 56, 96, 99, 103, 314, 332, 352, 370, 387, 395, 406
Nets and Netting, 118, 183, 276–282. See *Fishing*
Nicknames. See *Names*
Noche Buena, 383. See *Christmas*
Nose, 412–413, 438–439, 443
Numeral system, 448–456
Nuts, tops made of, 43, 180. See *Tops*

Officials, 324. See *Government*
Ofrendas. See *Fiestas*
Onzole, Rio, 35, 37, 81, 377, 379
Oranges, 110
Ornaments, 63, 326, 415. See *Designs*

Paddles, canoe, 147–151, 285, 287; for food, 161. See *Canoes*
Painting. See *Body-painting; Designs; Face-painting*
Paiú u'hmú spirits, 375–376
Pa'Lámbele spirits, 376–377
Palms, 6, 10–11; a food product, 72, 98–102; used in basketry, 184
Paludisme. See *Malaria*
Pambil, 198
Panama, xii
Paniquita, 29
Pan-pipes, 66
Papayas, 72, 110
Passion-play, 391
Patia, Rio, 26–27
Patterns. See *Designs; Ornamentation*

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Pekūrū pū'tyū spirits, 376
Peje bravo spirits, 377
Pelican designs, 292
Pendants. See *Ornaments*
Pepper, George H., xvi
Peter, George, xv
Physical anthropology, 408–445
Picha'lyī defined, 184. See *Basketry*
Pictographs, 457
Pigments, 189–190. See *Body-painting; Dyes; Face-painting*
Pigmies, 353, 376–377
Pile-dwellings, 5, 7. See *Houses*
Pineapples, 72, 79, 94–95
Pita fiber, 79–80, 105–106, 112, 120, 126, 129–131, 139, 145–147, 184–188. See *Basketry; Cordage; Weaving*
Pī'tcūlya spirits, 374–375
Pī pī'nī spirits, 379–381
Plague, 15, 25. See *Diseases*
Plantains, 36, 37, 43, 72–82, 127, 152, 160–162, 164, 165, 172, 181, 273, 322
Plant designs, 289–311. See *Designs*
Plants, 6
Platinum ornaments, 24
Poisons, 114–115
Population, 1
Potatoes, 95
Potsherds, spirits in, 359–360; used by shamans, 350
Pottery, 158, 161–162, 173–181, 285, 288–289, 324; of La Tolita, 33
Precipitation. See *Climate*
Property, destruction of, 334
Puberty, 320, 383
Pueblo Viejo, 1, 31–33, 35, 36, 39, 133, 356
Punishment, 38, 43, 314, 316, 401. See *Castigation*
Punta Venado, xiv, 18, 29, 37, 49, 60, 62, 81, 83, 313, 350, 375, 385

Quichua, 30, 31, 356
Quito, 2, 29, 88, 370, 372
Quiver for blow-gun, 113, 115–116

Rain. See *Climate*

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Romero, Calixto, xiii, 20
Rompile, 188. See *Basketry*
Ronchos, 58-60
Rapids of Rio Cayapas, 2
Rascadera, 79, 95-96
Rattles. See *Musical instruments*
Relationships, 446-447. See *Kinship*
Religion, 352-381
Reptiles, 14; in designs, 290; tabooed, 72
Rio. See the name of the stream
Rivet, P., cited, 29
Roots. See *Pita fiber*
Rope, 136-137, 186. See *Cordage*
Rosario, Rio, 1
Rubber, 79, 152
Rum, 76, 82-92, 181, 323, 344, 350, 390, 605-606. See *Distillation; Sugar-cane*

Sacchas Indians, 27
Saija, Rio, 30
Sánchez, Manuel, xiii
——, *Maximiliano*, xiii
——, *Pablo I.*, xiii
——, *Señora*, xiii
Sandals, absence of, 66
San Juan dance, 326-329
San Miguel, 37, 62, 313
San Miguel, Rio, 35, 151
Santiago, Rio, xi, 1, 4, 24, 25, 31, 32, 35, 37, 38
Sapayo Grande, 37, 62, 313
Sapayo Grande, Rio, 35
Sapotis, 72
Saville, Marshall H., xi, xii, xvi, 156, 287
Schmidt, Max, 183
Scorpion, 17; in designs, 288. See *Insects*
Sea-food, 78
Seats, 156, 285, 287. See *Benches*
Seeds, ornaments made of, 65
Sex indicated in designs, 287
Shamans and Shamanism, 31, 230, 316, 318, 330, 344-352, 357, 361, 374, 379, 381
Shell, pendants of, 66

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Shellfish used in dyeing, 258
Shoes, absence of, 66
Silver, ornaments of, 24
Sinkers, 165, 181. See *Fishing*
Slings, 133
Smoke in shamanism, 344–346
Smudges, 144
Snakes kept by spirits, 364–366, 368
Snares, 118. See *Hunting*
Social organization, 39
Songs. See *Love-songs*
Sorcery, 318. See *Shamans and Shamanism*
Souls, 357–359. See *Spirits*
Sour sap, 110
Spaniards, 31. See *Catholic influence*
Spears, 129–130, 370, 389
Spindles and Spinning, 42, 163, 235–236, 251–259. See *Weaving*
Spirits, 35, 316, 330–334, 360–381. See *Shamans and Shamanism*
Spoons, 172
Stature, 409, 424
Stone implements, 163–165; seats of Manabi, 156; spirits in, 359–360; used by shamans, 350
Storage, 179, 181, 235
Strainers, 172
String, 186, 204–206. See *Cordage*
Sugar-cane, 43, 72, 79, 82–92. See *Rum*
Sun. See *Cosmology*
Sweet potatoes, 75

Taboo, 56–57, 72, 317, 320, 332
Tagua, 54–55, 76, 99–100, 152
Tarantulas, 17
Tci'nde technic, 217–223
Technic of basketry, 191–232; of fans, 239–248
Telembis Indians, 27
Temperature. See *Climate*
Textiles, 183–311; designs on, 289–311
Thatching, 189. See *Houses*
Theft, 314
Thrashing. See *Castigation*

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Thunder, 360–361, 369
Tick, 17; in designs, 288. See *Insects*
Tobacco, 79, 103–104
Tops, 43, 44, 180
Torches, bamboo, 385–386
Toucan in myth, 382
Toys. See *Dolls; Tops*
Trade, 42; 152
Trails, 133. See *Travel*
Traps, 118–121. See *Hunting*
Travel, 133, 150–151, 153, 171, 234–235, 415. See *Canoes*
Trays of wood, 161–162
Treasure, invisible, 381
Trees and plants, 6
Trejo, José, xiv
Tumaco, xii, xiii, 1, 16, 25, 27, 28, 35
Turtle in designs, 288
Twilling, 197–207. See *Textiles*

Umbilicus, 317–318
United States Gold Dredging and Rubber Company, 3
Universe, beliefs regarding, 352–355
Ura'tū, 372–373
Utensils. See *Calabash; Pottery; Stone; Wood*

Verde, Rio, 394
Villages, 313

Wands, 350
War, 118, 132–133
Wasu tribe, 33
Wax. See *Beeswax*
Weaving, 42, 103, 163, 170, 259–274. See *Spinning; Textiles*
Weber, Rudolf, xv
Wedding feast, 322–325
Whetstones, 157–158
Wickerwork, 192–197
Wood, implements and utensils of, 74, 86, 97, 154–163, 175
Woodworking, 7, 41. See *Canoes*
Wool, 183
Women, canoeing by, 150–151; clothing of, 67–69; planting by, 81; work of, 40, 42

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Wrist-bands, 65–66. See *Clothing; Ornaments*
Writing, mnemonic, 457–463

Yams, 79–95
Yannuzzelli, *Antonio*, xiv
——, *Donato*, xiv, 408
Yellow-fever, 15, 25
Yucca, 72, 75, 77, 79, 95

Zenith, 353
Zigzag designs, 289–311

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A STUDY IN LEGAL BEHAVIOR

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

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July, 1964

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[Introductory, p. vi]

A Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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To Irene

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[P ii]

PREFACE

The field work among the Cayapa Indians of Esmeraldas province in Western Ecuador upon which this thesis is based, was carried out from August 19, 1959 to October 25, 1960. The field research was financed by a Doherty Foundation Fellowship and a research grant from the National Institutes of Mental Health, United States Public Health Service.

The main focus of the research was in the area of social control through law and government. A dimension of great significance for the study was supplied by the functional realist approach to law propounded both in text and the lecture-room by Professor E. Adamson Hoebel. Professor Hoebel made it very clear that Law is a living operation, and the product of living beings whose personalities have been shaped by a living culture. Working through the matrix of culture and personality, Law has in some societies reached heights of human magnificence and orderly elegance, and perhaps as often, in some of the ethnographic backwaters,

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the Law displays its all too human frailties. This study in Cayapa legal behavior portrays a people with very many, very human, frailties which are revealed through the dynamics of Law, Government, and Personality.

121

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[p. v]

TABLE OF CONTENTS

000

Chapter		Page
I.	THE CAYAPA, THEIR TERRITORY AND ECONOMY. . .	1
II.	SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.	34
	Kinship.	
	Pregnancy and Birth.	
	Birth Control.	
	Adoption	
	Childhood.	
	Adolescence.	
	Household.	
	Compadrazgo.	
	Religion	
	Funeral Customs.	
	Medical Practices.	
	Government	104
III.	COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE	123
	Stealing a Woman	124
	Arranged Marriages	127
	Problems in Courtship and Marriage	131
	Widows and Widowers.	147
	Divorce.	150
IV.	DEVIANCY AND LAW IN THE AREA OF SEX RELATIONS	155
	Incest	156
	Adultery	162
	Polygyny	171
V.	LAND, PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE	189
VI.	THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSION.	216
VII.	CONCLUSION	237
CASE LOCATOR.		245
BIBLIOGRAPHY.		248

4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965

SD6 Cayapa SD6

[p. v]

102
131
139
961

ESMERALDAS PROVINCE, ECUADOR

4 Altschuler E-4 [1959-1964] 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[P 1]

CHAPTER I

THE CAYAPA, THEIR TERRITORY AND ECONOMY

101

The Pacific lowlands of the province of Darien in southeastern Panama; Colombia; and the northern part of the province of Esmeraldas Ecuador, may be thought of as a geographical and cultural unit.

> If the area has any physical unity, it is to be found in the hot, humid climate and the vegetation cover of dense tropical rain forest. . . . The Area's position between 1° and 8° north of the equator gives it high year round temperatures and contributes to an almost continuous relative humidity above 90 per cent . . . Culturally the area is one chiefly because of its predominant Negroid population; because of a common way of life based mainly on subsistence agriculture, fishing, and primitive mining . . . Today nearly 80 per cent of the exact population of the lowlands is Negroid, with a large proportion of unmixed African blood. This area, then, may be considered one of the major Negroid areas of Latin America . . . The few Whites and Mestizos of the area are found mainly in the larger trading towns, mining camps, and seaports (West 1957:1).

At the southern limits of the Pacific lowland area, in Ecuador, live the Cayapa Indians. Their lives and culture center about the Río Cayapas and its tributaries. At its lower reaches, the river forms a right

133
[131]

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angle with the Río Santiago, and together they make up the second largest drainage system in the northwestern part of the province of Esmeraldas. The confluence of the two rivers lies approximately at 1°5' north latitude, or about 90 miles due north of the equator, and 78°59' west longitude. The area is a tropical rain forest because of the very cold Humboldt Current that flows along much of the Ecuadorian coast, however, extremely dense clouds usually cover the area as far inland as the foothills of the Andes, and moderate the temperatures. They range from 65° to 75° Fahrenheit at night and from 70° to 90° during the daytime, depending upon the amount of cloud cover. Generally, the sky is a very bright overcast. When the cloud cover lessens, the sky is an intense hot blue. There are no weather stations in the Río Cayapas area, and consequently we have no readings of any significance. Barrett (1925:6) estimated the annual rainfall on the Río Santiago at between 24.43 feet to 26.66 feet. Since the distances between the Río Santiago and the Río Cayapas are not very great, Barrett's observations may reasonably be applied to the Cayapa area as well.

The low alluvial coastal area of the Cayapas-

Santiago drainage system is fringed by a sandy beach and backed by a brackish mangrove forest swamp that extends inland for some two to four miles, at which point a slight elevation--no more than four to six feet above low tide--begins to be noticed. When one moves up past the town of Borbon, at the confluence of the two major rivers, the countryside takes on the appearance of a fairly flat plain. As one approaches the mouth of the Río Cayapas, which lies at the right hand side as one moves up the Río Cayapas, a marked change in the character of the landscape begins to emerge. Hills thickly covered with green bush and tree growth become more frequent, although they are not too precipitous, ranging from 90 to about 150 feet in height. The predominant color pattern is green, brown, and grey. The main river, especially in flood, is brown-green. Skies are generally bright gray and the vegetation on all sides fall in innumerable shades of green. Occasionally, along the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas huge clumps of water Hyacynths float like bright purple rafts towards the sea.

Normally, the Río Cayapas flows quite gently, for the rise in altitude is slight until the actual

133

[137]

foothills of the Andes are reached. Thus, for example, Punta Venado, which is approximately 49 kilometers from the mouth of the river, has an altitude of 12 meters as compared to Telembí, approximately 77.5 kilometers from the river's mouth, which has an altitude of 22 meters (Wolf 1879:31). The volume of the waters carried by the rivers varies considerably. Depending upon the amount of rainfall, I have seen a rise and fall in the level of the Río Cayapas of well over twenty feet within five hours. The rivers of this system cut through heavy clay soil, and the banks are not part of a flood plain but immediately form part of the hilly interior that is characteristic of the hinterland. The soil is predominantly a heavy saturated clay that is mostly reddish brown in color.

Language. The Cayapa and the Colorado Indians who live in the tropical highlands about seventy miles down the western slopes of the Andes from Quito share the distinction of being the last two aboriginal groups in western Ecuador. Their languages, although not mutually intelligible, are closely related. Recently, B. Moore worked out some phonetic correspondences between

Cayapa and Colorado and thereby systematically proved the relationship that had always been assumed on purely inspectional grounds (Moore 1962). The most recent classification proposed by Greenberg places Cayapa-Colorado within the sub family called Paesan, which together with Chibchan proper belongs to the Macro-Chibchan family (Greenberg 1958). This classification is similar to that proposed by Mason (Mason 1950:188). A claim that Cayapa is closely related to Mayan is proposed by Professor Aquiles R. Perez T; however, the documentation is not convincing at present (Perez 1960: 491-494).

History. The first actually reliable information on the Cayapa comes from the pen of W. B. Stevenson, who visited them briefly in 1829. At that time, there was but one group of Cayapa (those who lived in the vicinity of Punta Venado). The chief, or alcalde, as Stevenson called him, carried a "baston, insignia of authority" which he presented to Stevenson. He then ordered the Indians to obey Stevenson ". . . and they advanced one after another to kiss the head of the baston, and accompanied me to the house of the alcalde, which was

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SD4 Cayapa SD6

oriented about thirty yards from the river side" (Stevenson 1825:405). Unfortunately, Stevenson's description of Cayapa life was meager, for he was much more interested in the Malábe, a group of reputedly wild Indians who lived along the Río San Miguel, a tributary of the Río Cayapas. The Cayapa were so inertia to visit the Malábe as Stevenson was eager to do so. After some hesitation, the alcalde, having been promised various gifts, ordered two men to take Stevenson up river. It is of considerable interest to note that the Cayapa chief had sufficient authority to order two of his people to accompany Stevenson into the land of the "savage" Malábe. Stevenson reported that the Malábe were quite gentle and that they spoke a variant of Quechua, a language spoken throughout the Andes from Ecuador to Peru and Bolivia. The Malábe no longer exist as an ethnic group; however, this is the term used by the present day Cayapa to designate a group of evil spirits that dwell somewhere in the monte or bush.

It would appear, given the position of the Cayapa near the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas and the Malábe at its upper reaches, that the migration of the Cayapa from their ancient Andean homeland as stated in

their traditional tales probably took place by way of the Río Santiago until the confluence with the Río Cayapas was reached; thence, movement was up the Río Cayapas.

In 1879 Wolf marked on his map of Esmeraldas province a "town"--that is, a center of habitation named San Miguel de Cayapas and in 1894 Basurco recorded Cayapa living up the Río Sapallo Grande and the Río San Miguel. The latter group is reported to have an alcalde (Basurco 1894:414). Between 1809 and 1879 the Malába had apparently been replaced by the Cayapa. By 1908 Barrett reported definitely that the Cayapa were divided into three tribal groups: Punta Venado, Sapallo Grande, and San Miguel. Each group was reported as having its own ceremonial center and being led by an /únʸi/ or gobernador. During my 1959-1960 field trip, I was told by Gabriel Anapa, the /únʸi/ of the Punta Venado group, that some twenty-five years earlier a group of people had left the Sapallo Grande section and had formed a new tribal unit with its own /únʸi/. They left after a dispute with che /únʸi/ of Sapallo grande concerning the re-establishment of Pueblo Viejo, the ancient center in the mountainous upper reaches of the Río

Santiago drainage system. The dissident group claimed that the Saints were stronger in the old area and would be of greater help to the Cayapa. The new group settled in Sapallito, where they have their own ceremonial center, but for reasons unknown they did not return to Pueblo Viejo. Factionalism apparently accounts for some of the tribal fission.

619
631
578

Settlement Patterns. In 1879 the banks of the Río Cayapas almost as far down as Borbon, a town at the confluence of the Río Santiago and the Río Cayapas, were inhabited by Cayapa Indians while Negroes were found mainly along the Río Santiago (Wolf 1879). By 1894 Borbon had become a Negro town, and the lower reaches of Cayapa settlement had retreated up stream toward the area of the Río Onzole. At this time, about twenty-three Negroes were reported by Basurco to be living at Telembí, a "village" of three houses about 77.5 kilometers from the mouth of the Río Cayapas. The Negroes had been given special permission by the Cayapa to live there provided they did not pan for gold which was found occasionally. (Basurco 1894). In 1960 Telembí was a thriving Negro village of several hundred people, and the greater part

101
191
177

[135]

of the population of the Río Cayapas up to Sapallo Grande was Negro. Isolated Negro enclaves are found today as far up as San Miguel. Negroes tend to live in village settlements, some of which are of political and/or economic importance, while the Cayapa live scattered along the river banks. The town of San José, which lies a few miles below the Río Camerones, is the administrative center for the area. San Antonio, which is located a few miles above Punta Venado, is of considerable commercial importance as it is readily accessible to the small coastal vessels engaged in the banana trade.

101
131
177

The most characteristic feature of the area is its riverine quality, and settlement and movement centers on the rivers for both Indians and Negroes. The large hilly land areas between the rivers are completely uninhabited, and the dense jungle growth makes foot travel exceedingly difficult. Except for short hunting trips or to secure trees for the making of canoes, the jungle or monte is avoided. The river, on the other hand, is open and free. The river scene is seldom a quiet one. People going down stream maneuver their canoes into mid-channel, taking full advantage

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of the current. Those going up-stream hug the bank as the pilot digs the tip of his oar blade into the bank, or if the channel is shallow enough, into the bed, and then, placing both hands about ten feet up the oar handle, he shoves back, sending the canoe ahead.

Farm land lies at varying distances back from the river. Each house is backed by a clearing which is used for garden crops or sugar cane. The main farm lands extend back from the river from one to three miles. Flat land is at a premium, and the cultivators work up and down the many hills.

Cayapa Physical Appearance. Although no systematic measurements were made, it was apparent from gross observations that Barrett's (1925:408-445) measurements are still valid. He described the Cayapas as short:

> . . . the men averaging only 155 cm. and the women only 146 cm. The range of individual variation among the men, as also among the women, is 14 cm. Among the men there are at least a few individuals who appeared to be somewhat taller than the maximum here given, but as a tribe the Cayapa must be considered somewhat below average in stature (Barrett 1925:409).

They appear to be mostly brachycephalic. The hair is thick, coarse, black and straight; their skin, light

brown. A few of them are tatooed on the arms and the blue of the ink stands out very clearly. Mongoloid characteristics such as the epicanthric fold, the Mongoloid spot, and high cheekbones are very common, but in contrast to the Mongoloid nose, the Cayapa nose is often bridged. Occasionally one finds individuals with very high-bridged noses of aquiline shape. Their eyes are uniformly dark brown, and the whites are seldom clear but have a brownish tinge that would seem to indicate a high incidence of liver disorders. Most Cayapa, especially the women, seem to be somewhat round-faced. The men, while short, are very well-proportioned and have tremendous strength in their arms and shoulders which probably stems from their technique of canoe handling. As a rule, the women are thick-waisted, the result, perhaps partly at least, of their characteristic canoe handling. They generally paddle in a seated position, using a very short paddle, which requires many rapid short strokes for effective maneuvering, and they necessarily have to lean forward to make efficient use of the short paddle.

Clothing and Adornment. Many men are quite

adept at tailoring, and make their own clothing. Children learn from their fathers. A few men own sewing machines which they sometimes rent out; some take tailoring orders from their less skillful neighbors. Some men may even make their wives' skirts /píhtahal^{y}i/. The man wears western-style trousers with pegged cuffs that are shaped to permit easier gathering of the trouser leg at the calf, if wading should be necessary. The trousers are held up by leather belts that are purchased. The colors of the trousers are usually dark tones of blue, grey, khaki, or black. The Cayapa are restricted in color choice simply because the available trouser cloth that is purchased in the coastal towns tends to come in these shades. On the other hand, shirt material is available in a wide variety of colors and every conceivable color combination is used, very often in harlequin fashion.

The shirt /huwál^{y}i/ is cut in a rectangular fashion with a short slit neck which forms a 'vee' when worn. Tight short sleeves run down about three inches from the shoulders. The front and rear panels are joined together at the sides by colored stripe of varying widths. The panels may be of the same bright color,

or the front may differ from the back in solid colors. Often the panels may be cut vertically or diagonally with different brightly hued colors. The shirt, which falls to knee-length, is usually bordered at the hem by the same band that joins the front and rear panels. Sometimes the multicolored hem may be overlaid with the panel material that has been cut in triangular points. This gorgeous array is usually topped off with a white plastic fedora that has been smuggled in from Colombia. If the feet are shod, they are usually encased in knee-length rubber boots. For festive occasions, the men wear lipstick and round patches of rouge on their cheeks. Sometimes they also place a round spot of rouge about an inch and a half in diameter, in the middle of their foreheads. The over-all effect is quite striking.

Some men do not use cosmetics but prefer to dress up for fiestas in western clothing that often includes underwear and transparent nylon sport shirts in white, red, blue, yellow, or green. On occasion, a man will place a bright yellow straight plastic comb in his hair. Men quite often buy wrist watches for which they have no earthly use. The watches are fairly expensive, poorly

made, and seldom in working order. The brand names are obvious imitations of well known trade-marks, and men may be seen sporting watches marked "Algin," "Danrus," or "Wiltham." If queried as to the time of day, the most likely response is "just today the watch stopped working."

Attractive as the Cayapa male is in his festive array, the woman is clearly the fashion leader. Because she is short-legged and thick-waisted, her adornment is calculated to conceal these features and to shift attention to her face instead. Like the male, she is rouged and lip-painted. Occasionally she paints a black line across her cheeks and upper lip. Her hair, which is waist length, is fastened at the side and front with multi-colored barrettes, while the crown of the head is covered by a Juliet's cap fabricated of shiny coins. Around her shoulders and neck depend row after row of brightly-hued glass and metal beads and strings of coins. The ultimate row of baubles may fall below the hip line. Beaded ligatures may be placed on her arms, and silver rings may adorn all of her fingers except the thumbs. Around her shoulders she wears a bright

292
[535]

silk or rayon shawl which can cover her head, face and breast when she is dancing. Her skirt, worn over a black cotton underskirt /t^{y}únˀ^{y}a/, falls just below the knee and is a wrap-around in a solid color. It is embroidered at the hem in the manner of the men's shirt fashions. A belt secures the underskirt, and the overskirt is tucked in at the waist. The women spend a good deal of time adjusting the overskirt.

[535
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For dancing or for receiving the blows of the cat-o-nine-tails /ástecúwa/ as punishment, the woman puts on over her usual skirts a woven wrap-around skirt made of heavy cotton and decorated with both geometric and realistic designs. Many colors are used, but blue, white, and red predominate. Since the present generation of women is almost completely ignorant of the weaver's art, the skirts are seldom their own handiwork.

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868

Manufactures. Woodworking: It is immediately apparent that canoes and their handling are extremely important to all the inhabitants of the area. Young boys often begin their lessons in canoemanship by playing on the drifting logs that come down stream when the river is in flood. They tumble and splash and learn

to maintain a precarious balance. Children from about the ages of nine to thirteen may have small canoes /kakúle/ made for them, which may be seven to eight feet in length, and scarcely a foot in width. At these ages boys begin to accompany their fathers into the monte where the canoes are roughed out by axe and adze. They learn to select the proper trees as only those that are tightly cross-grained will not split easily. Occasionally canoes are roughed out at some height above the creek or rivulet that feeds into the main channel and in the process of carefully snubbing them down the boys learn to rig lines. A large canoe, about thirty-five feet long, may require almost a dozen men to bring it into the water from the monte, whereas a small canoe can be brought in by two or three men. Despite the fact that by the time the boys have reached their late teens they have acquired a large measure of skill in handling canoes, their canoes are nevertheless not considered finely finished until they have had several more years of experience.

Paddles: /yámpa/. The oar is roughed out with a machete, and the finer lines are cut with a knife.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

322
501
[824]

The paddle is rubbed down with abrasive leaves called /l^{y}ápis háki/. In working the blade of the paddle, a longitudinal ridge is left on both surfaces:

> Along this line the blade reaches a thickness of about three-quarters of an inch. At each side of these medial lines the blade is hollowed out very much after the fashion of a hollow-ground razor; otherwise its thickness is fairly uniform. The thickness of the blade decreases slightly toward the edge, so that the edge itself at the greatest width of the blade rarely exceeds three-sixteenths of an inch in thickness, and it may be as thin as an eighth of an inch.
>
> The handles or poles of the paddles are ordinarily from an inch to an inch and three quarters in diameter and are almost perfectly cylindrical. They taper slightly from the blade to the upper end, or what may be called the grip. In a woman's paddle this end may be truly called the grip, and it is usually notched in more or less of a fish tail form, . . . In the case of a man's paddle, however, a purely ornamental tip is put on the end, which is almost never touched in paddling (Barrett 1925:149-150).

322
352

Benches: /čumbúl^{y}a/. These are small seats measuring from four to eight inches in height and from four to nine inches in width. They are always cut from one piece of wood and often have two supporting surfaces. Barrett reports eight types of which I have seen but three. Most commonly these benches are composed of three flat surfaces, less commonly the seating surface is concave. Barrett should be referred to for details of style and construction (Barrett 1925: 154-157).

details of style and construction (Barrett 1925:154-157). 000

Dolls: /náwawa/. Dolls for children were scarce among the Cayapa of the Punta Venado section. Barrett briefly discusses dolls, and the impression received is that they were common. They were always made of a single block of wood, and were carved in both human and animal forms. No measurements are given, but they were very likely similar to the dolls of today, measuring usually twelve to thirteen inches in length and from three to four inches in width. They are most frequently carved out of Guayacan, an extremely hard wood. The one Guayacan doll in my possession is carved in two pieces. It is a seated figure, obviously of a white man, wearing a visored cap, a necktie cut in bas-relief, a jacket, breeches, and boots that are tinted reddish. He is seated in a two-legged chair which is sufficient since his own feet serve as the other two legs. The chair is fastened to the figure by two nails through the bottom, and five nails from the rear.

524 532 [824] [126] [177]

At the present time, many models for play purposes are cut out of balsa in the forms of airplanes, and the forms of coastal banana boats. Other wooden articles

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Other wooden articles

still made by the Cayapa include the /táči wimáso/ 'bark cloth beater,' /mačúka/ 'plantain masher,' and food stirrers of various types. A full listing and description can be had by consulting Barrett (Barrett 1925: 159-161). Elliptical wooden bowls called batea in Spanish, are cut from a single piece of wood, and they serve as trays for the preparation of some foods.

322 [412] [252] [415]

Musical instruments, which are played by the men, include the marimba or /máimba/, a large drum called by the Spanish word bombo, and a small free-standing drum that tapers at the base called conunu. The Negroes use the same instruments, but they also use various gourd rattles and bamboo shakers. Guitars are occasionally found among the Negroes but only seldom among the Cayapa.

534 [462] [171]

Pottery. This art is scarcely practiced anymore. In fact I was completely unaware that earthenware pots were in the household inventory at all until I was asked one day if I wished to purchase a small Cayapa-made one for five sucres (.30 U.S.). This was the only pot I ever saw, except for the large cantaras made by the people of the San Miguel section, for the storage of /wápo/, the fermented sugar-cane juice called quarapo in Spanish.

323 [178] [126] [273]

juice called guarapo in Spanish. 000

Basketry. Fans, baskets, and pouches, are made in the same style and technique as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:183-250). There is a market for the fans which are used for fanning the embers in the firebox when preparing a meal. They are often sold in the coastal towns of San Lorenzo and Esmeraldas as well as in the highland town of Ibarra. The money received for these fans is the property of the woman who made the fans, even though they were sold by her husband. 285 439 [372] [434] [562]

Weapons. The blowgun has disappeared from general use. Only a few specimens are left. All hunting today is done with the escopeta or muzzle-loading shotgun. Serving both as a tool and as a weapon is the machete or /múšte/, and both men and women are quite adept in its use. 411 [224] [412]

Housing.

Probably the cultural feature of the Pacific lowlands which most quickly attracts the eye of the outsider is the type of house used by the rural Negroid population. This is the square or rectangular pile dwelling with four-shed hipped roof of thatch, a peculiar roof crown, and palm-lath floor 342 171

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342
M71

> and walls. Building materials consist entirely of wood and leaves gathered from the adjacent forest. This type of pile dwelling is one of the diagnostic traits of the Pacific lowland culture area: its distribution extends from western Darien southward to the Santiago River system in Esmeraldas, where it has been introduced by Colombian immigrants. Like most of the present material traits of the lowland Negroid people, their houses appear to be a modified form of an Indian prototype (West 1957:114).

Such structures are a major feature of the cultural landscape of the Cayapas River system as well, but the Indian houses are in marked contrast to the Negro domiciles. The Cayapa houses are nearly always rectangular in ground plan and always larger. Cayapa houses range from approximately ninety feet in length by forty feet in width to perhaps somewhat more than half this size. The piles which are adzed into a square shape are always made of Guayacan, a heavy, black hardwood that is said to resist the inroads of termites for about twenty years. Eight to ten of these posts are placed on the posts six to ten feet above the ground. Bamboo stringers are laid through notches but in the Guayacan posts, and they serve as a foundation for the planwood flooring that is laid down at right angles to the bamboo stringers. Sometimes a split level construction

is favored. In these cases, it is always the rear of the house that is raised about four or five inches. The rear of the house is the cooking area, and it is here that the firebox is located. A common size for the firebox is four feet by five feet and it is packed with earth to a depth of four to six inches. Three rocks form a pot holder within which a fire is contained. There will generally be one such rock hearth for each related family resident in the house. Behind the kitchen area a bamboo ramp about three feet wide and twenty feet long serves the boys and men as a urinal; a hole about three feet out from the house serves the girls, women and infants.

The gabled roof is pitched at about a forty-five degree angle and is framed by long single lengths of bamboo. The thatch consists of the long leaves of the Tagua palm which may reach a length of fourteen to sixteen feet. From the midrib of the leaf, a series of leaflets extend out for approximately three feet. Two or three months before roofing, the leaves are cut down and collected in the Tagua patch and placed on a low bamboo rack for drying. Sometimes the Tagua patch is a considerable distance behind the house, in which

case the leaves are brought to the site by hand. Many times the leaves have to be freighted on the river; for these occasions two canoes are joined by heavy bamboo poles, thus forming a raft, and the leaves are piled on top to a height of four to five feet. Two men then pilot the raft, one from the rear and one from the front. When the site is reached, the raft is tied to a paddle which is thrust into the bank, and the leaves are handed up a human chain composed of five to ten people extending from the raft to the actual house site.

In contrast to the Negro houses Cayapa houses mostly lack walls. Because of this, Cayapa home life is much more open to Negro inspection than is the reverse. In regard to construction, the Cayapa never use wood planking. Negroes, on the other hand, regard wooden planking for the floors and walls as a sign of wealth and try to have at least some planking. The underside of the house for both Negroes and Indians serves as a storage area for the canoes.

When they are off in the bush for several days hunting, or when roughing out a canoe, the Cayapa build

small temporary shelters called by the Spanish term *ranchos*. In general construction these *ranchos* are similar to the permanent houses, but they may be only a foot or two off the ground. As the property holdings of most Cayapa are scattered, many build second permanent houses at other convenient sites and alternate residences as the farming situation dictates. If relatives have a house in the area already, then a new house need not be built, and shelter is taken with the kin. It is possible for a family to have no permanent abode of its own but rather to shift back and forth between relatives who happen to live near their property. This, however, is a very rare occurrence, and in the few cases recorded, I suspect that it is transitory. A "complete" person "*un hombre completo*" to be fully adult should be master of his own house. Pedrito Ahape, for example, was living with relatives, but he was bewitched and suffered from many illnesses, and in addition his land was "spoiled" by witchcraft. Despite this, he still felt that the best thing for him to do was to get some land elsewhere, and set up an independent household.

342
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Subsistence Activities. Farming is the main occupation

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of the Cayapa and the Negroes of the area. The extreme humidity of the region, coupled with the saturated, heavy clay soil that predominates, precludes slash and burn cultivation. The Cayapa region is just on the very southern edge of the area marked by a peculiar diagnostic trait: 241 [171] [132]

> . . . slash-mulch cultivation, of probable Indian origin, has evolved. Seeds are broadcast and rhizomes and cuttings are planted in an uncleared plot; then the bush is cut; decay of cut vegetable matter is rapid, forming a thick mulch through which the sprouts from the seeds and cuttings appear within a week or ten days (West 1957: 129).

The main food crops are maize /pí$\bar{b}$u/, plantain /pánda/, sugar cane /ála/, sweet marior /ʌ́ʌ$\bar{b}$u/, Rascadera (Xanthosoma sagittifolium), a taro-like aroid tuber called /tʌ́a/, squash /ʌ́/, pineapple /$\bar{c}$íl^{y}a/, beans /mʌ́la/, and bananas /seda/. The latter were universally considered to be starvation food, and prior to the recent world market demand for them, were fed to the pigs. There are many fruits such as papaya /papá^{i}ya/, oranges /lánsa/, lemons /lámu/, sapote /sapóta/, guabo /$\bar{c}$íl^{y}a/, chirimoya (Q. chacimola). Some sweet potatoes are grown, but they are scarce due to the depredations of 241 262 [439] [231]

241
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pigs who find them especially delectable. The Cayapa seldom plant coconuts, but the Negroes do so whenever possible. Important palms are the Tagua and the Chontaduro. The tagua nut was formerly an extremely important economic product; its hard seed was in constant demand on the world market for the manufacture of shirt buttons. With the rapid development of the plastics industry some thirty years ago, the market for tagua seeds completely collapsed. The Cayapa still talk nostalgically of the days when money did apparently grow on trees. Though its export value has declined, the tagua palm, nevertheless, is still important to the internal economy; the leaves are used extensively for roof thatching, the nut is a minor item in the diet, and when the tree dies, the /[illegible]/, a delectable and very oily grub can be dug out of the trunk. Both men and women may work in the gardens. Generally speaking, however, the men clear the garden and the women plant the seeds or roots. Men and women may harvest the crops.

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The staff of life for the inhabitants of the Pacific Lowland Culture Area is the plantain which is found in many varieties. It may be eaten green or

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ripe, but most often it is boiled green and then pounded on a mortar. Bits of meat and/or fish may be added to the pulp. In this form it is called bala by both Negroes and Cayapa. In the ripe form, it may be boiled and treated as bala, or it may be eaten raw. Children eat enormous amounts of ripe plantain, and they never seem to become satiated. Important adjuncts to the subsistence pattern are the traveling merchants who bring canoe-loads of dried fish, clams, bread, cookies, sugar, and candy as well as smuggled Colombian cloth and clothing, up from the coast.

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Hunting is a very important activity, and most Cayapa men spend one or two days a week tracking game. The main animals are large rodents called guanta /walámbu/, a smaller rodent called guatin /kúyu/, peccary /netúŏu/, jaguar /kála/, puma /lʸukála/, monkey /wéŏu/, squirrel /yámbu/, and the armadillo /čilʸámbu/. Large birds are shot whenever possible and include toucans /čandútu/, the wild turkey /éla/, and a hawk /hoyálʸu/. At the present time, hunting is done almost entirely with muzzle-loading shotguns. Hunting is generally a small operation involving no more than three

224
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men, and occasionally only one shotgun is available to share among them. 224

Fishing is an important adjunct to the dietary pattern. Fish are dynamited, netted, speared, trapped, drugged, and hooked. Often a man or boy will work his canoe up-stream and then drift slowly down while he plays his hook and line which are tied to a light pole. The fisherman baits his hook with a lively grasshopper, drops his line into the water, then holds his arm motionless except for a slight movement of his wrist which causes the line to move with a sinusoidal motion. This favorite method can only be used when the river is very low. At these times, in the evening, three men or boys go out in a canoe moving slowly along the bank. One man paddles, another holds a flashlight or a pressure lantern, and the third man stands ready with a fish spear. The light attracts multitudes of fish, and the haul is invariably a huge one. Lobster can also be easily trapped when the river is low. A lobster trap, called <u>catanga</u> is baited with plantain. It is set under water alongside a bank that has some protuberance, such as a pile of driftwood. The mouth of the trap is placed so it faces

226 [262] [825] [416] [373] [824]

down stream because the lobsters tend to move against the current. The lobster easily enters the mouth which consists of a conical chamber made of pointed bamboo. When the lobster enters the bait chamber, it is prevented from leaving by the pointed ends of the small section of the cone. The trap is tied to a long pole. Traps are set at intervals along the river, and they are visited every morning. There are no restrictions as to site location, but once a trap is set, no one else sets one next to it..

226

While the Cayapa derive most of their subsistence from hunting, gathering, fishing, and planting, they are also engaged in commercial planting of bananas and as the market expands the Cayapa are becoming more and more peasant like.

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Tribal Peasants

Wolf in his discussion of "Types of Latin American Peasantry" marks off two main categories, the corporate peasant community characteristic of the highlands and the open peasant community that characterizes the tropical lowland areas.

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> The distinctive characteristic of the corporate peasant community is that it represents a bounded social system with clear-cut limits, in relations to both outsiders and insiders. It has structural identity over time. Seen from the outside, the community as a whole carries on a series of activities and upholds certain "collective representations." Seen from within, it defines the rights and duties of its members and prescribes large segments of their behavior (Wolf 1955:456). . .
>
> The open community differs from the corporate peasant community in a number of ways . . . The open community comprises a number of subcultures of which the peasantry is only one, . . . (it) emphasizes continuous interaction with the outside world and ties its fortunes to outside demands (Wolf 1955:462). . .
>
> The open community lends itself to rapid shifts in production because it is possible to mobilize the peasant and to orient him rapidly toward the expanding market. Land is usually owned privately. Decisions for change can be made by individual families. Property can be mortgaged, or pawned in return for capital. The community qua community cannot interfere in such change. (Wolf 1955:463).

Wolf of course did not intend these classifications to be an either-or device, and degrees of commitment to one or another community organization are to be expected. In terms of economic involvements with the money economy, the Cayapa display many of the features of the open peasant community; they own their land individually and may alienate it individually. Decisions are made by individual families and the community cannot interfere

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[432]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

621
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except in one instance. The Cayapa of the Río Camerones have decided that no Indian may sell land to a Negro in the upper reaches of the river. Rumors are constantly reported that Negroes are moving in and there is definite concern that community strength is not sufficient to maintain the boundaries. The meager historical data indicate that in the early nineteenth century the Cayapa were largely self sufficient and were not producing much for cash. By the 1900's their wants and needs had increased and they were now engaged in the small scale production and sale of rubber and Tagua nuts. By the end of the first world war rubber and Tagua were major cash crops in the region. During the second world war rubber boomed and Tagua declined almost to the vanishing point. After the war the rubber market similarly declined. By now the Cayapa were well used to money and the things that money could buy, sewing machines, rifles, shotguns, shot, powder, cloth, watches, rubber boots, ready-made clothing, cosmetics, patent medicines, pressure lamps, rice, sugar, soft drinks, and many other products of our tinsel civilization. After the Second World War, Ecuador became a center of a banana boom and the Cayapa were affected greatly. Like the Negroes,

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

they cut more land for banana production, but unlike Negroes they always maintained a large reserve for subsistence agriculture. They are in the money economy but not yet of it. The Cayapa are not a completely open peasant community. Movement into the Cayapa cultural community is limited to born Cayapa and boundary maintenance is structured in terms of language and culture. A true picture, however, must view the Negro and Indian sectors as parts of a larger unit. The national government views the Cayapa as a corporate body with certain rights which do not pertain to the open peasant Negro communities in the area. The Cayapa are held by the government to be the owners of the land (which is ill-defined and not surveyed) and all outsiders must purchase land from them. This tends to emphasize the commercial character of the open peasant communities and we may be perhaps justified in calling them banana farmers. They must invest capital in farm land to increase production. The Cayapa need not do so. If the Cayapa requires more land, he may buy it to be sure, but he can also cut it out of the forest. However, as yet he tends not to increase his production at the behest of

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the market, and he maintains a rough balance between subsistence and commercial farming. In the pages to follow we will view a tribal people through their law, attempting to redefine human relationships that are being restructured by new economic conditions.

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433
[182]

[P. 34]

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship. The eliciting of kinship terminology among the Cayapa proved to be extremely difficult and time consuming. Many informants professed to be ignorant of many of the terms and clearly preferred to use Spanish nomenclature; however, sufficient data were collected to illustrate a major structural shift from Barrett's 1909 recording to the writer's 1960 notes. At present, the writer is unable to account for this shift in terms of Barrett's material and his own, as the residence and marriage patterns remain basically the same in the reports of the two investigators; however, there is some indication that new terminological forms were just beginning to come into the language in 1909. It is also known that the Cayapa tribe has undergone a process of fission, changing from one unit in 1809 to three in 1909 and four by 1960! We lack most of the vital details, but it is a reasonable assumption that changes in residence either went along with or followed the formation of the new groups.

178
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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

601
178

> It is in respect to residence that changes in economy, technology, property, government, or religion first alter the structural relationships of related individuals to one another, giving an impetus to subsequent modifications in forms of the family. . . . and in kinship terminology (Murdock 1949:202).

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Murdock analyzed Barrett's kinship data and concluded that the Cayapa possess a bi-Eskimo system and that there is an incipient transition toward normal Hawaiian reflected in alternative niece and cousin terms. (Murdock 1949:228 table 61). My own data reveal an Iroquois type cousin terminology as defined by Murdock (Murdock 1949:223)! Barrett records /maŋgúku/ (written phonemically by the writer) for both the father's sister and the mother's sister. My own data show /maŋgúku/ to be restricted to the mother's sister, while the term /un^{y}ún^{y}u/ is used for the father's sister. Similarly, in Barrett's material the father's brother is equated with the mother's brother under three alternative terms: /apíku/, /apípi/, /yapípi/, whereas we recorded these terms only for the father's brother, while the mother's brother is called /ahčíyu/. The terms, /un^{y}ún^{y}u/ 'father's sister' and /ahčíyu/ are discussed by Barrett:

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

601
178

From one informant was obtained the term a'toiú, said to signify both aunt and uncle, and there was also obtained the term unyunyu, said to signify aunt. No verification could be obtained for either of these terms, which, combined with the fact that they are so at variance with the whole system of relationship, make them both seem very doubtful (Barrett 1929:335 note 16).

The terms that seemed deviant and doubtful in 1909 had become systematic by 1960! Barrett also recorded that the Cayapa equated the paternal cross-cousin with the maternal cross-cousin. In 1960, cross-cousins are equated and parallel-cousins are distinguished. Barrett recorded 'grandfather' as /ancápa/ whereas this writer recorded it as /aápa/. Barrett also used the term, /ancápa/, as meaning 'father-in-law,' which agreed with my recording. Terms used between in-laws are not recorded by Barrett, but I recorded /anca?tála/ as a reciprocal term for the two fathers-in-law. It would appear that the best translation for /anč-/ is 'in-law,' and /-tála/ is glossed as 'together.' Barrett's recording of 'grandfather' as /ancápa/ is an anomoly when compared to/aápa/, since /a/ means 'big' and /ápa/ 'father.' One purpose of marriage for the Cayapa is to have children, and these children make the respective in-laws grandparents

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601

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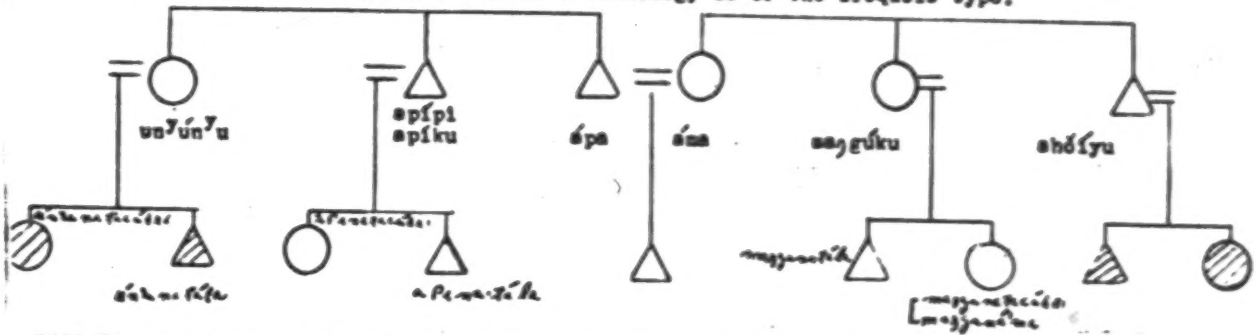
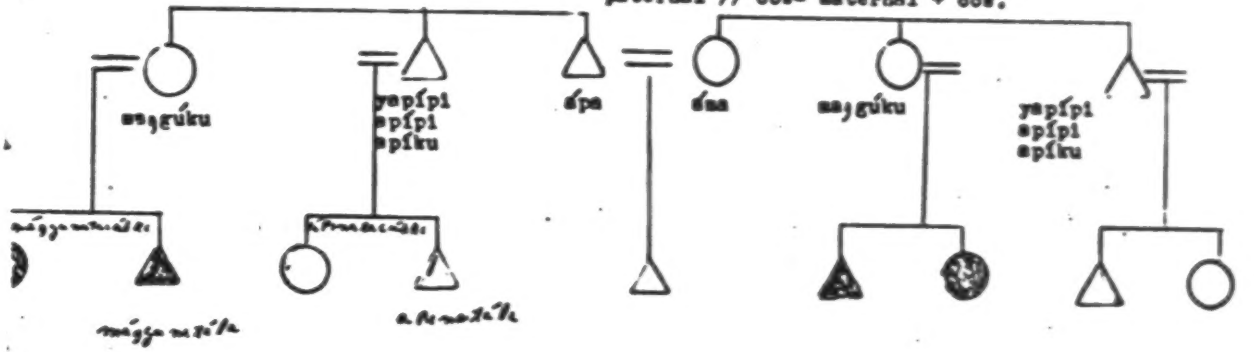
ALTSCHULER: Distinction between paternal and maternal aunt and uncle terminology and cross-cousins are equated. Cousin terminology is of the Iroquois type.



BARRETT: Merging of aunt and uncle terms and paternal + cos = maternal // cos.
paternal // cos= maternal + cos.



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in-laws grandparents. By reversing Barrett's statement in line with this simple observation it can be said that the primary meaning of /ančápa/ is 'father-in-law' and secondarily and tenuously, 'grandfather.'

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Descent is today still bi-lateral, and residence is still bi-local with neo-locality as a very common alternate. Murdock in discussing incest taboos and their extensions placed the Cayapa in class B2-M1-P1.

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> B2. Minimal Bilateral Extension.--marriage forbidden or disapproved with all first cousins but permitted with at least some second cousins.
> M1. Matrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend marriage prohibitions further in the female line than in any other.
> P1. Patrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend prohibitions further in the male line than in any other (Murdock 1949: 302-303).

Murdock in this classification went beyond the data presented by Barrett; the Cayapa should have been classified in the category of Normal Bilateral Extension. Kindreds are unreported by Barrett, but are established in our data. There are two terms which may be translated as 'family' or 'kindred,' /pándatála/, /pánda/ 'food, plantain,' /-tála/ 'together,' and /búlutála/. Maximino Mendoza Añapa's father's brother brought him a woman to marry, but Maximino refused, saying that she is /lála búlutalába/ 'we-family-together-with.' The

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relationship is very distant and the family concerned thought that it would be alright-in fact much to be preferred to her marrying a 'cousin.' Many Cayapa feel, as does Maximino, that there should be a maximum bilateral extension of the incest taboo to the kindred; however, we will present legal material that indicates the beginnings of a narrowing of the incest range. Certainly, Maximino's family were willing to narrow the range.

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Kinship nomenclature.

Father /ápa/
Mother /áma/
Grandfather /aápa/
Grandmother /aáma/
Father's brother /apípi/, /apíku/
Mother's brother /ahčíyu/ m.s., /uhpúyu/ w.s.
Father's brother's son /apiná.tala/ m.s.
/pandekáiya/ w.s. /apinatakáiya/ w.s.
Father's brother's daughter /apiná.tacúhki/, pandecúhki/
Mother's brother's son /unʸuna.tála/
Mother's brother's daughter /unʸúnʸu/, /unʸuná.tacúhki/
Father's sister /unʸúnʸu/ m.s. /unʸuná?ma/ w.s.
Mother's sister /maŋgúku/
Father's sister's son /unʸuná.tala/
Father's sister's daughter /unʸuna.tacúhki/, /nʸánʸa/ (elder)
Mother's sister's son /maŋguná.tala/
Mother's sister's daughter /maŋgu?náma/, /maŋgunatacúhki/ /nʸánʸa/ (elder) /kailʸa/ (younger)
Brother /ná.tala/ m.s. /ukúku/ w.s.
Elder brother /unʸáku/
Younger brother /béna/

Brother's son /apínʸa/ m.s /unʸúna/ w.s.
Brother's son's son /apínʸapánʸa
Sister /cúhki/
Sister's son /ahčínʸa/ m.s., /maŋgú?na/ w.s.
Sister's daughter /upuná?ma/
Son /na/
Daughter /náma/
Grandchild /pánʸa/
Husband /rúku/
Wife /sínbu/
Father-in-law /ančápa/
Mother-in-law /ančáma/
Son-in-law /kía/
Daughter-in-law /súya/
Wife's brother /ʔʸámi/
Sister's husband /nʸámi/ m.s. /unʸúnʸurúku/ w.s.
Wife's sister /máŋgu/, /unʸúnʸu/
Father's sister's daughter's son /apiná.tala/
Mother's brother's wife /unʸuná.tasúya/
Husband's sister's son /unʸuna.taapíku/
Husband's mother's sister's husband /nʸámi/ (doubtful)
Wife's sister's son's wife /máŋgu/
Wife's brother's son /nʸamí?na/
Father's brother's daughter /nʸaminá?ma/
Father's brother's da. da. husband /nʸámi/
Wife's mo. fa. br. son /nʸámi/
Father's br. da. da. /pánde cúhki/
Mother's fa. br. son /pánde káⁱya/
Father's fa. br. dz. son /lúca?bulu pánde/
Mother's fa. br. so. son /lúca?bulu pánde/
Father's fa. br. daughter /pánde cúhki/
Father's br. so. son (w.s.) /lúca?bulutála/, /pánde káⁱya/
Mother's mo. br. son /apiná.tala/
Daughter's husband's father /ančá?tála/
Mother's sister's husband (m.s.) /mučáču/, /unʸúnʸurúku/(w.s.)
Wife's sister's son /mučá?na/
Wife's sister's husband /nʸaŋdála/
Wife's brother's wife /cuhkihútu/
Father's sister's husband /mučácu/
Father's fa. br. so. son /apiná.tapánʸa/
Father's father's brother /áapíku/
Father's si. so. wife /únʸuna.tasúya/
Husband's mo. br. son /pánde apápi/
Father's si. so. son /únʸuna.tapánʸa/

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Father's si. so. da. /ʔihpunáʔma/
Father's mo. br. son /uhpúyu/ w.s., /ahčíyu/ m.s.
Mother's br. son's wife /súya/
Husband's fa. si. son /apípi/
Mother's br. son's son /apiñʔa/ m.s.
Father's father's si. son /apíku/ m.s.
Mother's br. so. daughter /uñʔunátacûhki/

842 Pregnancy and Birth. The Cayapa understand that there is a connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy but believe that repeated intercourse is necessary for conception. 843 A woman is known to be pregnant when the menstrual period ceases and the areolae and nipples /čukápa/ become enlarged and darker. [262] There do not seem to be any abnormal food cravings nor are there any food taboos. [152] There is some feeling of "shame" concerning pregnancy, and a woman never tells her husband or anyone else that she is pregnant. It will soon be obvious to everyone anyway.

The woman continues her normal routine until she is well advanced in her pregnancy, at which time she remains in the house where she eventually gives birth. 844 123 Children have been born at fiestas, and I was a partial witness to such a birth at a fiesta at Sapallo Grande. [769] The party was an ofrenda given by Marianito Añapa in honor of his parents, who had died

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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about twelve years earlier. Off to one side in a small cubicle, a minor commotion was in progress. I walked over and saw a group of women standing around a woman who was seated with her back to me. When I asked what was happening, I was met with a burst of laughter and giggles. Men who were approached grinned and said that it "was an affair of the women." Perhaps an hour later, I returned to the cubicle and watched the seated woman grasp and twist a piece of cloth that had been suspended from one of the rafters. An old crone was serving as the mid-wife. The actual birth took place during one of my periodic absences to watch the festivities which were going on unabated. A few curious children and some women were the only by-standers.

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Elderly women are generally the mid-wives, but there are a few men who ply the trade on occasion. The mid-wife knows enough to manipulate the unborn child to a good birth position, which is done by massaging and kneading on the abdomen. Most births are normal and fairly easy. It is said that if the child is born with its arms skinny, then the mother will die.

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If the mother should die first, then no attempt is made to remove the child. Births that result in death are said to have been caused by witchcraft. Insofar as I was able to determine, no counter measures are taken for revenge. 845 [754]

When labor pains begin, the woman is given a hot drink of rum, lemon, and sulfur. Some women claim to have had painless births, and others claim it hurt each time. After the delivery the mid-wife cuts the umbilical cord /pesil^{y}i/ with a metal knife. The mid-wife buries the umbilical cord under the house about two hours following the birth. It is said that if the cord should be thrown away, then a malignant spirit would get it, and turn it into an animal that kills people. Also, if the cord were not properly buried, then the mother might die of hemorrhage. 844 [278] [412] 846 [796]

After the delivery the mother remains at home for two months. She does light tasks about the house, but she does not go to work in the fields. She observes some food taboos during this period such as being forbidden to eat crabs, clams, or meat. If the taboo is broken, it is believed that she will lose her [262] [784]

blood and die. The father is under no food restriction. 846
The infant is given the breast very shortly after birth 853
and is permitted to drink the colostrum /ĩ̃kpi/; /ĩ̃k-/ 'clear' /pi/ 'water' 'liquid.' For the first month, the child is given only the breast. He is fed "on demand" providing it is convenient to the mother; for example, if the infant is being held at the time he wishes to be nursed, he is indulged. If, however, the child should be crying while his mother is engaged in some task that requires standing or the use of both hands, his cries are ignored. Also, if the mother is busy in another part of the room, the infant is likewise required to wait for the fulfillment of his needs.

By the end of the second month the mother may 846
do some light work in the monte. The infant is never [854]
taken along when the mother goes to work outside; instead, he is left in the care of a sibling or older female relative. The child is fed bulada which is 853
prepared from crushed, dried, green plantain, sugar, [262]
and water. If a lactating woman is present, she may give the infant her breast. The child may be nursed 862
for three years unless he is usurped from the breast

4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1960
SD4 Cayuga SD4

by a new sibling. Weaning is gradual; however, the child is also told that an animal will come to eat him if he continues to suck which frightens him and hastens his loss of interest in the breast. From about the age of four months he is given supplementary foods and by the age of three years he eats everything. Women who are unable to nurse apply a poultice to their breasts. This poultice is made of lettuce, a weed with a milky sap; this is done in the vain hope of stimulating lactation. The neighboring Negro women wean their infants at one year, and when opportunity affords, they chide the Cayuga women about their protracted nursing. This is beginning to have some effect, and a few women now wean their children by one year.

When a woman dies in childbirth, the child may be given to another woman who is lactating. Some feel that "the child dies anyway as the spirit of the dead mother will kill it." On the other hand, the infant can be taken directly to the ceremonial center where earth from the mother's grave is thrown at it at the time of her burial. If this ritual is practiced, two men stand on opposite sides of the grave passing the infant back and forth five or six times. This, it is

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said, insures that the infant will live. Following this procedure, the neonate is transferred to the care of a lactating woman. This mother surrogate is paid for her services by the child's father. Eventually, when the child can speak, he is returned to his father. 846 [789] [859]

Birth Control. Induced abortions are unknown, according to all informants, and this information is very likely reliable because bastards /[illegible]/ are first delivered, and then are usually killed. Similarly, there does not seem to be any knowledge of birth control devices nor of the practice of coitus interruptus. In marked contrast to the Negroes of the area whose children line up like stepping-stones, there is often a two- to four-year break between living children for the Cayapa. In some cases this difference is accounted for by the high infant mortality rate; in other cases, it is explained by lower fertility; in still other cases the lower sex drive may be the causative factor. We shall discuss the latter premise in the chapter dealing with personality factors. In any event, the Cayapa recognize their weakness in numbers 847 848 842 163 842 [165] [775]

and say that it is because Jesus said that if the world comes to an end while many Cayapa are living, it would be very sad for them: it is therefore necessary for many infants to die. The population figures do indeed indicate that the Cayapa are not reproducing. For the Río Canaveral there is an average of 2.5 living children for each woman of childbearing age and almost 17 per cent sterility among the women.

Adoption. Children will be adopted within the kindred, if the parents should die, but there is seldom adoption of non-related children or of illegitimate children. There are a few instances of an illegitimate child's being kept by the mother, but more often she will kill it at birth. The mother may offer the child for adoption, but the general feeling is that such a child having been conceived in sin is non-Christian, and few people want such a child. The Christian thing to do, they feel, is to kill it.

There is something in the nature of short-term "loans" of children. A child is sometimes sent to live with an "uncle" or other near relative for varying periods of time. In some cases the relatives are

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childless and desire a son or daughter; in other cases the relatives may need extra help on the land. Sometimes the child stays permanently with his kin, returning to his parents for brief periods when requested to do so. In these instances the parent-child relationship is always retained but the child may lose his parental inheritance; however, he presumably has a claim for his patrimony from the estate of the relative with whom he has lived and worked. This will be discussed in greater detail in the legal material that concerns land and its sale or inheritance.

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Childhood. During Cayapa infancy and early childhood the children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training well before the zonal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely as illustrated in the following excerpt from the writer's notes:

> . . . Augustin's wife was sitting on the floor by the marimba, nursing her child (two months) the older boy is sitting next to her and she seems to be taking special pains with the older boy (four years). She kept her right arm around him, stroking his head while the infant nursed . . . suddenly this picture of maternal love and affection changed radically. The infant

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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> had defecated while nursing and the mother reacted explosively. She shouted at the infant, forcibly removed it from the breast, held it at arms length and shook it back and forth, screaming that the child was bad. Not a sound escaped from the infant, as its head bobbed back and forth. As the mother regained her composure and began to clean the child, it began to howl. In a few minutes it was cleaned . . . she now gave the breast to the infant, which it seized with a frantic intensity . . . (Altschuler 1960: field notes).

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Many Cayapa women are undoubtedly fairly matter-of-fact about their infants' excretions but, without being able to count cases, my impression is that the general attitude toward uncontrolled elimination is in the direction of the cited example; that is, the mother or surrogate, when required to clean the child, displays decidedly negative feelings (if only in postural stance) that are clearly communicated to the infant. Every Cayapa house has a causeway about five feet above the ground, which is about three feet wide and perhaps thirty to forty feet long, that runs from the cooking area in the rear out into the semicleared area behind. Adult males and boys walk out to edge of the causeway to urinate. A small hole, placed not very far from the house, is used by the women and girls. Adults and toilet-trained

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children, after about the age of six, defecate in the river or in the monte behind the house. As soon as an infant is able to sit, he is placed over the women's and girl's urination hole to defecate. He is not permitted to return to the comfort of the house until he has done so. The weather may be somewhat inclement, it may be dark, the child may howl and scream, he may decide to withhold his feces in defiance of parental command, but no leniency is shown. He must sit out on the causeway, alone, miserable, afraid or defiant, and only after he defecates, is he removed and brought into the house where he may be rewarded with the breast. By the time the child is two years old, he is trained, or perhaps, a better word, broken. Understandably, most Cayapa show an extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces. One day four young boys, ranging in age from about ten to fourteen, came to visit just as my infant son defecated. The boys stopped in their tracks and one, pointing to the mess on the floor, shouted, "/pe/" 'feces,' whereupon they fled.

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If no new sibling has arrived, the Cayapa infant is permitted to nurse at the breast for about three years.

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[The Negroes, however, wean their children after one year, and some Cayapa women are beginning to imitate them.] Weaning is accomplished by shaming or ridiculing the child, or frightening him with stories of cannibalistic ogres, or applying bitter tasting substances to the nipple. [776]

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The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that arise from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. This stems in major part from the fact that the child is generally kept within the confines of the home at these ages. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls; it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. Consequently his movements within the house are restricted and he is effectively blocked off from direct sunlight and on canoe trips he is usually placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

seldom brought home to the confined child; the adults eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors at the riverside. During his fifth year when he is permitted to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit, the incidence of skin disease decreases and his rickety appearance disappears.

Children are wanted and beloved. As an example of permissiveness, they are allowed to indulge in cookies, candies, sugar and soft drinks, but conversely an element of teasing often enters the picture. To illustrate, a small child will be offered a goody, which, when he reaches for it, will be snatched away. Reactions to this affront vary; some children cry; others just sit looking forlorn. The adults seem to enjoy this teasing. An impressive example of contrastive behavior presented itself one day as a group of Indian women and their children came to visit us. Everyone was seated on the floor in a circle, and the conversation was desultory. Finally, a woman took a piece of candy and handed it to my son who was sitting on his mother's lap. As he reached out eagerly for the tidbit, the woman brought her hand back. At this everyone laughed, but the child

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had never been teased in this manner before, and his eyes flashed pure hatred for the woman as he leaned forward, glaring at her. All laughter ceased; everyone gazed fascinatedly at the child. Shortly, the woman offered the candy again, and as it was taken, she jerked her arm back violently as if it had been burned. Clearly, a Cayapa child would never react in this manner; he would have remained passive. The group broke up shortly after this; the event doubtlessly became the subject of much conversation. Frank remained extremely popular with both Indians and Negroes, and passersby on the river before our house would call out his name. When the writer visited, I was asked to bring him along, and, he was never teased again.

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By the age of three years, children are clothed in miniature replicas of their parents' clothing. Genital shame is marked by the age of five or six years. Bathing men and boys convulsively grasp their genitals as they enter the water; on the other hand, women and girls merely wade into the water and remove their skirts when they are waist deep in the river. Bathing is frequent, and swimming is considered to be a great sport by the children.

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by the children.

Boys are now beginning to be sent to school when they reach seven or eight years of age. The school is located up the Río Camerones at Encanto which, in 1960, comprised six houses with a shifting population of about forty. Children from up the river stay with relatives during the school year and go home on weekends and school holidays. This is a most unusual situation, since prior to the introduction of the school, Cayapa children had very little interaction with non-household children, and now new interaction patterns are developing. Education is prized and attendance is regular. Girls remain at home and attend to their household chores. Parents prefer not to send girls to school, despite the urging of the teacher, because "they will write love letters" and, more importantly, they are needed to take care of younger siblings while the parents are out working. Girls begin very early to learn to take care of children, to sweep, to carry water, and to cook. They tend to be quite responsible while taking care of younger siblings, but sometimes they are inclined to be rough. If for example, the

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child being cared for can walk, it may be dragged along by one hand at a much too rapid pace, and it drags rather than runs behind. If the parents should see this the older girl is reprimanded and occasionally slapped.

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Adolescence. There are no special rites marking a boy's entrance into puberty. At adolescence the boy is not considered to be ready to assume the responsibility of adulthood. His training is much more protracted than that of the girls. For example, he must attain skill in canoe workmanship, and this may not be fully achieved until late teen age. He may be given a piece of land of his own to work, but even so, he must help his parents in their work, on demand. The criteria used to determine a boy's readiness for marriage are the following: he must be skillful in cutting his own canoe; he must acquire sufficient land to support a family; he should own a shotgun. The young man himself is often reluctant to assume new responsibilities despite the expectations of his adult associates. This will be discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with Sex, Courtship, and Marriage.

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Sex, Courtship, and Marriage.

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Just as there are no special rites marking a boy's entrance into puberty, there are similarly none for a girl. When the menstrual periods begin, the girl is not alarmed since she has heard the women speak of this phenomenon and therefore knows what to expect. Girls are "ashamed" to tell anyone when the menstrual discharge /suása/ /su/ 'vagina', 'asa/ 'blood,' first appears. In fact, no one likes to talk about it at all, but there are no taboos concerning it. The menstrual discharge is not considered dangerous in any way, and the women may eat anything, bathe in the river, work in the gardens, and engage in sexual intercourse. The women claim that they experience no cramping, nor other discomfort during catomenia.

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Household. Relations within the family tend to be amiable and affectionate. Husband and wife may joke with each other and with the children. The children are taught to respect their parents and other relatives, but no special behavior is expected for different kinds of relatives. It is expected however, that siblings will form an especially intense bond and brother-sister

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ties are often very tender. On one occasion while the writer was treating a man for a fever his married sister came in and knelt beside him. She put her mouth close to his ear and whispered to him while she gently stroked his back. It is said that brothers should work together on all things, that they should inherit and work land together.

Parent-child relationships are affectionate and close. Both parents play with their children and indulge them. Often children were brought in to the writer for an injection of penicillin. In these cases if the child cried and stated emphatically that he did not want it, the parents would not insist. Generally boy and girl children are treated much the same in play behavior with the parents and other siblings with one exception. Boy children, up to about the third or fourth year, are often held up at arms-length above the head of the older person who then lowers the child slowly. When the child is within reach, the older person then places his mouth over the child's genitals for a few seconds. This game is never played with girl children.

While husband and wife relationships tend to be affectionate, the woman is often in a near dominant

position. She generally controls the finances and is consulted before any major purchase is made. If a large sale is made--for example, that of a canoe--she is on hand to count the money. During fiestas she doles out the money to her husband for rum purchases. It is not at all unusual to see a man, already quite drunk, whine, wheedle, threaten, curse, and coax his wife for a few coins. He usually gets it, but ever so begrudgingly. A man and his wife work the fields together and she is adept in the use of a machete. They seem to be in agreement on most things that involve the house and their children. When a child is punished he never seeks aid and comfort from the other parent. Children were never seen playing one parent off against the other. It is doubtful whether this would ever occur to a child. Similarly, parents do not use their children as foils for their own individual advantages.

If grandparents are residing in the home, they are treated with respect by their children and grandchildren. The grandchildren often call them 'father' and 'mother.' Unless they are bedridden, the grandparents do a full share of work, and they continue working until

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the last. The grandmother will often remain behind taking care of the young children while the parents are out working. She may punish the children either by admonition or by slapping them. Generally, there seems to be more roughhouse behavior among the children of the household when the grandparent(s) are present than when are just the parents.

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When the in-laws and/or other relatives are resident in the house the same atmosphere tends to prevail. Each nuclear family occupies a section of the house. Sometimes a cubicle is built for sleeping and storing purposes. Meals are prepared separately and consumed individually. No one eats together as a group. The men are served first. One may be in a hammock, another seated on a bench, yet another may be standing off by himself at the front of the house watching the river. They eat where they are. The women and children eat after the men have eaten. They tend to form more of a group because of the proximity of the cooking area and they converse more together while they are eating than the men do.

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Newcomers to the household group such as a new son or daughter-in-law, tend to be shy and quiet. In

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time this passes. The daughter-in-law is expected to help her mother-in-law when needed, but as both women have to work with and cook for their respective husbands, no onerous burdens are placed on the daughter-in-law. The household has no direction as such. Each nuclear family attends to its own tasks. If asked, they aid in the planting and weeding of the gardens of other co-residents but only if this does not detract from their own work. In temporary work-visits a man works for his in-laws in the following way. A man works with the man who married his sister but not with brothers of his brother-in-law. On the other hand, a man is expected on request, to work for any of the brothers and/or parents of his wife.

Distant kin who may be referred to just as "family" may be resident in the household for varying periods of time, sometimes for years. No special disabilities are entailed and behavior is as described for close kin.

Compadrazgo. The indisputable mark of Iberian contact in the New World is in the social institution

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of ritual co-parenthood called Compadrazgo. Historically and basically it is concerned with the ritual induction into the Catholic Church of an individual through the rites of baptism, confirmation, and marriage. The god-parent stands in the role of sponsor, and in effect gives assurance of good faith on the part of the unbaptized, the unconfirmed, and the betrothed. Compadrazgo relationships are held to be sacred, and the incest taboo is extended to those involved in the ritual co-parenthood and to their descendents. Wherever found, compadrazgo seems to have been accepted with gusto, and there are innumerable variations on the basic theme outlined above. Such flexibility is indeed noteworthy. Mintz and Wolf discuss some of the reasons for the success of this social institution:

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> Compadrazgo, once accepted by a social grouping, can be moulded into the community way of life by many means. It is a two-way social system which sets up reciprocal relations of variable complexity and solemnity. By imposing automatically, and with a varying degree of sanctity, statuses and obligations of a fixed nature, on the people who participate, it makes the immediate social environment more stable, the participants more interdependent and more secure (Mintz and Wolf 1950: 355).

Benjamin Paul, working on compadrazgo in Middle America, abstracted two basic principles of the institution: namely, the intensification of previously existing relationships, and the extension or creation of new ones (Paul 1942:56-57). Mintz and Wolf see the variations of the principles of intensification and extension that mark the areal spread of ritual co-parenthood to be a reflection of socio-cultural change and economic mobility (Mintz and Wolf 1950:356).

> In cases where the community is a self-contained class, or tribally homogeneous, compadrazgo is prevailing horizontal (intra-class) in character. In cases where the community contains several interacting classes, compadrazgo will structure such relationships vertically (inter-class). Last, in a situation of rapid social change compadre mechanisms may multiply to meet the accelerated rate of change (Mintz and Wolf 1950:364).

Barrett's report of his 1909 field trip among the Cayapa indicates that only baptism and marriage were marked by compadrazgo (Barrett 1925:318, 324, 336). We are not given any information by Barrett about the identity of the god-parents, except inferentially, that they were Indian and not Negro. Neither are we told about the identities of the god-parents of successive

4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

608
178

children in the same family--are they the same or different? Between 1909 and 1960 the population pattern of the Cayapa area has altered radically, and the socio-economic changes have been even more marked. If Mintz and Wolf are correct, we should expect to find as a result of rapid change, a multiplicity of compadres, and as the Negroes and the Cayapa form two classes, if not castes, we should expect a vertical extension of compadrazgo ties to include Negroes. The evidence presented by Barrett indicates that they were tribally homogeneous in his time, and compadrazgo was apparently horizontal. Despite the fact that there is no data to support me, I feel that the horizontal extension of ritual kinship during the time of Professor Barrett's study among the Cayapa was primarily, if not entirely, to reinforce previously existing kinship ties. At the present time, the Cayapa do indeed follow the pattern predicted by Mintz and Wolf, but the socio-economic causative factors are not as clear-cut as these authors believe them to be; still, they may be discerned in the Cayapa data and we can see the beginnings of a class structured society reflected in some of the legal decisions that deal with polygyny.

608
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852
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At the present time the Cayapa, in common with most rural Ecuadorians, practice a ceremony of nail cutting that has ritual significance in the sense that god-parents are selected for the child, and the extension of ritual kinship follows as for the rites of baptism and marriage. This ceremonial occasion which is called simply /tyâkikáru/, is a very minor ceremony that may be performed at almost any age from a few months to perhaps six years, or it may never be performed. Almost invariably the god-parents for this occasion are Negro. As Negroes are in political and economic control of the region, we can say that this is a vertical extension of ritual kinship. The Indian seldom asks a Negro to assume this obligation. Quite the contrary, Negroes generally ask the father of the child if he would like to enter into compadrazgo.

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The actual ceremony is very simple. Only the participants are present as a rule. The nails are cut by the god-father, and the parings are placed in a glass of rum which is then drunk by the compadres. Small presents, such as a bottle of rum, some food, soft drinks, and tobacco, are exchanged. Thereafter, the

608
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relationship of greatest importance is that between the compadres and not between the /kumbatápa/ and /kumbatáma/, that is 'god-father' and 'god-mother,' and the god-child or /ihádu/. The compadres refer to each other as /kupára/ or /kumára/. The relationship thus set up is utterly without sanction from the Church, and in point of fact, the parties, if they are Negro and Indian, do not feel that they are actually tied to each other ritually.

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Quite often the Negro who asks to be permitted to cut the child's nails is a travelling merchant who, from time to time, visits the area. It is to his advantage to have an Indian compadre as this assures him of a place to eat and to sleep in his travels. Similarly, if the Negro lives near a town, the Cayapa compadre will visit him occasionally. Indians going to Esmeraldas, for example, may stay for several days in the home of a Negro compadre. Very often the Negro asks to cut the nails of a Cayapa child for pecuniary reasons so that, for example, the banana merchants seek to extend their compadre ties to as many banana growers as they can. Sometimes the Negro attempts to establish previously

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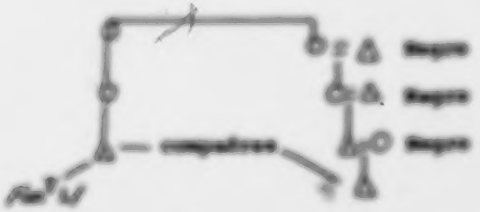
existing kinship ties by means of the nail-cutting ceremony with a Cayapa child. As an example, one Negro who is distantly related to the /ʼiwʸ/ of the Punta Venado section asked if he could be his compadre. The manner of relationship is as follows:



The /ʼiwʸ/ says that he does not know the name of this Negro kinsman and compadre who lives by the ocean near Punta Bajo on the other side of Limones at the mouth of the Río Cayapas. He came up one day in his canoe, bringing fish, green coconuts, clams, and other small gifts. He asked if he could cut the nails of one of the children, and the /ʼiwʸ/ agreed, and the Negro cut the nails of the daughter, María Agrecaria. The /ʼiwʸ/ gave his new compadre gifts of sugar cane, plantain, and chontadura. Since then, the /ʼiwʸ/ had visited his compadre about ten times in a four- or five-year period, and in return

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he has been visited about four times. There is no work at all involved in these visits, which are said to be purely social.

Sometimes an Indian will ask to be a *compadre* so that, for example, the /ʌ̃ʃ/'s daughter, Marie Rosa had her nails cut by the father-in-law of the /ʌ̃ʃ/'s eldest brother's daughter. She lived in *Río Grande* area. Her daughter was ill on occasion, and her father-in-law came up to the *Río Camarones* to ask Gabriel who was not yet the /ʌ̃ʃ/ to come and cure the child. He went down with his family and stayed for about one week. While there a brother-in-law of his niece asked if he could cut the nails of his daughter. When asked why the man had asked to do this, Gabriel replied, "Because he likes me very much." In this case we find a reinforcement of a previously existing relationship. Most children have their nails ceremonially cut, and each child in a family has different god-parents. The picture is one of a multiplicity of *compadres* extended vertically and horizontally. The emphasis in ceremonial nailcutting is primarily vertical and generally involves Negroes. Indians who seek *compadrazgo* are usually related

[177]

distantly by marriage and who, for one or another reason, seek to intensify a weak relationship. The important relationship is between the compadres and not between the sponsor and the child. 608 852

baptism. Every infant must be baptized as soon as possible by the priest. The god-parents chosen for this occasion are always Indian. Although some say that it is best to choose them from within the family, others claim that it is best to choose non-relatives. There are no strong feelings one way or another; however, most of my material indicates a bias in favor of having relatives as compadres of the baptism. A statistical treatment is not possible as my data center primarily on the Río Camarones region and not on the Punta Venado group as a whole. 608 851 [101]

For the baptism the parents, the god-parents, and the infant go to Limones. The ceremony which is done in the Catholic manner by the priest costs ten sucres which is paid by the father of the child. The priest is usually presented with a gift, such as a fan or a basket, made by the Cayapa. At this time no presents are exchanged between the compadres, although [797] [431]

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the father may buy a meal and some drinks for everyone. The compadres now address each other by the same terms used between compadres in the nail-cutting ceremony. When the child grows up, he calls his god-father by the term /padéna?ápa/ and the god-mother by the term, /padéna?áma/, and the reciprocal is /ihádu/ [padena, from Spanish padrino 'god-father,' áma 'mother' ápa 'father']. Incest taboos, if not present before, are now extended, and the /ihádu/ may not marry any of the children of the god-parents. The relationship is marked by respect from all within it. From time to time as conditions seem to warrant it, the parties to the compadrazgo of the baptism gift each other with meat. Within a family each child will usually have a different set of god-parents from his siblings. This is a reinforcement of previously existing kin ties with a multiplicity of horizontally-extended ritual kin.

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Marriage. The Cayapa say that when one goes to heaven all of the souls there look alike. Everyone is the same height, and they all wear identical clothing. It is impossible to recognize the people

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known to one while living; however, there is one exception, this one being that one's /padénaʔépa/, the god-father of the wedding, who sees the newly arrived soul and calls its name. In heaven one is re-united with the god-father and not the father. This story indicates that the major relationship that is set up is between the bridal couple and the padrinos and not between compadres. The marriage padrinos tend to be of the same generation as the bridal couple, and the feeling is that it is best to select padrinos from within the kindred. Padrinos are always man and wife, so that if one wishes a particular individual to be his padrino, then his wife automatically becomes his madrina. If incest taboos did not apply before, they are now extended, and the children of all of the ritual-kin are forbidden to marry each other.

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Except for remarriage, when it is permissible to choose new padrinos for the new marriage, it would appear that the ties of the marriage compadrazgo could not multiply "to meet the accelerated rate of change." I have the slightest suggestion of evidence that indicates that this may very well be happening. I was

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never able to collect cases or to gather actual names, but some of my informants said that they had heard of people occasionally taking a new set of marriage padrinos. The feeling was that this could perhaps be done if the original padrinos gave their permission. In these cases, then, a person could have multiple marriage padrinos. It is most unfortunate that field work exigencies precluded following up these leads. In any event, compadrazgo among the Cayapa has shown itself to be a tremendously flexible instrument of societal ordering.

Religion. The Cayapa are a religious people who call themselves Catholic and are considered to be Catholic by the Church, albeit, "Children in the Faith." They know nothing of the practice of confession and this is not expected of them by the Church. The basic tenets of Catholicism with respect to baptism, marriage, and burial in the Church are followed faithfully by the Cayapa. Within a few months of birth children are taken to the coastal town of Limones or Esmeraldas for baptism. Most marriages are sanctified by a priest, and within a few weeks to a few months after death a special mass will be paid for by the nearest Kin of the deceased.

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346
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will be paid for by the nearest kin of the deceased.

Except for the recent (ca. 1940) colony at Zapallito, each of the three tribal groups has a church constructed in the western manner with plank siding and flooring. The planks for the siding are all placed vertically. The roofing is of thatch and is of split construction; a clerestory space of about two feet runs along the full length of the church on both sides between the upper and lower roofs. Within the church is an altar, and before it, in the Punta Venado Church, is a large crucifix with a carved, realistic Christ figure. Infants are buried inside the church behind the altar, because they are pure and undefiled by sin. Adults are buried in consecrated ground several minutes' walk from the ceremonial center proper. Chiefs are buried just outside of the Church door under the bell which hangs from the projecting lower roof. The ceremonial center is populated by the dead and their spirits. A Cayapa is always buried in the ceremonial center to which he belongs, and he inherits his membership from his father. He may attend fiestas at any of the other centers, but he must be buried where he belongs.

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The Cayapa are not theologians, nor are they knowledgeable about Catholic ritual. They recognize this lack, but do not concern themselves over it. They rely for ritual guidance on the priest, and in his absence their Negro neighbors are ever ready to take his place as religious mentors to the Cayapa. The Cayapa recognize that the Negro has greater understanding of the religion, but they also consider that the Negroes are great sinners, while the Cayapa are held to be very moral. For the Cayapa, religion is morality and morality means proper sexual behavior. That the Negroes seldom, if ever, marry is a constant source of scandal for the Cayapa, and that the Cayapa almost always marry in the Church [a few polygynists to the contrary] is a constant source of envy for the Negro women, who feel great personal insecurity in their free unions. The trouble with the world, say the Cayapa, is that there are many sinners in it--people who commit incest, adultery, and take more than one wife. As most Cayapa are moral, they will go to heaven, but Negroes and Whites, who are notorious sinners, will not. After death Negroes will go to the black clouds and

Whites will go to the white clouds, forever floating between heaven and earth. While the Cayapa believe that they are a moral people, probably everyone has sinned a little and so after death every Cayapa soul is scourged in hell. Periodically the soul is weighed and when the scale tips in favor of the soul over its sins, it goes to heaven.

The matter of sin and sex so concern the Cayapa that when they were presented by the first missionaries with the account of Adam and Eve, they transformed it by saying that in the beginning Jesus created two men and two women. The women were not created from the ribs or any other part of the men's bodies, and so, everyone was properly nonrelated. From these four beings sprang the human race.

At irregular intervals, a priest comes up from Ibarra for Christmas or Easter. He holds a brief service, consecrates marriages, and baptizes children. The Cayapa are very much taken with Catholic imagery and the use of candles. As the writer once watched the priest perform a marriage at Punta Venado, there was a brief contest of wills. The Cayapa wedding party had

all lined up single file broadside to the altar. There were two bridal couples and the two sets of godparents, each couple clutching a lighted candle. The priest, an Italian, who had just arrived from missionary service in the Congo, told them that candles were not at all needed for the marriage service. The members of the wedding party looked somewhat discomfited, but they maintained their grips on the candles. The priest repeated his admonitions several times. There was no argument, but the Indians just stood there holding their candles in front of them. Finally, the priest, with a generous Italian shrug, said, "If you want to get married with candles, I'll marry you with candles, but you really don't need them." In a small way, Catholic flexibility had met Cayapa rigidity and the priest was beginning his accommodation.

Easter is the most important holiday for the Cayapa. The day before Easter week, people begin arriving at the ceremonial center and set up housekeeping. The following day, most of the people have arrived. There were no special services, and most of the day was spent in clearing the plaza. The /ũn^{y}i/ began the work of

clearing. He worked alone for perhaps two hours before he was joined unenthusiastically by eight other men. They all worked separately and at a considerable distance from each other. Other men made minor repairs to the church, and still others made small repairs to the houses surrounding the plaza. All of the houses were in very poor repair, but no one felt obliged to undertake the effort required to make really good repairs. The houses were only used during Easter and Christmas, and none of the inhabitants felt sorely pressed.

The second day of Easter saw people busily engaged in building bamboo cross poles to which were fastened candles. That evening, about six, all of the fiesteros, dressed in their finery, formed a procession. A Negro carried a large statue of a saint in his arms at the head of the parade. Behind him, forming a straggling line, two and three abreast, came the Cayapa. Some men and women held candles in their hands, some men carried the large bamboo cross-poles with six to eight candles. Some carried the smaller statues of the saints. They walked around the church three times, and then entered. Groups of Negroes were present and they sang hymns in Spanish. The Cayapa like to have the

Negroes present for Church services, because they like to hear them sing. One of the complaints voiced against the/ún^{y}i/ was that he had not invited enough Negro singers to the fiesta.

On Easter Sunday, there was a great deal of varied activity in all of the houses as the Cayapa prepared for the church activities. This meant that they put on their newest clothing, and young children were dressed in the kind of ornamentation ordinarily worn by women, they often had row upon row of beads and bangles hanging from the neck down to the waist. Around ten o'clock, the church bell rang, and people began drifting over to the church. The officials stood outside with their whips, and as people approached, they struck them several times across the buttocks. Some went into the church, where the chief stood in front of the altar. They bent forward and received the blows. Children were whipped also, but very lightly. Some of the officials went into each of the houses looking for stragglers. After all had been whipped, they whipped themselves and one of them whipped the chief. Only a few of the Negroes joined in the ritual, and, in these

instances, it was done with a joking air. There was some laughter as the Cayapa were whipping themselves, but it was restrained. As the official went about looking for more people, they kept stating, "Everyone has to be whipped, everyone." This practice very likely was brought in by Catholic missionaries at a very early period.

In general, the description of a fiesta given by Barrett applies, with one major exception. The passion play described by Barrett was no longer being performed. In its place a group of fiesteros set up a marimba, small hand drums and several bass drums in a small rancho between the church and the main house of the chief. During the evening of Easter Sunday, they played with such gusto that sometime between one and two in the morning the structure collapsed. Concurrently with all of these activities, the chief dispensed justice, marriages were arranged, marriages were celebrated, Negro funerals were conducted, fisticuffs were engaged in, people drunk, also passed out, woke up, and the band played on. This continued for six days and nights.

Christmas was similar, except that there were no nighttime processions around the church. Ideally, seven sponsors are chosen for the Christmas fiesta, and they are expected to supply rum, tobacco, and guarapo, and perfumed toilet water which is used to douse the fiesteros during the evening following the church services on the twenty-fifth. The families of the sponsors distribute the goods to all comers until the supply is exhausted. This is expensive, and the outlay in cash may run to over five hundred sucres. While it is said to be an honor to be a sponsor, no one apparently accepts the honor willingly. Sour corn meal is prepared several days before Christmas and mixed with water. This drink, called cangu is put in small canoe-like containers on the evening of the 25th. Ten to twelve containers are divided up and blessed by the chief who makes the sign of the cross. The drink is then carried around and people dip gourds of it and drink. During the Christmas fiesta, the chief wandered around for hours arguing with men who claimed that they were too busy or too poor to become a sponsor for the next Christmas fiesta. Finally, the chief lost his temper and

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harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several canoes in Esmeraldas. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is now undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

than as a personal, phenomenon. That is, there are no family shrines within the home. Individuals do not pray. It is only on festive occasions when many families come together that the trappings of religion are brought forth. The statues of the saints will be displayed in a makeshift shrine within the home which is being used as the gathering place. Some candles are lit; the chief makes the sign of the cross, and the drinking begins. As it progresses, the saints will be turned to the wall "because they do not like to see so much drinking."

The ceremonial centers with their cemeteries, churches, and fiesta activities give the Cayapa a much needed sense of self-awareness and identity. If a priest is present, so much the better; if not, the Cayapa know that they are doing the right thing, that they are moral, and that they are Catholic.

Supernaturals. The Cayapa have a large inventory of spirits and devils (Barrett 1925:360-381). Two that are not mentioned by Barrett seem to reflect a feeling of fear on the part of the Cayapa toward the Negro: The first of these is duende; he lives at the headwaters of

the Río Camerones in the monte. People are afraid of him, because he can kill a person by catching his spirit. Duende is the owner of all of the wild pigs, as well as the /buhúl^{y}a/, a race of cave dwellers who are similar to the Cayapa in appearance. The second, /a^{y}ubéri/, is the devil who plays all of the musical instruments at the same time. Some think that he just touches himself to produce the sounds. He is naked, and black like a Negro, and has a very large penis with which he kills women when he makes love to them. These beings are not really a part of the religious belief system, but other spirits are.

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186
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The Cayapa believe that people have three souls: /tembûka/ 'heart,' /kúme/ 'soul' and /ačúa cút^{y}u ûhmu/ 'bald ghost.' At death, the /tembûka/ leaves the body by way of the mouth and goes straight up to Jesus, who has it punished. The manner of punishment is not clear, but it goes on for a very long time. Finally, the soul enters heaven. There are no clear ideas expressed regarding the nature of heaven, but many Cayapa think in terms of a big fiesta. The /kúme/ leaves the body at death in an unknown manner and wanders about the

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vicinity. It may kill people whom it encounters alone. 775
The third soul, the bald ghost is dressed in white and remains by the grave. "In the old days, it would fight with its enemies, but nowadays this does not happen." The /kúme/ has the form of the body it inhabits, and it 774
has the power of leaving the body during sleep, and of travelling about at will. In their travels, the souls visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends, and distant places. At these times the soul is in danger [754]
of being harmed by witchcraft; if the /kúme/ is prevented from returning to its body, that person must die.

In common with much of the Catholic world, the 775
Cayapa believe that a deceased infant has not had a 848
chance to sin and so goes directly to heaven as an angel; 789
however, if the child had been conceived in sin, then 847
they maintain that it is an abomination, and non-Christian. In this case they feel that the Christian thing to do is to kill the neonate, but the status of the soul of the infant is not clear. On the question of 775
the immediate transit to heaven of the infant's soul, 851
the Negroes are the authorities for the Cayapa. As an 177
instance, the wife of Pablo Canalebu of Encanta, died [845]

4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

775
851
177
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in childbirth, and the infant was born dead. No one discussed the condition of the infant's soul at all, until a group of Negroes came to express their condolences. They remarked among themselves that the infant was probably in purgatory because it had not been baptized. They spoke in this vein for about ten minutes until Bella Carolina, who is half Cayapa and married to the founder of the village of Concepcion, noticed that the Indians were becoming disturbed at the trend that the conversation was taking, and she said that of course, since the child was only recently dead, it perhaps was not too late, and she took some water from a gourd and sprinkled it on the tiny body. There was a brief flurry of conversation among the Negroes, and the remark was made that "very likely the infant was in heaven now." At this, the Indians visibly calmed.

Funeral customs. Death is not a stranger to the Cayapa, and everyone can reasonably expect to attend at least two or three funerals during a year. The greatest number of deaths are of infants. In other age groups there are violent deaths such as men drowning, breaking their necks in falls, and being poisoned

761
165
[764]

by snakes and also by design. Women frequently die in childbirth; tuberculosis runs rampant, and periodically whooping cough and measles decimate the population. People die from spirit possession, soul loss, witchcraft, illness, and accidents; however, very old people "just die." People are afraid of death although it is maintained that no one dies because of his sins. Punishment takes place after death, and everyone must be purified of his sins by punishment after his demise. It is believed that when the Whites die their souls go to the white clouds while those of the Negroes go to the black clouds. Only the Cayapa may enter heaven.

When death strikes, all relatives within a few hours' travel are notified. The immediate family clean the body, if necessary, and place it on a mat. Water is boiled and then poured over the area where the body lay last. Two or three men of the neighborhood are asked to prepare a coffin; this coffin which is made of bamboo is said to be the "canoe of the soul" and is called /ikkuypile/. Its construction involves four or five hours' work, and when it is completed, the parent or spouse of the deceased offers

the coffinmakers a gift of two or three liters of rum which is consumed on the spot. If the deceased is a woman, her husband goes through her belongings and sets aside items that are especially attractive and/or expensive, and these are later auctioned off at the funeral. The money received in this manner is used to pay for special masses for the dead. Finally when all is in readiness, the body is placed in the coffin. The funeral is held at a house that is on the main river to facilitate the final removal of the body to the ceremonial center for burial. The coffin is placed in a canoe which is piloted by a close male relative: father, husband, brother, stepsons. The pilot sets out alone with the corpse for the funeral site.

One day I received word that the wife of Aurelio Allapa had just died from the bite of a venomous snake. She had been attended by a brujo for a period of four days to no avail. The following morning at about two o'clock, we heard faintly the mourning chant of the Cayapa. Slowly the sound came closer, and far up the river a light was moving steadily. Finally, after what appeared to us to be an interminably long time, Aurelio

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came close to our house. He cried out, wailing in the Cayapa manner, "Here is the house of Don Milton where we used to go together; it gives me pain to think that we will no longer go there, ay . . ." At this he passed by our house, and we could hear him call out landmarks that were familiar to him and to his wife--landmarks that they would no longer see together. Finally he moved out of sight and out of hearing. We were quite disturbed over this, not only because she was a friend, but also because we had an ample supply of anti-venom and had not been notified of the snakebite when we might have helped her. People were saying that Aurelio did not hire effective brujos. They said that the ones he hired were known to be ignorant of snake-bite curing. Aurelio had been married for about ten years and had no children. His wife gave birth once prematurely, and the child died; ever since this, unfortunately, she had been sterile. This was a great sadness to them, for they wanted children very much. When I asked others why Aurelio had never adopted children, the answer always was, "He wants his own blood."

Funerals tend to begin late in the afternoon,

about five or six o'clock. Prior to the *velorio*, or wake, the people who are not in mourning /pamila/ bathe and don their make-up and fancy clothing. During this procedure the children race about noisily. While waiting for the proper time to make their entrance, people like to remain in large groups "because the spirit of the deceased is wandering about and may kill anyone who is alone."

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In the meantime at the funeral site, a raft has been built to transport the remains to the ceremonial center, and musical instruments have been placed together off at one side of the house. The coffin has been placed near one of the sides of the house, and candles are placed at the head and foot. If the deceased was a man, his car is broken and placed in the coffin with him. The mouth of the corpse is carefully covered with a piece of colored cloth, and the eyes are closed. Members of the family mourn at the head of the coffin, either singly or in pairs. They mourn in a stereotyped manner, chanting in Cayapa appropriate phrases like "Who will support the family now?" "Who will bring home the food?" "I am all alone

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now." "Who will take care of the children now that 764
my wife, their mother, has died?" The wailing lasts [273]
for some twenty minutes, and then new mourners replace
the old who go off and tend children, sleep, talk, and,
above all, drink. As these sounds begin to be heard
by the people who are waiting up and down the river,
they begin to drift in to the funeral house. The [534]
women and girls arrange themselves on one side of the
room while the men congregate near the drums and
marimba. Some begin to play the musical instruments [275]
while the "owner" of the dead offers rum to everyone.
The music becomes livelier and conversation becomes
animated as this goes on, and all this while the
mourning continues by the coffin. Games begin to be [524]
played by the men and boys, and this is the only time [526]
that organized amusements are practiced by the Cayapa.
There are at least nine kinds of games engaged in at
funerals although they may not all be pursued at any
one occasion. One activity, /pánda lúši/ 'plantain 524
money,' however, is always included. A description of
this is as follows: Five pieces of plantain are cut
into slices which are said to be money /luši/, and one

524

piece is cut in a rectangular form like a domino, and three holes are made on each side. The one who cut the "coins" is said to be the owner of the domino which is called /lúši yáʔma/. The boys and young men who are playing this game sit in a circle face to back. The "coins" are piled up on the floor in the middle of the group. The owner of the domino passes to the one sitting next to him on either the front or to the rear. The chip is passed around full circle and then the owner passes it around in the opposite direction. This is done about five times, and then it is passed down one man at a time. With each pass the passer picks up a "coin" and if he wishes to "cheat," he may pick up more than one. Cheating of this kind is the source of good-natured joshing and shoving. When all of the "coins" are gone, the players count up their winnings, and then everyone puts his pile of plantain slices back into the center of the circle, and the whole process is repeated. This is most definitely not a contest of skill or strategy, but they seem to enjoy it, and it is repeated for an indefinite period. The only difference noted is that, as the game continues,

the participants begin to hit each other's hand with great force as they pass the domino along the circle. Finally, the sport ends, and the plantain money is handed over to the "owner" of the deceased who accepts it in exchange for some bottles of rum. The /pánda lúŭi/ is then placed in the coffin, and it is said that it becomes "transformed into real money in heaven."

Another activity often indulged in is called /úliŋgayéči kánu/ 'the game of linking arms.' It is as follows: People form a circle by locking hands tightly and then lock arms for a few seconds. This is followed by the participants grasping each other's crossed arms. Following this they line up for a "tug of war" with the man in the middle bearing the brunt of the opposing sides.

In the contest called /čaʔna kánu/ [no gloss], a cloth is twisted and used as a whip. The players form a circle as they face inward. The cloth is placed on the neck of one of the men. As this is done, the recipient of the cloth grabs it and runs after the man who placed it on his neck and hits him with the cloth. The one who was hit rejoins the circle, and the second

526

contestant places the cloth on the neck of the next player in line, and as he does so, he shouts "/čána."

/čival^{y}ítu/ from Spanish 'little goat' is a very popular sport. The players form a large circle by linking hands while one man stands in the center of the circle. The circle moves first in one direction then in the other while the players chant in unison "/čival^{y}ítula/" with a rising falsetto at the penultimate vowel. At this, the man in the middle places his hands over his head and beats the palms of his hands together while shouting the same response as the participants in the circle. The man then in the center sings out in a high voice the exclamation ¾^{i}/" which is protracted for a few seconds. After this he rejoins the circle, and a replacement steps forward.

In the game of /vaǵára bánu/ 'playing cow' two men are placed in the center of a circle formed by locking arms. As the circle moves, those in the center attempt to break out by rushing head-long at the joined hands in the circle. As they break out, they join the circle and are replaced in their turn.

Another diversion is called /kúču mí^{i}nu/ or

526

'getting yucca.' A group of men and boys seat themselves in a line. Then four men come and choose one of the players who will be the yucca. This yucca is picked up bodily with one man holding each extremity, and he is then offered for "sale." He is "sold" for /pánda lúši/.[§] After the purchase the yucca remains beside his buyer for a few minutes after which the "money" is placed in the coffin. After this gesture the "owner" of the dead sets up a round of drinks for the players.

[764]
[273]

/ayalánu/ 'fishing' is still another entertainment that involves the use of /pánda lúši/. One man tosses out a "line" made of a small piece of cloth among a group of seated "fish." Every now and then one bites and is hauled in and "killed" with a piece of wood. The fish is then weighed by being hefted bodily and is then sold for plantain money.

Another pastime is known as /čupípi/ 'chicken' and is very rough. A man or boy pretends to be a chicken hawk and attempts to steal a "chicken." The "hens" try to prevent this, and few holds are barred.

There is also a diversion called /atukása hánu/

§ [i.e. "plantain money" - ANALYST]

526

'no glose' in which a double circle is formed with one man in the center. To form the double circle, one man stations himself directly behind another and places his hands on his partner's shoulders. All couples are paired in this manner: in addition, there is a group of three players who form part of the double circle, with the third man being "it." The man in the center has a whip made of a piece of twisted cloth with which he strikes the third man. Upon being struck this man moves over to the next set and assumes the first position in the line-up. The whip bearer then strikes the newly created "third man," and this process is repeated until the whip bearer is tired, and then someone else replaces him.

526
764
[562]
[524]
[592]

Arm wrestling and throwing an opponent over one's back are great favorites. In these events men of forty may vie with youths of thirteen. Girls and women do not participate in any of these games and sports, but are appreciative spectators. They are all exquisitely dressed and consciously trying to attract the young men. Some of the games involve skill or the use of strategy: they cannot even be

[524]

considered to be gambling. Nevertheless, everyone enjoys them. Even the mourners come over to watch when they are not wailing at the coffin.

It is important that life and gaiety go on, and, for this reason, people struggle not to fall asleep. If the noise, laughter, and music were to cease, the soul of the deceased "could exact vengeance." Finally, about four o'clock in the morning a silence falls over the assembled mourners and celebrants; it is the time of the /mulúta kénu/, the last farewell. Everyone stands, and one man known to have a good voice sings out in a Spanish-Cayapa mixture: "manay ya se fué muluta puye llegue muluta talatʸumbi lakwande." At this, all of the assembled men except for the "owners" of the deceased sing the same phrase in unison. Now the coffin is carried down to the raft for the trip to the ceremonial center. Not everyone goes to the burial; some family members remain behind to take care of the children if there any, and others may be too drunk to make the trip. Three or four people are generally all that go to the cemetery.

Adults and children are buried in a cemetery

Adults and children are buried in a cemetary

area called the panteón, while infants are buried directly inside the church. When an /ʼúnʸi/ dies he is buried immediately outside the church entrance underneath the church bell that is suspended from the projecting roof. The Cayapa maintain that it is very important to be buried in the ceremonial center to which one belongs. Ceremonial allegiance is inherited in the patrilineal line and even though one has spent all or most of his life living in one of the other tribal groups, they believe that one should still be buried in the proper center. If a Cayapa should die far from home, he is interred at the site of death. Thereafter, attempts are made to bring the bones back for a proper funeral and burial. A casket is made, and the bones are laid out. The mourning and gaiety described above are carried out, but in a much more perfunctory fashion.

764
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[619]
[631]

Medical Practices. Illness for the Cayapa is mainly a matter of soul loss or spirit possession. To a lesser extent, the cause of the illness may be the presence of small physical objects such as stones or thorns which have been placed within the body by means of witchcraft.

753
[774]
[754]

of witchcraft. Barrett records that very little attention is given to wounds per se beyond the application of hot beeswax or a leaf to keep off the insects; however, a few individuals have specialized in the setting of broken bones. Apparently, this specialty is not taught, but a person who wants to engage in this activity practices by removing the corn kernels from a dry ear of corn and then replaces them in their sockets under cover of the husks. This is said to develop finger dexterity and the sense of touch. With growing competence the neophyte bonesetter practices mending the limbs of domestic animals, and eventually, the first human patient requests his services. Clean fractures seem to be rather easily handled, and it is said that "green-twig" fractures are similarly mended. The price for this service is high, ranging from 500 sucres to over 1,000 sucres.

For illnesses caused by spirit possession or spirit loss, a brujo or witch is needed. There are no special requirements for becoming a brujo beyond the desire and money to pay for instruction. As the prophet is seldom honored in his own country, so the Cayapa

maintain that the best witches are not Cayapa at all but rather the Cholo of Colombia and the Colorado of Ecuador. Next in order of preference are the highland Indians around Ibarra, and, finally, those Cayapa who have been instructed from the masters listed in descending order of preference. Those Cayapa who have been instructed by other Cayapa enjoy very little esteem. There is said to be a good deal of jealousy between witches, and in popular belief they are said to seek opportunities to kill off their rivals.

The Cayapa theory of spirit possession is that if one is wandering in the monte, a spirit may spy one and fall in love with one. The spirit then embraces the victim and enters his body. Spirits or inimical objects may be implanted in the body by witchcraft as well. When someone falls ill and lingers in illness for a time, the charge is made that an enemy is at work. The task of the brujo is simply to rid the body of the object or spirit that is causing the illness.

The witches' paraphernalia consists of archaeological artifacts that were made by the people resident in the area prior to the Cayapa occupation. A

spirit is said to reside in each piece. Black stone axes are especially potent, as are pieces of crystal that have been purchased in town. Tobacco is part of every curing; the smoke wafts the illness away from the body. A considerable amount of alcohol is used as well. The witch takes a mouthful of /lǎkala/, 'rum,' and sprays it out of his mouth with a loud "whoosh" at the patient's back; a considerable amount of rum fails to compress as spray, and the witch finishes the curing in an advanced state of inebriation! In general, the manner of effecting a cure is as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:344-352). However, I participated in one that differed considerably. I was told one day that a curing session was in progress at a point not too distant from my house. When I arrived, the cure had apparently been going on for some time. A middle-aged man lay on a reed mat that had been placed on the ground. Alejandro of Encanto sat off to one side leaning back against two parallel sticks that had been thrust into the ground to serve as a backrest. From time to time he alternately whistled short stretches of staccato sounds, that had a decided "blues" quality.

755
756
[172]
[276]
[273]
755
123
[352]
[533]
[191]

and chanted a curious mixture of Spanish and what may have been unintelligible magical Quechua words. The Spanish element predominated, but not as connected discourse. The manner of chanting made comprehension extremely difficult for me, but the sequence may be described as stretches of humming, interspersed with unintelligibility, punctuated by the words "moreno . . . India brava . . . enfermidad . . . brujo . . . ," that is, "Negro . . . wild Indian . . . sickness . . . witch . . . ." From time to time there were straight Spanish incantations: "this man is sick, I know, I know, cure, cure, Negro." The Negro is included in the list of powerful words because it is felt that Negroes often practice black magic against the Indian; similarly, the India Brava were a powerful people whose very stone and pottery artifacts retain their ancient power. The witch is included for obvious reasons, and Spanish is used probably because it connotes power. A man who controls Spanish controls the outside forces to a degree impossible for a monolingual Cayapa.

On occasion, Alejandro would take a mouthful of rum and blow it out in the direction of the patient.

755
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191

177
186
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172

123
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While this was going on, Gerardo, a minor brujo who is also Alejandro's father, rolled up some hoja blanca leaves in the shape of a cone, and placed it on the head of the patient who, by now, was sitting up. The old man then ran both of his hands up the patient's body toward the head. When he reached the forehead he squeezed tightly, quickly gathered up the conical "dunce-cap," and ran off into the jungle where he threw it away. He had brought out some of the malignant spirits through the patient's head and into the hat. As this was going on, the patient kept looking at me out of the corner of his eye; finally he said to Gerardo, while pointing his lips at me, "He's real big;" at this, Gerardo asked if I would like to try removing some of the illness. I agreed with alacrity, and as I placed my hands along the patient's sides and began massaging upwards, he cried out: "/ũra, ũra/, which means "good, good." Gerardo and I worked together, and used up four cone hats. Throughout all of this activity, Alejandro kept humming and chanting, and taking long pulls at the rum bottle, and occasionally spraying some in our direction.

At the conclusion of the curing ceremony, the

123
755
[824]

[273]

patient, who appeared to be wracked by malaria, declared that my power had helped him considerably. This comment was accepted with perfect equanimity by the two brujos who nodded and agreed that I did have big hands.

There appears to be no conflict between the Cayapa theory of disease and modern medical practices. On several occasions, Malía, an active brujo, would come to me for medications to give his patients. The feeling was that the White man's medicine taken together with the native remedy could not be beaten; however, quite commonly, western medication is sought only as a last resort.

Almost everyone has a modicum of curing knowledge, but one would never dare to utter incantations that summon spirits, unless he has paid a teacher for knowledge. An unauthorized person who called the spirits would be killed by them. Most people will at one time or another attempt to effect a cure. A brief illustration of some of these points can be seen in the following events recorded during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Veradu in 1959.

[Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado]

It was one thirty in the afternoon on Friday, when a very sick child was brought to the /ún^{y}i/ to be cured. Gabriel, was quite drunk, but he took the child and blew on the top of its head. He then passed the child to a Negress, who did the same thing, and then tossed the child up into the air. The /ún^{y}i/ then took the child and blew on its head again. The parents of the child stood by crying, as it was obvious that the child was in mortal danger. Some other Indians began taking turns blowing at the child's head, and one began to suck out at the nostrils, while another massaged the child's hands. The Negress suggested using some chocolate, but this advice was ignored. I offered some sulfa pills, but the father refused them. The /kapitán/ then began rubbing a commercial menthol ointment around the child's face, neck and chest. While he was doing this, the /ún^{y}i/ slumped down in a corner of the room and passed out drunk. The Negress kept urging the /kapitán/ to rub some of the ointment on the child's back, and he did so. Then the mother took the child, and offered it the breast, which was refused.

The child was gasping very hard. At this point, the father took off his western styled shirt, and put on a yellow Cayapa shirt. As he was doing this a young man took hold of the child's right wrist, and began blowing on the fingers, while another began to briefly blow on the child's head.

Eventually, the number of people working on the child dwindled to three men, including the /kapitán/, who are said to be brujos . . . they removed the child to an abandoned house site, and they sat on a log discussing what to do. Each brujo, as he drank from a bottle of rum, stated that he would use a very important and strong incantation; and then with a long look at the others, added, "and I am not afraid either." One began to whistle and chant, and another began sucking at the child's mouth, while the third kept complaining that I was too

755
756
[177]
[123]
[177]
[291]
[177]
[123]

ugly to hear, and that I must leave before he began his cure, but the other two assured him that I was a "good gringo." By this point, the three brujos were quite drunk, and unable to function. The father took the child back to the main house, where it died early the following morning.

It is felt that brujos can kill as well as cure, but except for one instance, excessive secrecy was never attributed to Cayapa brujos. The father of Pancho of Borbón was a brujo who was killed because "he killed too many people." This was the only instance recorded and it was apparently done on an individual basis and not through the legal apparatus.

Government. The Spanish governmental nomenclature can be found with varying degrees of completeness in each of the four tribal sections. The list as noted by Barrett included the following: "Gobernador, secretario de la gobernación, teniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento." (Barrett 1925:312). In 1960, the terms alcalde, comisário, and teniente político were apparently no longer in use, and no one knew of any individual who occupied any of these offices.

Today, as in 1959, there are apparently three

main classes of officials. First, there is the /ʔaʸʟ/ or *gobernador*; second, there is the /ʔáma ʔaʸʟ/ or *gobernador cuerpo*; and third, there are those officials called /ʔɛʲtala/. This term may derive from /ʔɛʸʟ/ "people" and /-tala/ "together," that is, an official who gathers people together. Those officials who are called *capitán* or /ʔánda/, the latter from *tenientes*, and the secretaries, seem to be /ʔɛʲtala/ and are listed on the official roles in the provincial capital of *Esmeraldas*. Regardless of Spanish title, the /ʔɛʲtala/ are not functionally distinct. That is, the duties of all of the officials are the same: to help arrange marriages and to settle disputes. At the ceremonial center they may as a group try a case while the /ʔaʸʟ/ listens to the proceedings and comes to a decision. In addition to these officials, there are individuals who are called policemen and who are available at the request of any of the officials. Their duties include the bringing in of culprits for trial as well as aiding in the maintenance of a medium of order at the fiestas.

The /ʔaʸʟ/ "chief" of each of the tribal sections

622
624

[584]
[692]

625
694
796

The /ún^{y}i/ chief of each of the tribal sections is the acknowledged leader of the section; however the national government of Ecuador has inscribed the chief of the Punta Venado section as governor of all the Cayapa. The Indians of the other three groups say that while this governor is indeed superior to the others, he can in no way interfere in their internal affairs nor give orders to them. This is quite different from the situation reported by Barrett where in 1909 the chief of Punta Venado was in effective control of all of the other groups, allowing their chiefs to handle only minor matters (Barrett: personal communication). Office is inherited in the patrilineal line.

The /kása ún^{y}i/ may become the chief upon the death of the /ún^{y}i/ provided the eldest son of the /ún^{y}i/ is not old enough, or perhaps does not want the job. In these instances the brothers of the late governor may be considered. All of the offices mentioned pass within the male line as a rule, but they may pass out of the line if no one wants the job or if no one within the line is capable of handling it. Regardless of title, the duties of the officials are the same: they are expected to maintain order at the various festive occasions, and they are expected to adjudicate disputes among the Cayapa.

619
631
622
643
648

622
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622
624
692

disputes among the Cayapa. In disputes between an Indian and a Negro, however, a Cayapa official is usually asked by the Indian to speak in his behalf before the Negro *teniente político* in the town of *San José* or before the White *comisario* in the town of *Limones*. Patently unjust decisions rendered by the *teniente político* may be appealed to the *comisario* and ultimately to the national government by the /ʌʷʸʟ/. In this, the Cayapa enjoy an advantage over the Negroes. The common feeling in Ecuador seems to be that in any encounter between an Indian and a Negro, the Indian is the innocent victim. While this is indeed true much of the time, the Cayapa threaten to go to the top even when they are clearly in the wrong, and the Negroes are naturally resentful of this.

The Cayapa are self-governing, although they are loosely bound by national laws covering land sale, theft, and murder. Periodically attempts are made by the local Negro officials to usurp the authority of the /ʌʷʸʟ/ by demanding funds for one or another purpose. In 1960, the people of the Negro village of *Camarones* began to agitate for recognition of the village as the center of

100
692
177
648

648
177
[642]

the parish. This honor belonged to the town of San José, but as national elections were near, it was felt that the proper time had come to make a bold attempt to have Camarones declared the leading village. The Inspector of Camarones visited with several Cayapa officials who lived up the Río Camarones, and he demanded fifty sucres from each adult male Indian. He said that this was needed to bribe the higher officials if Camarones were to take the place of San José. There were four or five days of rumor-mongering, mostly concerning the avarice of the people of Camarones, and then consensus was reached. Gabriel Alaga, the /[illegible]/, told the writer that he would have paid five sucres but that fifty was too much. Neither the Indians nor the citizens of Camarones contributed to the Inspector. As a result, San José continued to be the parish head, although a new teniente político was to replace the old one who had backed the losing party in the elections.

Attempts to encroach on Cayapa governmental affairs may be seen in embryonic form in some of the school activities. For example, the school has been in operation for six or seven years. There has been a

648
175
536
[172]
[692]
[177]

succession of teachers with varying degrees of competence. In 1960 the school teacher, who was a native of Camarones, began giving the Indian pupils drama lessons. The plays offered always involved Cayapa going to Negroes for advice. Generally, the plots involved marital bickering within the Cayapa families which were then solved by the Negro official. These scenes are always greeted with laughter by the assembled Cayapa who come to watch their children perform. No one would even dream of taking a family quarrel to a Negro official. It is interesting to note however, that one Negro is making some progress toward involving himself in Cayapa affairs. This Negro's name is Pindulaṅas, and he presents a rather grotesque appearance. His nose has been entirely destroyed by the ravages of yaws, and his hands are twisted into the shape of talons. This man has the distinction of being the only Negro who speaks Cayapa. Since he lives very near the ceremonial center of Punta Tonada, he has been hired by the /ʌ^{n}ʔ/ to keep the church clean. Pindulaṅas attends every Fiesta and becomes actively interested in most of the legal cases. On several occasions he publically

177
692

[164]

[358]

announced that he knew more of the law than did Gabriel. The Cayapa plainly do not know how to deal with Pindalense. Some Cayapa say that he has absolutely no right to interfere in the legal disputes. Similarly, Gabriel points out that the Negro is merely his employee and nothing more, but a few Cayapa think that perhaps he can take part in the adjudicating of disputes. They are not very certain, but if Pindalense acts as if he can, then perhaps he can. On occasion he has asked Cayapa women to dance with him at the fiesta in the Cayapa manner, but he has always been refused. No other Negro has ever attempted to dance with a Cayapa woman. In the disputes witnessed by the writer at which Pindalense was present, he seemed to restrict himself to echoing the judgments reached by the Cayapa officials.

Such governmental activities as exist for the Cayapa will be amply illustrated in terms of their law. In point of fact, Cayapa law can be said to be the major part of Cayapa government. Political behavior for the Cayapa is intimately related to governmental instability which is largely the result of interregnum

uncertainties. These uncertainties are carried over into the new period of chieftainship wherein there is a great difference between the people's perception of authority and their expectation of authority. Gabriel is not seen as a strong chief but, rather, as a man who drinks excessively and as a result, is unable to function as a chief should. At this point political behavior took two forms among the Cayapa. On one level, individuals were seen expressing dissatisfaction with Gabriel as the newly installed /ún^{y}i/ and threatening to go to Quito, the national capitol, to have him replaced. The youngest son of the late /ún^{y}i/ was voicing complaints that by rights he should have been the /ún^{y}i/ because he speaks excellent Spanish in marked contrast to Gabriel. Most of the complaints seemed to emanate from the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas, more especially from the region of Pichiyaco, the home of the late /ún^{y}i/. Complaints were voiced that Gabriel could not speak good Spanish, that he could not perform his duties, that he could not settle disputes, that he was /vinrúku/, "a drunkard." As the time drew near for the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado, many people

622
643
665
156
[671]
642
[733]

[733]

[796]
[692]

began saying that they would attend the fiesta at one of the other tribal sections rather than attend one headed by an incompetent drunkard. Others said that if they attended, they would not ask Gabriel to settle their disputes; rather than this, they said, they would go to the national authorities. Gabriel was clearly not very secure in his position. The behavior of the people in these instances was political because there was a shifting of support from one authority to a contender. Furthermore, the shift of support was ideologically motivated in terms of values concerning the nature of the chieftainship (cf Easton 1958; Siverts 1960). Gabriel's reaction to this was to drink more. Often when I would be talking to one or more Indians, Gabriel would appear on the scene, quite drunk, and begin to electioneer in a loud voice. He would tell the Indian(s) that he was responsible for my being there and that they would all benefit by my knowledge of hypodermics and penicillin. Whenever I saw Gabriel, he was obviously drunk; these observations extended over many months.

The personal crisis for Gabriel seems to have

622
643
665
156
[796]
[692]
[733]
[123]
[733]
[796]

been met during the Christmas fiesta. He took no overt steps to assert his authority beyond stating to a few Negro bystanders that he was the /ún^{y}i/. He remained drunk a good deal of the time but so did most of the other fiesteros including women and, at times, children. Little by little, people became aware of the fact that there was indeed an /ún^{y}i/ available, and a few began drifting over to where he lay drunk, sprawled in his hammock; despite his inebriation, /kavítu/ "complaints," were presented to him. It turned out that most of the disputes to be settled were from the area that had initially manifested greatest opposition to Gabriel. Gabriel, therefore, began to function as the /ún^{y}i/ in fact, as well as in name; however, his performance was not at all satisfactory. For example, on one occasion when he was asked to cure a sick child because he had studied curing with a brujo from Espalla Grande, he was ineffective in carrying out this ritual because of his drunkenness.

As the fiesta wore on day and night without dissolution for a full week, the second level of political

622
643
665
156
796
783
[692]

[755]

[626]

behavior began to develop. Individuals, all very drunk, and occasionally two or three holding each other up, would stand in front of Gabriel and lecture him on his drunkenness. This was not the way an /ʌ̃ʸʟ/ should act, they would say; he must be sober; he must change his ways, or the people would not listen to him. From time to time his wife would place herself before his supine form which was sprawled occasionally on the floor, but most often in his hammock. She would loudly and clearly, in front of the assembled crowd, harangue him in the same vein, telling him to sober up and get out and behave as an /ʌ̃ʸʟ/ should. Scenes like these were repeated throughout the year at various small parties and again at Punta Venado during the next Easter season. The attendance during Easter was markedly less than at the previous Christmas gathering. Political resistance had not died down. The situation described above has all of the elements of a comedy [drunks moralizing to a drunkard], but Gabriel was an element of poignant tragedy within the comedy. The previous year he had not been a drunkard, but that year he was not the /ʌ̃ʸʟ/.

622
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665
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After assuming office he merely continued his usual drinking behavior which apparently was the culturally normal pattern. A normally intoxicated Cayapa cannot settle disputes adequately nor can he maintain law and order effectively. An important point also is that the sober Cayapa feels absolutely no guilt or shame for his behavior while drunk. His work routine has not been disrupted, his family is not neglected, no one points a scornful finger at him. For the Gabriel, the situation was quite different. The instant he became the /ʌnʔʟ/ he was expected to change a lifetime of habit formation. Political behavior involving the shift of support from one authority to another entered a phase of psychological warfare. A new authority was to be created and the old one destroyed psychologically. The new authority was to be created in the image of what the people felt an /ʌnʔʟ/ should be like. The lack of congruence between the people's expectation of authority and their actual perception of authority created a situation of intense ambiguity wherein Gabriel was being culturally defined as an alcoholic. The ambiguous nature of his position,

the presence of very heavy, culturally-approved drinking, and the constant moralizing and expressions of political disaffection brought Gabriel to the inexorable cycle that began to isolate him as the only apparent alcoholic in a society of heavy drinkers. It may be that as Gabriel begins to succumb to addictive alcoholism, the individual pressures exerted politically will begin to mold his personality in a new direction; as the gap between expected and observed authority progressively narrows, political behavior will progressively decrease, and the Cayapa governmental system will approach a measure of stability.

Not only was Gabriel's authority on probation within the Punta Venado group but it was completely rejected by the people of the other tribal sections. Gabriel felt that as the senior /kʷi/ he should be in charge of all Cayapa affairs. Barrett reported that during his stay, Gabriel's father was in effective control of all of the Cayapa sections, leaving to the other chiefs only minor matters (Barrett 1960, personal communication).

Gabriel attempted to assert some measure of

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

622
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156
[787]

personal direction during a situation of crisis and was soundly rebuffed on all sides. During 1959-60 rumors were constantly in the air in Ecuador that the end of the world was going to take place soon. These rumors had reached the Cayapa and were vouched for by one of the priests at the town of Limones. This priest had been forecasting such an event for some time. According to Gabriel, Jesus carries the world in his arms and when the sins of the people pile up, the world gets heavier and heavier until at last the burden becomes insupportable, and Jesus lets the world fall. That, said Gabriel, will happen very soon unless the Cayapa can appease the wrath of God by holding a special fiesta on the tenth of August, a national holiday. Gabriel was so concerned that he sent a message to the chiefs of the other sections, inviting them to a meeting at his home to discuss the impending disaster and the means by which to avert it. He wanted each group to stage a fiesta at its own ceremonial center at the same time "to give added strength." To make doubly sure, he wanted four young children to be married "as they did in the

[792]
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old days." Being young they would, of course, be without sin, and Jesus would find the sight touching and forgive the world. Gabriel also let it be known that any of the Punta Venado group who did not attend would be fined by a special commission composed of two Indians and two Negroes. The Negroes would be needed to speak harshly to the stay-at-homes because the Indians have too much shame to speak with the needed firmness. The chiefs of the other sections never came to the proposed meeting. Probably sensing his lack of control over the other groups as well as within his own group [several people had voiced opposition to going so far to Punta Venado], he about-faced and stated that a celebration would be held at his house, to be followed in a week by another to be held at the Cimarrón house in Borracho. According to informants, this would serve adequately because the statues of the saints are in Gabriel's house and would be brought to Borracho when needed.

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It is clear that at this time Gabriel had no control over the other sections and very little over his own. Resistance to him was on an individual basis

4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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and never by way of organized groups. There were no political groups, just individuals who occasionally voiced dissatisfaction.

John Embree in his comparison between Thai and Japanese social systems wrote in terms of close and loose structures:

> Loosely integrated here signifying a culture in which considerable variation of individual behavior is sanctioned (Embree 1950:182) . . . Where social structure is "close"--that is, where the behavior of the people conforms closely to the formal social patterns of human relations . . . it is difficult for an individual to deviate, and reciprocal rights and duties are clearly marked and carried out (Embree 1950:182).

Cayapa social organization is, in these terms, loosely integrated, and Cayapa behavior is marked by individuality but not by individualism. That is, there is no ethic of individualism, rugged or otherwise, held as an ideal, but rather the sociological concomitants of a bi-laterally structured kinship system, lacking corporate kin groupings, coupled with the lack of permanent action groups of any kind, usually preclude social involvements on other than an individual basis. A possible exception to this may be

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found in the household consisting of several related nuclear families, but even here, the group is contingent upon circumstances, variable in personnel and unstable in duration. Members of the household are in constant movement, tending their far flung farm plots, visiting kinfolk, traveling to the cities, and visiting curers.

The lack of corporate involvements for the Cayapa effectively restricts political behavior to periods of turbulence and uncertainty such as occurred after the death of the late /[illegible]/, Arcilio Pianchichi, and the installation of his nephew, Gabriel Ayapa, as the new governor. It may be, that whenever the office passes out of the direct line from father to son, political disturbances develop which may be exacerbated by personality factors. This seems to have been the case with Gabriel whose involvement in political events will be discussed shortly.

In terms of being a loosely structured society, the Cayapa differ from the Thai as discussed by Embree in an important manner:

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> In Siamese society it is relatively easy to achieve a fait accompli by doing something not approved by other members of the group. But in so doing one does not necessarily achieve the acceptance of the others. The "accomplished fact" does not accomplish much (Embree 1950: 1093).

It is precisely on this point that the Cayapa offer a dramatic contrast. The strong-minded deviant in Cayapa society can, by his determination, make his accomplished fact a model for emulation and ultimate acceptance by the members of his society. Cayapa society is structurally unable, in the normal course of events, to permit the development of concerted and protracted pressure on an individual deviant. The only approach to this occurred when Gabriel assumed his position as *flaʔu*. Gabriel was not a man who commanded respect from either the Negroes or the Indians. He did not speak Spanish well, he drank to excess and was unable to perform his duties, he was not well versed in the law, and he was a poor man. For the Cayapa, the *flaʔu* should be a man of infinite wisdom, who is well spoken both in Cayapa and in Spanish, a man who can stand up to the Negroes for the Cayapa.

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a man who can govern justly with a minimum of friction. People may be born in this mold and others may change aspects of their personality and perceptions through the performance of required role behavior in new status positions. This latter situation is being structured by the Cayapa in terms of a unique kind of political behavior.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[P.123]

CHAPTER III

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Children are important to the Cayapa and are welcomed because it is essential that a man or a woman have children who can perform a body or memorial feast for the deceased parent(s) several years after death. The spirit of the dead parent would be unhappy and vexed, if this were not done. In addition, as we have discussed, the family is economically important. There is ample motivation for the Cayapa to begin a family and a variety of methods are available.

> When a young man or a young woman desires to marry a certain person, all work other than that absolutely necessary, and all social relations with other individuals, are at an end. Such a person sits throughout the day without speaking to anyone, and no matter how much he or she may be addressed or made fun of, etiquette does not permit such a person to respond or even to laugh. . . A young swain then bides his time until the other members of his family have retired for the night, when he takes his canoe and paddles to a point near the house of the young woman he wishes to marry. On nearing her home he sings softly certain magic love-songs and then cautiously approaches the house. He then, according to some informants, attracts her attention by one

means or another and endeavors to persuade her to leave the house with him for a time. According to others, he cautiously enters the house and passes a part of the night with her under her own mosquito canopy . . . These visits are repeated for some time, when the young couple announce their desire to marry and obtain the consent of their respective parents (Barrett 1925:321). 584 836

In 1959-63, in the Cayapa area generally, and particularly in the Punta Dorada region, the custom of remaining sitting in silence was apparently no longer in vogue, except during the actual wedding celebration, when the groom does indeed sit off to one side in silence. However, the technique of nightly visitation is still a culturally approved method, but only one of several. [585]

Stealing a Woman. Some men prefer to "steal a woman" for wife. This is called /sípu taŋgəhîmu/, /sípu/ "woman" and /tâmu/ "to steal." Lorenzo Martín, commonly called /pilandá/, "a kind of crested bird" [a nick name he detests], preferred this approach to marriage. According to him, he met his first wife while canoeing along the river. They were both alone, and after some minutes of conversation, he proposed 583 [551]

marriage, and she accepted. Lorenzo claimed that he never consulted the girl's mother [her father was dead], as he was ashamed and afraid of her. Because Lorenzo's parents were dead, he moved into his mother-in-law's house. After several years the young couple was married by the Catholic priest in Punta Tarada.

After the death of his first wife, Lorenzo lived in his mother-in-law's house for about five years. He stated that after his wife died, her mother told him that he was no longer her son-in-law. Thereafter, apparently she either did not prepare his food or did not do so properly. Lorenzo says that he did not argue with her but continued living there for five years, nevertheless!

One night Lorenzo attended a party given at the home of Antonio Largo. He saw his present wife there for the first time and was immediately attracted to her. While the men and women are somewhat separated at Fiestas, the women serve the men [illegible], a fermented sugar cane drink, and at these times some conversation may be had. Lorenzo told her that he wanted her to come away with him "immediately."

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and she agreed. Now, with a new wife, neither he nor his mother-in-law wanted to live under the same roof. Feelings of anger and/or disapproval on the part of parents and kin of the dead spouse to the remarriage of the surviving spouse are not uncommon among the Cayapa. There is some feeling that the death may have been caused by the survivor. 587 [578] [761]

An interesting point emerges that is part of a general Cayapa theme: Jacanga suited about five years before remarrying, and apparently the motivation lay not so much in his sexual needs, as in his appetite for food. His mother-in-law was not preparing his meals properly. It should be kept in mind that, by Cayapa standards, a man who is capable of /vipu tajgahlaw/, who can actually walk up to a woman and propose to her, is deserving of envy, awe, and admiration. This means that such a man is sexually forward and aggressive. Many, if not most, Cayapa men are very hesitant and uncertain about sex and marriage. While chastity is not particularly valued, men in their invention who claim to have had no sexual intercourse are not uncommon. Women, on the other hand, lose their virginity much 583 831 831 [836] [584]

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earlier by way of the custom of night courtship described above. These affairs need not end in marriage, and both parties are free to seek greener pastures. It is the decided impression of the writer that the Cayapa women are the sexual initiators generally and that they are visited by a comparatively small number of sexual activists among the men.

Arranged Marriages. Most men do not have the brashness of character required to steal a woman, and many are not able to carry through a successful night courtship. For them, therefore an arranged marriage is necessary. One way of arranging a marriage is for the father of a young man or woman to ask one of the tribal officials to find a spouse for his offspring. If the official does not know of anyone immediately available, he will make inquiries at whatever fiesta he happens to attend. There is no charge for this service.

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This sort of match-making was attempted unsuccessfully at a fiesta that I attended at Bogotá Grande in 1960. The fiesta was a combined affair, honoring the dead and celebrating a recent marriage.

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It was sponsored by Marianita Grape of the *Sis Camarones* who is a member of the *Zapallo Grande* section. The marriage was for one of his sons. During the festivities it was noticed that Ciro Grape, a young man in his twenties, was very drunk and he seemed to be having a difficult time with Trivinio Balzar who is one of the *policía* of the *Punta Venado* section. Trivinio was also very drunk. From time to time, Ciro would break out in tears and loud sobs while Trivinio spoke to him. After a while, Ciro pushed Trivinio away from him and went to another part of the room where he continued to cry and sob for a long time. All that had happened was that Trivinio had told Ciro that he had a girl waiting whom he could have in marriage. Ciro kept protesting that he was too young and that he wanted to finish the fourth grade at the school in *Eucaria*. The sequence of events leading to this lacrimose scene began with the girl's father having spoken to an official of the *Zapallo Grande* section, who in turn had spoken to Trivinio.

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Sometimes the father of a marriageable girl will ask an official to deliver her to a specific man

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whom he fancies as a son-in-law. As an instance, Gerardo Pardomo of Sorrento asked the late /Ma^{3}t/, Arvilio, to deliver his daughter to Camilio Blanco during an Easter Fiesta at Punta Tarado. Camilio was most reluctant when approached by Arvilio. He said that he was too young in the first place, and in the second place, he did not want to get married anyway. The /Ma^{3}t/ pointed out that all of Camilio's siblings had died unmarried and that he could too. At this point Camilio agreed to marry Gerardo's daughter. 584

Occasionally a man's kinfolk will decide that he has been too long a bachelor or a widower. When someone hears of an available woman in any of the Cayapa sections, one or two men go to speak to the woman's family. If the parents agree to let their daughter marry the man under discussion, she leaves at once with the match-makers, taking only her clothing and ornaments. They then bring the woman to the home of the unsuspecting groom-to-be. The man may refuse the proffered one; in this case, the man who brought her will try to deliver her to someone else. If she fails again to be accepted, they will return her to her family 584 [602] [578]

she will be most annoyed and an argument most certainly will follow. If the prospective bridegroom is doubtful, the man talk to him earnestly of the pleasures of married life while the woman, very wisely, says nothing, but sits very still with downcast eyes—"very still and very quiet." Most often she is accepted. 584 [578]

Many times a man has a definite woman in mind for marriage but is not at all sure that he can get her by means of any of the techniques so far discussed. Then, too, it may be that another person has a particular woman in mind for a certain man, and, similarly, is not too sure that he can bring off the marriage. In either case a commission is formed, consisting of two Indians who are usually related to the man under consideration and two Negroes. The Indian members of the commission are not paid except with a few drinks. The Negroes receive some money and ten or three gallons of home-distilled rum which, as Barrett once correctly remarked, "is clear in color and vile in taste." 584 177 [465] [279]

The Indians on the commission are first to enter the house of the prospective bride. They present

their case to the family, and if refused, they then point out that two Negroes are waiting in the canoe. This means that the commission will fight, if need be, to get the girl. [For the Cayapa, the Negro is a threatening figure, both in fact and in fancy.] At this point, agreement may be reached between the commission and the girl's family, or a fight may develop. In either event, so far as is known to the writer, a commission always gets its woman.

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Problems in Courtship and Marriage. Many men among the Cayapa are reluctant to take the initiative in romantic affairs, but from time to time one finds among them men like Chapiro of the Río Canaranes, who seems to delight in amorous peccadillos and adventures. Chapiro has the reputation of preferring married women with whom it is said he would make love, while the husband slept only inches away on the same bedding. He pretended to be the husband and apparently deceived the wives with a large measure of success for a time.

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Chapiro caught in Flagrant Delicto. One night while pretending to be Pablo Alaya, Chapiro was caught

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by Pablo himself. Pablo was furious with rage and beat both his wife and Chapiro. After being thrashed, Chapiro ran away. Pablo's wife left for her father's house to advise him of the event. Her father, Lorenzo Martín is one of the officials or /ča tala/ of the community. As an official, he was empowered to settle disputes and to order. He went to Pablo's house to obtain more details. Pablo demanded punishment for Chapiro. About four days later, Lorenzo brought Chapiro to the house of Pablo's elder brother, and charged him with the crime. Chapiro said nothing in his defense thus tacitly admitting his guilt. Lorenzo ordered one hundred and twenty strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, but Beverico who is Chapiro's father's brother's son [*just cousin*] claimed that the punishment was too severe, whereupon the sentence was reduced to one hundred lashes to be applied by Lorenzo. Following the punishment, everyone got drunk except Chapiro, who left right after the whipping.

In the Cayapa view, a conflict of interest in the person of Lorenzo, the father of the seduced woman, and Lorenzo, the official, does not exist. The facts

of the case were clear, and a witness was present. It is of interest that Pablo's wife seems to have convinced everyone of her innocence in the affair and that she had been truly hoodwinked. Chapiro's reputation was of course, well known, and guilt was held to be his alone. Even though justice prevailed, Chapiro was disgruntled and left without drinking. This in itself would be sufficient to mark him as a deviant, for Basurco's observations are still very much applicable.

> . . . leur seul vice est de rendre un culte trop fréquent à Bacchus, auquel ils font des libations d'ichcala, ou eau-de-vie de canne, qu'ils fabriquent eux-mêmes . . . (Basurco 1894:406).

In marked contrast to many Cayapa men, Chapiro has always been more interested in sexual pursuits than in drinking and the married men in the area were beginning to view him as a real threat. In instances like this it is felt that the best way to remove the threat is to marry him off, forcibly, if need be. In the case of Chapiro events came to a head after he had seduced Gabriel's daughter.

The Seduction of Gabriel's daughter. Chapiro was

in love with Gabriel's daughter, but she was in love with someone else. One dark night, Chapiro sneaked into the house and made love to the girl by pretending to be her lover. Later, they stole out of the house to go to his home. When the girl saw that the house was Chapiro's, she realized that she had been tricked, but she spent the night with him anyway. The next day, while he was doing some work outside, she returned to her home. Her father was very angry. Gabriel, together with his son and his /mé.go ná.tala/, Camilio Pianchichi, and Domingo Cimarrón went to Chapiro's house. They told him to come to Gabriel's house, but he refused to do so. Camilio took Chapiro's pressure lantern for no reason except that it was valuable, and they all left. Chapiro finally went to Gabriel's house. Gabriel was drunk and he roughly ordered Chapiro into the house. Furious words passed between them, and Chapiro said that if he were punished, he would take Gabriel's daughter again. At this three men grabbed him and took him outside where he was given sixty lashes. After the punishment, everyone began drinking, but the still-angry Chapiro left early.

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The pressure lantern remained in Gabriel's house. About two weeks later when the lantern had not been returned to him, Chapiro went looking for it at night in Gabriel's house, but he couldn't find it. He kept asking for the lantern, and eventually, after two or three months, it was returned to him. 156 684x

The lack of interest on the part of the young woman, coupled with Chapiro's poor reputation, apparently led Gabriel to make it clear to Chapiro that he did not want him as a son-in-law. A year or two later, the /ʌ̃nʸi/, Arcilio, died and Gabriel became the chief. Gabriel now began to consider Chapiro's threat to his daughter, who was now married. He ordered Lorenzo Añapa and Aurelio Añapa, two of the /ʌ̃ʸtala/, to go up to Sepello Grande during Christmas and to bring back a wife for Chapiro. They found a woman who was lame and not very eagerly sought after as a marriage partner, inasmuch as she could not work effectively in the monte. They brought her to Chapiro's house and presented her to him. He refused to take her, but Lorenzo said that if he did not take the girl, he would beat him. Chapiro then agreed to 156 584 627 [732] [581]

4.Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1968
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marry her. In 1960 he seemed happy with his wife, especially since she gave birth to a boy, and since his marriage he apparently has stayed close to home.

It may be that the choice of a crippled wife for Chapice was deliberate and with malice aforethought. Chapice's reputation, however, extended beyond the sexual sphere, and he was known to be lazy and a poor worker. Most women would have refused him as a husband anyway. What is important, however, is the fact that the solution worked, and that Chapice was effectively removed from circulation. It should be mentioned for the record that when he was queried about Chapice's wife, Lorenzo Skaye reported, with what appeared to the writer to be no small measure of satisfaction, "She can't work very well in the fields because of her bad leg."

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For the Cayuga, marriages are not all made in heaven, and many times legal difficulties both attend and follow a marriage. The parents of Chapice's bride did not object to her marriage at all; however, as women are economically useful, some families that lack one or another of the parents attempt to keep the

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girl at home as long as possible. This may lead to disputes and hard feelings.

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Carmelina, a crippled girl, is taken by a marriage commission over the protests of her mother. The late chief, Arcilio, had a sister's daughter named Carmelina who was crippled in one leg. She lived with her mother and younger brother, near Playa Grande. One night a commission of two Negroes and two Indians came to take the girl to Alipio Cimarrón who also lived near Playa Grande. First, the two Indians came into the house leaving the two Negroes in the canoe. They spoke with the mother, but she did not want the girl to get married "as she was badly crippled." The two Indians pointed out that they had two Negroes with them, but the mother was adamant. The Indians then called in the Negroes who were named José Isidro and Añano Vallejo, both of Playa Grande. The four men came into the house and removed the girl by force. She fell outside of the house and began to cry, but they picked her up and placed her in the canoe, still crying. All the while, the mother kept shouting at the men, but the girl's brother remained silent, as he had been

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during the whole affair. The commission then took the girl to Alipio's house which was not too distant. After a few days, Alipio and Carmelina hid in a small shelter or rancho up a small stream. Meanwhile, the mother went to see her brother, the chief, to advise him of the event. After several days, he left with some of his male relatives, looking for the couple. They were found in Alipio's house. Arcilio punished both of them with ten lashes. Afterwards he brought Carmelina back to her mother's house, but she protested that she wanted to remain with Alipio. Alipio claimed that he had not sent for Carmelina to be brought to him because 'she is crippled and not a good worker.' [On this point, the informant, Pedrito Añapa, says that Alipio is not a good worker himself and cannot make high-grade canoes.]

About a week later, Alipio's younger brother 'stole' Carmelina, and they went into hiding up an estuary, for some time. Everyone was looking for them. Alipio eventually found them and brought them to his house, whereupon they all became drunk. One result of this drunkenness was an attack by Alipio

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on his brother. A few days later, the /ʌ̃ʸʟ/ found them and removed Carmelina to his house, and from there she was sent to a man from the Río Onzole. In the meantime, Carmelina's brother became enamored of Alipio's sister. He 'stole' her, and they hid for a week, but were caught by Alipio when they came out of the monte. He took his sister home, declaring that she still had a lot of work to do around the house, such as making fans for sale on the coast. The young man 'stole' her again, apparently keeping her for a considerable time, at least sufficient for it to become clear that the woman was now pregnant, and so they remained together. At Punta Venado, during one of the diestas, the /ʌ̃ʸʟ/ ordered them to be whipped twenty lashes.

Carmelina was crippled, and yet she was eagerly sought after by two men, in marked contrast to Chapiro's crippled wife. The choice of marriage partners for both Alipio and Chapiro had been considerably restricted, due to their poor work habits. Alipio's brother posed something of a problem. It is not known that he was lazy also, but certainly the reputation of his

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brother did not give him any advantage. The reluctance of some families to part peacefully with their unmarried female members stems in part from economic factors. Even though Carmelina was crippled, she was still of great assistance to her mother. Similarly, Alipio hoped to realize some profit from his sister's handiwork before permitting her to marry. As Carmelina's mother did not object to her daughter's marriage to the man from the Rio Grande, it can be assumed that he was more desirable as a son-in-law than either Alipio or his brother. She probably realized that she would not be able to prevent her daughter from leaving home much longer since the girl had made it clear, after her brief sojourn with Alipio, that she wanted a man--any man.

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The marriage commission as a device for arranging marriages is apparently very common although it is not always eufunctional. Quite often more problems are raised than are settled by the commission's attempt at match-making as witnessed in the following case.

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Romulo appeals to a White official. Romulo lived with his wife and children, as well as with a dependent woman relative named Ines Cimarrón; this relative had been divorced by her husband because all of their children had died soon after birth. She had gone to live with Romulo and his wife immediately after the divorce. Some time later, a commission composed of two Negroes named Nikola Ayovi and Aurelio Caruso, and an Indian named Dámian Largo, came up from Finca Grande at the request of Avertirio Largo, a 'cousin' of Dámian. Avertirio was a widower [and so could only marry a widow or a divorcee], and he specifically asked the commission to bring Ines for him. The members of the commission had been given a few gallons of rum for this favor. Romulo, however, refused to give the woman up, claiming that he needed her to watch the house and children when he and his wife were out working, since they had no other relations. The Negroes replied that they would use force if need be. At this, Romulo went for his machete, but, as he was ill at the time, he could not fight effectively. The woman was removed, crying, from the

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house and brought to Averticio. The next day, the Teniente Político, a national official of Borbón, came down the river from Telembí. He was hailed by Romulo who explained the happening to him. They both then went up to Playa Grande where a party was in progress in Averticio's house. The official took the woman back and fined the two Negroes sixty sucres each, but Damian Largo was not fined. Averticio pointed out to the official that he had sent the commission in good faith and had not asked for the use of force. Inez also made it clear that she did not want to marry Averticio because he was too old.

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Of interest here is the fact that Romulo appealed to a non-Indian official who is not ordinarily approached by the Cayapa in matters of this kind. Doubtless, it was the fortuitous juxtaposition of circumstances that brought the Teniente Político into view while Romulo's anger was still at its height. The official's decision was not completely just. In the first place, he clearly favored the Indians over the Negroes and consequently he did not fine the Indian member of the commission. In the second place,

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Averticio lied when he said that he had not asked for the use of force by the commission. Bona res marked Averticio's actions and he was an accessory before and after the fact. By requesting the two Negroes for the commission he gave tacit approval to the use of force. If Romulo had complained to an Indian official, the latter would have been unable to deal legally with the Negroes, and he would have restricted his investigation to Averticio and Démian. When Negroes are involved, and feelings are running high among the aggrieved Cayapa, self-help may be resorted to, as the following case demonstrates. 177 584 692 [672] [627]

Perdomo fights for his sister. Perdomo lived with his wife, mother, and sister in a house up the Río Camerones. One night a commission composed of the usual two Indians and two Negroes came to the house. The two Indians spoke first. They had come to deliver Perdomo's sister to Manuel Largo of Playa Grande. Perdomo and his mother refused. [Manuel was said to be very ugly, thin, and weak.] Following this refusal, the two Negroes came in to take the girl forcibly. She began to cry whereupon Perdomo went for his machete 584 627 177 [581]

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and threatened the Negroes. One of them answered that he was willing to fight, and at this, Perhaps backed down. The commission then left with the girl. They brought her to Manuel Largo who hid with her in the house of José Nino, one of the Negro members of the commission.

Two days later Perhaps managed to gather together ten kinsmen and friends, and they all left in two canoes, taking the girl's mother along. A Negro told them where the girl was hidden, and they headed straight for José Nino' house. They argued a great deal with the two Negroes, but the commissioners claimed that everything was all right: "after all the girl was not marrying a relative." The argument waxed hotter, and finally machetes began to swing. This all took place in front of the house, while from within the house the girl could be heard crying and pleading for rescue. As the fighting began, the girl's mother began crying, telling the men not to fight, or they would kill each other. This had no effect. The Negro women shouted that if they kept on fighting, they would all be fined. At this, tempers cooled, the fighting ceased, and the Indians returned home without the girl.

Indians returned home without the girl. Several days later, Manuel Largo took his reluctant bride up a small nearby stream to hide, since he feared a return of the girl's family. The girl apparently entertained no such hopes anymore, and when they had gone a short distance upstream, she told Manuel to go on up ahead and wait for her as she wanted to defecate. When he was gone from view, she ran through the monte and later that day she arrived at the house of Juanito Cimarrón of Pichiyaco. Even though Juanito was not related to her, he arranged for one of his sons to return her to her home; nothing more was ever done about this incident.

If Manuel Largo was indeed small, thin, and ugly, then Perdomo's sister would view the arrangement with something less than enthusiasm. If Manuel was indeed weak, then the family in general could join the girl in her refusal. A man who is weak certainly would not be a very good provider for the wife, and, as a man is expected to help his in-laws when needed, he would not be of much use to them. The material presented so far indicates that a woman has a great deal to say as to whether or not she will marry and/or to whom. A

determined woman will usually have her way, and many Cayapa women are determined! 580 [581] [582]

Earlier, in the case of Carmelina, we saw that the relatives of the /[illegible]/ were not immune from being manhandled by a commission. In the following case we shall see an instance in which the very authority of the /[illegible]/ was flouted.

Father removes her daughter from the bridegroom's home. Several years ago Nalia wanted to send his sister to marry a man on the Río Camarones. The mother objected, saying that the girl was much too young. They all later went as guests to a baile de casamiento, that is, a wedding feast celebrated usually a year or two after a man and woman have been living together as man and wife. The late /[illegible]/, Arcilia, was asked by the prospective bridegroom's brother to deliver the girl, and this was done. The girl's mother said nothing at the time, but when she returned to the Río Camarones, she marched into the bridegroom's house and took her daughter home with her. The bridegroom's mother protested, but that was all. The older brother 584 627 [585]

of the [illegible] bridegroom notified [illegible] who, in turn, sent [illegible] who is "family" to the bridegroom to demand that the girl be delivered. Kalia also remonstrated with his mother. Finally, she stated that as long as the girl seemed to be pregnant, she would agree to the marriage. 584 627

Not only did the mother flout the authority of the [illegible], it is very likely that if she had been strongly adamant, she would perhaps have been whipped, but she would have kept her daughter. The matter of marriage commissions is most intriguing. Clearly, this sort of match-making could not take place in a society in which there were strong corporate bodies, where family extensions were important. In a society as loosely structured as is the Cayapa, the marriage commissions could save the countryside with a minimum of interference.

Widows and Widowers. Now Heiman states that widows and widowers never remarry among the Cayapa (Heiman 1931:587). My studies among the Cayapa fail completely to substantiate Heiman's statement. In point of fact, most widows and widowers remarry, the only 587 [114] [582]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD4 Cayapa SD4

stipulation being that they may not marry a person who has never been married before. There is some feeling that an inexperienced youth should not marry an experienced woman. A widower may marry an unmarried girl if she has been in some way sexually delinquent. In this case, it is felt that she is a sinner and should not be foisted upon an innocent youth. In some instances, as in the following case, the youth is not at all adverse to the advances of a widow.

A widow marries a single youth. Augustín's mother had been widowed twice. This time she wanted to marry a young man who had never been married. She mentioned this several times to people, including her son. Augustín objected however, on the basis that this was not proper for a widow to do. Rather, he urged that she keep her eye out for a widower. Nevertheless, his mother clandestinely made love to the young man to whom she was attracted and became pregnant by him. She gave birth to a boy whom she immediately killed and then went to the ceremonial center of Punta Venado with her sister and buried the infant. During the next Easter fiesta at Punta Venado, Augustín advised the chief of

this incident and asked that his mother be punished. Both the young man and the widow however, suspected that they would be punished, and did not go down to the fiesta. The /ʃaʔʟ/ sent up a commission composed of one Indian and two Negroes who were ordered to apprehend them. Augustín paid the Negroes twenty sucres each and bought a few bottles of rum for the Cayapa.

The couple were brought before Arcilio and punishment was set at ninety lashes each. In addition, the woman was fined fifteen sucres for burying the infant in Punta Venado and was advised by the /ʃaʔʟ/ to marry a widower. The young man claimed that the woman was to blame for the illicit relationship and that she was always after him and wanting to marry him. After the official punishment had been meted out, Augustín beat his mother. Several months later the youth ran away to the Río Esmeraldas area with this widow. They remained there for two years. After two or three children were born to them, they returned to the Río Cayapas. This couple was permitted to live together, but later the husband and all of the children died within a year.

The Cayapa maintain that no supernatural sanctions

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4:Allschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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were involved in the demise of the man and his children. Jesus, they say, never punishes people while they are living, and the fact of having been punished on earth by a tribal official in no way mitigates one's punishment after death. The young man may have been killed by witchcraft, but the Cayapa aver that this is not supernatural punishment, and he probably "just died for whatever reason."

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When asked why widows could only marry widowers, the answer was invariably, "Jesus ordered it that way." According to my informant, the couple was permitted to return to the community because of the children. They were still considered to be living in sin, but they had been punished, and now the matter was in the hands of Jesus. The /únʸi/ had applied the law as far as he could. He could do no more. In a way very similar to the cases of polygyny, to be discussed in the next chapter, an innovation had been introduced into the community--a new behavioral pattern was available for emulation! For the Cayapa, the realm of sin seems to be the most fruitful for cultural change.

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Divorce. Divorce is theoretically prohibited

among the Cayapa. It is forbidden by the Church through the person of the priest, who is seldom seen. Many Cayapa maintain that divorce is not proper. At the present time, divorce is possible for both sexes, but it is much more difficult for a woman to obtain. In one instance, a woman was married to a mental defective and she left him with the full approval of the community. In the case of the crippled Julio Tapullo, his wife was not permitted a divorce even though Julio had been very miserly with her. On the other hand, a man may divorce his wife if she is barren or has too many still-births. In one case, a man beat his wife because she only gave birth to girls; he threatened either to kill her or to throw her out of the home (divorce), if the next child were a girl.

The divorce procedure is quite simple. The woman is simply told to leave! There is usually some grumbling by the woman's parents, but to my knowledge, complaints are never made to any of the officials. Julio Tapullo's case above was complicated by polygyny.

Santiagueño Hires a Negro to bring his children back after his wife left him. Santiagueño Anapa's first

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wife did not like him, and after several years, she left, taking the children with her. Santiagueño was notified of the event by his brother while he was in the monte, working. He returned immediately and employed Joselino Caisero, the Negro Inspectór of the village of Camerones to bring back his children. Joselino was paid one hundred sucres for his work. He located the woman near Sapallo Grande and removed the children. The woman cried bitterly and said that she wanted to return to her husband, but Santiagueño did not want her. He claimed that she had had lovers during the months that she had been gone. She denied this, but to no avail. Santiagueño did not mind losing his wife this way, because she was a nag "bravo y siempre charlando." She was later delivered to a man from the Punta Venado section. Santiagueño soon remarried, but the second wife died, and he then remarried a third time to the ex-wife of Antonio Blanco. Antonio had divorced his wife for being barren. "People said that it was not a nice thing to do, but no one demanded that he be punished."

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Clearly the attitudes toward divorce had modified considerably, especially since Barrett's recording of the following case:

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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A man refuses to go back to his wife after being punished.

The offenders were, in this case, a man and a woman. The man had deserted his wife and child after abusing them for a considerable time and had assumed relations with a young widow. He had therefore been guilty not only of infidelity and abuse, but also of violating the immutable law forbidding divorce. The woman's crime was somewhat less grave. Being a widow, she had a right to remarry, but she had no claim to the husband of another woman . . . both the offenders were placed in the stocks where they remained during the afternoon . . . About 9 o'clock a gathering assembled in the room, the man was taken from the stocks, and several of the officials, including the chief, made short speeches concerning the pair and their crime . . . Finally the commission of officers who had been sent in the morning to bring the two for punishment was called forth and its leader gave a ritualistic invocation, after which the offending man was brought forward and made to stand before the stocks . . . The chief then administered fifteen strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails . . . The culprit was destined to receive a greater number of strokes, but owing to the chief's infirmity due to a recent gunshot wound, and to the fact that the culprit proposed to buy partial immunity with rum for the assemblage, he was given his liberty after receiving the punishment noted.

The woman was then brought forward and received ten strokes . . . Her case, however, was different from that of the man, and she was not set at liberty. By living with the man she had signified her desire to marry, hence it was determined to find a husband for her . . . [the following is reported for the next day]. The same pair of culprits . . . were brought in, placed in the stocks, and later castigated. The

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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> woman received twenty-five strokes . . . while the man was given between thirty and forty strokes. The whipping of the man was due chiefly to the fact that he still refused to return to his family. The chief and others argued with him and tried again to persuade him to see the error of his way, but he stoutly maintained that he would not return, and the chief finally became so vexed that he gave the culprit a couple resounding slaps on the side of the head and remanded him to the stocks where he remained nearly the rest of the day. Toward evening he was liberated and was not further punished (Barrett 1925:402-407).

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By sheer determination, the culprit placed himself in a position where the chief was unable to cope with him and, in effect, the man was "permitted" to desert his family. His determination had placed him ultra vires [literally, beyond the power] vis à vis the chief and the law. The chief had gone as far as he could with the man, and finally, he could do no more than lose his temper. Barrett records that the culprit later left with his paramour, after she had been delivered in marriage to another.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CHAPTER IV

DEVIANCE AND LAW IN THE AREA OF SEX RELATIONS

In terms of attitudes and decisions, Cayapa law can be marked off in two grand divisions: the sacred and the profane. The sacred involves the realm of sin, and sin for the Cayapa is to be found completely in the area of sexual behavior. Illicit sexual adventures, if exposed, are always punished by whipping and/or the use of the stocks. We have no information, but in all probability the whip and the stocks were introduced to the Cayapa at a very early period by Catholic missionaries. Regardless of the source of these two articles of punishment, the Cayapa have taken to them enthusiastically. The question of why sex should be so charged with feelings of sin requiring a special mode of punishment will be discussed later, when we deal with personality factors. While the Cayapa talk about sin and characterize many people as being sinners, my data do not indicate that they either dwell on, or even conceptualize sin, in terms of a world view. Rather,

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they dwell on, are attracted to, and are repulsed by sexual involvements. In this, they agree with the missionaries, and if the missionaries call this area of life sinful, the Cayapa can readily agree. We shall see that it is in the realm of sexual deviancy and in the attempts made by Cayapa lawmen to come to grips with it that the most sweeping socio-cultural changes take place.

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Incest. Incest is generally viewed by the Cayapa as being particularly heinous. In the olden days, it is asserted, when the Cayapa lived in one village at Pueblo Viejo, anyone guilty of such a crime would be placed suspended over a table which was covered with lighted candles, and then, slowly roasted to death. While this may be apocryphal, it does indicate strong negative feelings towards incestuous behavior. The Cayapa are very clear about this and state that incest is a sin, that it goes against Jesus' commandments and must be punished. Barrett recorded the following case which indicates that the punishment was still severe if not as extreme:

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

A case of double desertion and incest. 684x

In this case the man had forsaken his wife and for three months had been living with his first cousin, who had deserted her husband. Each of the culprits, therefore, was charged with the double crime of desertion and cohabitation with his first cousin. These are considered great breaches of tribal law and are severely punished . . . The offenders were placed in the stocks, remonstrated with by relatives and friends, and finally whipped. In this case the man received a hundred and seventy-five lashes, . . . of the cat-o'nine-tails, and in addition was required to pay a fine in money amounting to about fifteen or twenty sucres. The woman's punishment was a hundred and twenty-five lashes . . . The greater severity of the punishment in the cases of these two offenders was due to the fact that they were first cousins . . . (Barrett 1925:404-405).

At the present time there is a good deal of variation in the handling of incest; however, it is of general concern, and anyone will report such activity that he or she has witnessed. In one instance, the parties to the affair were not even aware that they were related. Ignorance was not a valid excuse however, and both kin and non-kin hastened to make the facts public. Punishment was swift and applied equally to both parties. Punishment is not however, always equal. In some instances the initiator of the affair is considered to have greater guilt and receives heavier

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punishment, and in other cases, punishment may be reduced upon the request of family members. The balancing of relative guilt and the concern with family members for reducing the punishment are illustrated in the following two cases. 684x 696

Adultery between a woman and her son-in-law. 684x Several years ago the mother of Buru Cisarron was whipped together with her son-in-law for making love. They were seen by her daughter. They were punished during the Easter fiesta with sixty lashes each. Next year, the same thing occurred and they were both given one hundred and ten lashes. The punishment took place in the morning. That afternoon, Buru fought with his brother-in-law, and he also hit his mother. When the /imʸi/ scolded her she did not utter a word in her defense. The son-in-law claimed that she was the one who began the affair. When the sentence was to be announced, Buru shouted that his mother should not be punished as much as the man. On the other side, the family of the man pointed out that the woman was the one who started the affair and so she should receive more lashes than the man. It was decided to give them both the same amount. 684x 696

The incestuous widow. The widow of the late /úⁿyi/, Arcilio, became pregnant by the son of Arcilio's brother, Arcide. They were both sentenced to fifty lashes but the boys' mother complained that this was too much, and that thirty lashes would be sufficient for her son. No one spoke up for the widow, and so she received the full fifty lashes for incest, even though prior to her marriage to the late /úⁿyi/ she and the boy were not related.

As sexual matters fall into the realm of sin for the Cayapa, a determined sinner, in the last analysis, can only be handled by God and not by law. The Cayapa are unable to cope effectively with a determined deviant, in most instances. Attitudes towards incest outside of the nuclear family seem to be changing, as illustrated in the following case.

When incest is no longer incest. Lorenzo Añapa of the Río Camarones was married to his /ápinatacúhki/, 'father's brother's daughter.' They lived together for two months and then left to attend a fiesta at Punta Venado. Camilio Blanco notified the /úⁿyi/, Arcilio, who ordered that they each be whipped forty lashes.

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Lorenzo was then told to give up his cousin, but when they all returned home from the fiesta, he took her back immediately. Meanwhile, a woman was sent down from Sapallo Grande to him, but he refused her, saying that he already had a wife. His wife's father said that he did not mind if Lorenzo married his daughter, and the girl's brother, Huru, said that he was in favor of the marriage, and added, "they are not very close relatives anyway." Since the family of the girl did not object to this marriage, people did not gossip much, and Arcilio said that he would not punish them again, that "Jesus would know what to do when they died."

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Lorenzo had a reputation for being a good worker, and his cousin's family were happy to keep his economic services within the family. Their insistence that it was all proper and that, as first cousins, they were not closely related anyway was such a strong violation of Cayapa thought regarding incest that the couple were placed beyond the power of the law, ultra vires, and the burden of punishment was shifted to the supernatural. We stated that anyone who witnesses an

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incestuous act performed by strangers or members of his family will make the act known. There is one exception reported. A truly determined deviant as was Pablo Candalabu can get away with repeated incest.

The determined incestuous couple. Pablo Candalabu had been committing incest with his sister, who later gave birth to twins. Pablo took these new-born infants and threw them into the river, but the bodies were found by a Negro who went to the Teniente Político. The police came and arrested Pablo and his sister, resulting in their being fined, as well as jailed for a year. After their release from jail, they came to Encanto, where they continued living together. People gossiped and Pablo's "uncle" Gerardo, went to the Río Onzole, to get him a wife. Three months later they found a husband for his sister in San Miguel. When Pablo's sister later died, her husband did not cry at her funeral, claiming that he did not feel any grief because the woman was really her brother's wife and not his own. He then related at the funeral how once when he was out fishing at night, he came back to the house very quietly with the lamp extinguished and heard Pablo making love

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to his sister.

Here again, Pablo's determination placed him beyond the pale of Cayapa law. His brother-in-law apparently realized the futility of making a public complaint and unburdened himself only at his wife's funeral.

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Adultery. As with incest, decisions rendered in cases of adultery require a firm declaration on the part of the official trying the case that the behavior is abhorrent and sinful; however, the punishment seems to be somewhat more lax than is the case with incest, and more feeling seems to be present that women are the aggressors in adultery. The following case was witnessed by the writer during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado in 1959.

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The philandering captain and his light punishment. The /ʔinʸi/, Gabriel, was in his hammock, quite drunk, and a group of men were standing around him speaking drunkenly in Cayapa. Suddenly, everyone dashed to a corner of the house and looked over to an adjacent dwelling where a fracas was in progress. A woman was beating and berating another woman who offered no

resistance. After a few minutes of severe mauling, a group of women took the aggressor off to one side and listened attentively, while she wailed and shook her fist at the other woman, who remained seated on the floor, alone. The /ún^{y}i/ was in another part of the room seated on the floor, talking to a young man who was dressed in western clothing, and sporting high-lace boots without the laces. I asked Gabriel to explain what had just taken place, and he replied that nothing serious had happened at all. A woman had complained, he said, that the young fellow had molested her while he was drunk. This was a far-fetched version of what had actually happened as pieced together from the comments of the on-lookers.

The young man was an official of the Punta Venado section. Some people said that he was the /tánda/ 'lieutenant,' and others said that he was the capitán. He, himself, said that he was the capitán. He lived up the Río Onzole, and his duties were to bring culprits to trial and to judge cases with the other officials. He was charged with committing adultery with his /apín^{y}a/ 'father's brother's daughter,' who lived in the same

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house as he. The fact that they were closely related was not brought up at all, and the adulterous relationship seems to have been uppermost in mind. His wife was the woman who had beat the adulteress. No one seems to have brought forth a specific charge; rather, the state of affairs seemed to have been known to all, and in fact, the adulterous pair knew that they would be punished during the fiesta. The [illegible] stated that they would both have to be punished, that the man should receive ten lashes and the woman fifty. The woman had obviously prepared for this as she was well wrapped in several layers of heavy ceremonial shirts. She was taken next door to the main dwelling where she assumed the position for receiving the blows by bending forward slightly at the waist. The blows were applied heavily by one of the officials in full view of all the interested by-standers. After her punishment the woman left and sat alone in one of the cubicles on the other side of the house, the area used for sleeping. She remained there alone all day long. Eventually the man was brought into the main dwelling. There was a good deal of joking and laughter among him and the other officials. He

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bent over slightly and received ten incredibly light blows. He then left and went to the house next door. Within three or four minutes the sound of a brawl was heard from that quarter. This man was beating his wife and throwing her around the room like a French Apache dancer. This went on for a few minutes more, and then several men took him off to one side and calmed him down. 684x 837 [696]

Later, several people, including the /ʌnʸi/, were asked by the writer why it was necessary to punish adultery, and, without exception, they replied that it was a sin against God. Only one Indian expressed indignation at the light sentence and punishment accorded the man. When queried, the others either smirked or laughed outright. One fellow pointed out philosophically that the officials were only looking ahead, "as their time for punishment might not be far off." 684x 837 696 [783]

Age seems to be a mitigating factor for women, and it is felt that a young single woman should not be punished for cohabiting with a married man. It is said that by her behavior she showed that she wants a man and so should be married. Quite often cognizance will be taken of the protests of relatives of the accused [831]

in reducing punishment

in reducing punishment.

A young fornicator defended by a cousin. A very attractive young girl who appeared to be about fifteen years of age was brought forward by Pindalelas, the Negro caretaker of the Church. She shrank back from him and appeared frightened by the whole affair. Several of the officials clustered around her, saying that she had sinned. The chief was off to one side, lying in his hammock, seemingly not paying any attention. The girl replied so softly to the charges that the writer was unable to hear the response. One of the officials who evidently knew of the affair shouted, "It's a lie!" The punishment was set by the officials at fifty lashes; however, a man from the crowd spoke up, saying, "I am her cousin, don't punish her!" At this, there was a brief discussion by the officials, and it was agreed that the girl was too young to be whipped, but because she had slept with a man, it was felt that she wanted a husband and the officials said that one would be found for her.

The general feeling that adultery is a sin that must be punished carries through so that even if the

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cuckold declares his wife innocent, his words fall on deaf ears. Punishment, however, may be ameliorated in a very typical Cayapa fashion:

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The cuckold protests in vain. Gabriel had heard that his mother's sister's daughter had been committing adultery and he resolved to punish her during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado. About mid-night, a group of officials were excitedly whispering in one corner of the room. Suddenly, they left in a body and crossed the plaza to another house which was dark and quiet. They whispered among themselves for a little while and then went in as a group. Off to one side, a man and a woman were sound asleep under blankets. The man was awakened, and it was explained to him that his wife was being charged with adultery. The husband immediately protested that she was innocent, and they argued back and forth for a few minutes. While the argument was in progress, the woman awoke, and she too protested her innocence. The officials, however, were adamant, and so the couple got up, and everyone walked over to the main house. When the assembly arrived at this house, another group of officials, who looked for all the world

as though they were hating the time of their lives, dash- 684b
ed out and returned very shortly, dragging a set of 696
stocks that had been stored under the late [illegible]
Arcilio's, house. Evidently the woman was going to be
displayed as a horrible example! She kept up a running
argument with the officials and denied the charge. Her
husband backed her up, but to no avail. She was to be
whipped fifty lashes. As the charge was completely un- [291]
expected, the woman had not prepared her ceremonial
shirts and only wore a thin red rayon dress. With the
first blow, she yelped in pain and turned to argue with
the castigator. After a pause, another blow landed
with the same results. After each blow, there were long
intervals, probably out of consideration for the woman's
pain. While the punishment was in progress, the casti- 684
gator offered the culprit a bottle of rum from which to 696
drink. However, a woman in the audience kept exhorting 279
him to apply the lash heavily. In addition, she shook
her fist at the rum drinking culprit, shouting that she
had caught her with her husband in flagrante delicto.
The malefactor's husband made a gesture of annoyance at
the woman and told her to keep quiet. When she continued

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the barangue, the husband walked over to her and pushed her roughly away. The shouts, the shoves, and the punishment continued for about an hour. The woman alternately drank from the rum bottle, rubbed her buttocks for a few seconds, assumed the appropriate position, and received the inevitable blow. Her husband kept urging lighter and fewer blows. Suddenly, the /[illegible]/, who had been sprawled in his hammock, drunk and seemingly oblivious to what was going on, leaped to his feet, livid with rage: he berated the castigator for taking so long. It was decided therefore, to reduce the number of lashes. By the time the punishment was completed, the woman was quite drunk and consequently feeling little pain. Unexpectedly, a man shouted from the audience that there was too much leniency and this evil doer should receive the full sentence. An 'uncle' of the woman quickly retorted that she had been punished sufficiently. The two men exchanged angry words and fought briefly. The woman's husband, who by now was quite drunk too, took his wife by the arm, and the two of them began cavorting around the room.

Given the facts as described, one wonders if the

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woman had really been punished. Certainly, initially the intention was present, but the proceedings soon became a travesty as all of the participants became progressively drunker. It is of interest to note that only the woman was tried, and no mention at all was made of the man or men involved. It seems to have been generally accepted that she had been taking the initiative in her sexual adventures. For the Cayapa, extra-marital sexual behavior is sinful, and at the root of all sin are women. Assigning initial guilt to women sometimes requires a certain amount of mental gymnastics which is quite ludicrous as in the following instance.

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The blame is placed on the woman because she did not say no. A 'nephew' of Arcilio was single. He made love to the wife of Arcilio's son and they were seen by the /ún^{y}i/. Arcilio, however, was "ashamed" and said nothing then but charged them during the Easter fiesta at Punta Venado. The woman blamed the man, but he in turn said that it was all her fault because all she had to do was to refuse his advances. They were both punished with eighty lashes.

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Polygyny. Max Heiman stated that "Die Dayapa leben in sehr harmonischer Ehe, Vielweiberei . . . gibt es bei ihnen nicht" (Heiman 1931:286). If the situation of pristine monogamy were true in 1931 or earlier in 1909, when Barrett reported nothing in the way of polygyny, it was certainly not true in 1960. To account for the change, we can look towards the expanding money economy that began to envelop the Cayapa several decades ago. Between 1931 and 1960, an economic factor of tremendous magnitude developed in Ecuador. Bananas began to be commercially valuable and in the boom period of the late 1940's and early 1950's the best prices were always to be had near the coast, and it was from the coastal areas that most of the following cases came.

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Cristobal uses his brother as a pawn to get a second wife. Cristobal, who lived at Viche, was a brujo or 'witch.' He came up from the coast one time to cure Margarita of an illness. She was single at the time. During the night while the curing session was going on, Cristobal seduced his patient. Later he asked her father to let him deliver her to his brother in Viche and the father agreed. When they arrived at Viche, it appeared

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that the brother was much too young, whereupon Margarita agreed to marry Cristobal even though he was already married. They were subsequently married by a priest. Santian, Cristobal's brother, resented this and complained to the /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio. Margarita claimed that the charges were not true and that she had, indeed, been delivered to Santian and was living with him. Arcilio ordered Cristobal and Margarita to receive twenty lashes. The sentence was minimal because they claimed "never to have embraced." Then they were told that they would receive two hundred lashes if they made love from then on. When they returned to Viche from Punta Venado, Margarita lived with Santian for about four months; following this, Cristobal took her back. The brothers had harsh words but did not exchange blows. Cristobal's two wives appeared to live together amicably. About a year later the father of the first wife took his daughter back with him. She had been crippled for some time, and people were saying that Cristobal had bewitched her. When her father died soon afterwards, Santian accused his brother of having killed him. Cristobal's first wife confirmed this. However, Cristobal and Margarita denied the charge. When the /ún^{y}i/ asked

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why he had delivered Margarita to his brother who was too young for marriage, he remained silent. The punishment was to be fifty lashes each, but since they kept protesting their innocence, the sentence was reduced to twenty lashes each.

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About a year after the death of Cristobal's first father-in-law, a son of the dead man named Gorce Cimarrón went to Colombia to hire a Cholo witch in an attempt to find out who had killed his father. The Cholo reported that Cristobal was the guilty one; so Gorce went to Cristobal's house and accused him of the murder, but Cristobal did not reply. Three days later Cristobal was dead. Several years later, one of Cristobal's brothers, Arcinto, heard of the affair and went looking for a witch. Gorce died a few years later, and his death was said to have been caused by the witch hired by Arcinto. Arcinto still lives in Viche where he also has two wives. He has never been punished as he never goes to the ceremonial center for fiestas.

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In the space of certainly not more than a decade the above case is found in at least one alternate version:

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Mariano takes a second wife. Mariano lived up the Río Esmeraldas and was married to the daughter of Pedrito Añapa's paternal grandfather. They had three children, two girls and one boy. Mariano went looking for another wife near San José on the Río Cayapas. He had divorced his first wife and her father was very angry over the affair. Consequently, the woman's brother went to talk to Mariano who said that he had taken divorce action because this woman did not work or cook well. He also complained that she was older than he and slightly lame. Mariano was a witch, and he told the first wife's brother that he was going to kill his father. About a year later, the old man did indeed die. Following this, the brothers of the first wife went to Santo Domingo de los Colorados and found a Colorado witch who told them that the death was caused, not by God, but by a man--namely, Mariano. For two hundred and fifty sucres the witch offered to kill Mariano. The price was paid and Mariano died about four months later. The affair ended at this point with no attempts at revenge.

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While there are differences in names and locations and in the length of time leading to the death

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of the father-in-law, the plot is the same and the kinship relations of the dramatis personae are the same. In both versions, the murdered man's son goes to seek revenge with the aid of foreign witches. The first version reports that Cristobal came up from Viche to cure Margarita, while in the second version, Mariano came up to San José. Margarita who is the wife of Alejandro of Encanto was said to have been the second wife of Cristobal and she was born near San José. While the unity and historicity of the two tales is not certain, it is reasonably sure. It is of some interest that polygyny is not a factor in the second version. In both stories, the first wife leaves the home with apparent reluctance. The second version was told to me by a member of the first wife's family and leads me to believe that the bone of contention that initiated the chain of events which culminated in murder was not polygyny but, rather, the divorce. It is of considerable interest to note that in the first version, Arcinto is said to be still living with two wives in Viche up the Río Esmeraldas and that he has never been punished. Clearly, one can avoid punishment by leaving the community at a distance sufficiently great to make the sending of a commission too expensive.

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sending of a commission too expensive.

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Polygyny defended as the right of the wealthy. Rosenda was tried by the late /únʸi/, Arcilio. He responded to Arcilio's statement that "Jesus never ordered man to have two wives" by saying that the devil told him to get a second wife. He also pointed out that he was a very rich man and could well afford to maintain two women and that he needed two wives to help him cultivate all of his banana fields. Fifty lashes were ordered, but Rosenda protested and he was only given twenty lashes. Because of the reduction in the number of lashes, he was fined thirty sucres. /It is also said that he threatened to kill one of the officials before being sentenced./ The woman received fifty lashes and that same day was given to a man from Sapallo Grande. Later that day, the woman and her new husband were overtaken by Rosenda at San Antonio just a few miles above Punta Venado. Rosenda told the groom that he was the woman's husband, that he had been drunk and had never ordered her sent away. The man from Sapallo Grande "was somewhat stupid," and handed her over. That night, Rosenda and his wife slipped down the river past

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Punta Venado and went up the Río Onzole. They were never punished again.

A brief alternate version of the above case has it that Rosenda was never punished "because he is an evil man who can afford to kill people by witchcraft. He also owns a revolver." Another statement was recorded from Gerardo of Encanto, who said that Rosenda had been punished with twenty lashes and fined thirty sucres. He then got rid of the second wife, but he took her back within a year. "People gossip but nothing more can be done, as he has been punished."

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This case was recorded on September 16, 1960. On the eleventh of September, Rosenda's first wife came up to Encanto to visit with the mother of the Cimarrón brothers. [She is 'family' with the mother but not with the sons.] She had come up from the Río Onzole alone and had told Rosenda that she was ill and wanted to look for a brujo. For this, she felt that she needed one hundred sucres, but Rosenda would not give her more than forty. The woman was very angry about Rosenda's lack of concern for her "illness." She told the people in the Cimarrón house that she wanted to leave her husband and go to her father on

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the Río Verde. In fact, she said that she planned to go there with her late husband's brother. Her complaint was that the Rosenda household was "sad, bad, much crying and beating." She wanted to leave her husband permanently. According to my informants, this would be a valid divorce, considering the polygynous circumstances, and she could then remarry. She had left Rosenda without her children, because "the father did not send them along," and therefore within a few days she returned home to Rosenda. It was being said at the time that Rosenda was looking for a third wife.

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The area around Cojimíes is a bustling center of the banana trade, and the Cayapa who live there are very well off financially. The people of the San Miguel section are the furthest removed from the banana trade and from time to time go to the coastal areas to work. Sometimes they work for Whites and sometimes for Negroes, but mostly they seek work on Cayapa-owned land. For the first time non-related Cayapa may live and work together and opportunities for liasons are greatly increased. In some instances, as in the following case, they end in a polygynous marriage.

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Renando loses his right and his second wife in a fight. Renando Añapa lives in Cojimíes. He had three sons by his wife. One day a man from the San Miguel section came down with his daughter to work, and moved into Renando's house. [No information was available as to names and possible relationships.] Renando began making love to the man's daughter, and finally he declared her to be his second wife. They lived thus for about five months. Eventually, during a party held just for visiting, where only guitars and not the traditional Cayapa instruments gave the musical background, Perdomo, a visiting official from the Sapallo Grande section, spoke to him about the affair. Renando became annoyed and accused Perdomo of committing adultery with his sister-in law, making him as much a sinner as himself. The upshot of this incident was that Perdomo ordered that Renando and his second wife receive one hundred lashes each. Soon after the punishment, the two men came to blows. After the party, Renando, his two wives, and the father of the second wife left for Quinendé, a long distance off into the interior. There they went to the house of a 'cousin' of the second wife. Renando and the cousin fought about the polygynous

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

marriage, and the cousin aided by another man, soundly trounced Renando. After this, they sent the second wife to another Cayapa in Quinendé. That same day Renando and his first wife left to return to Cojimíes.

The party held "for visiting" is worth noting because Cayapa never just visit among themselves. A new pattern is developing in the coastal regions where groups of unrelated Cayapa are brought together in a live-work arrangement that is quite foreign to the traditional patterns. "Guitars formed the musical background"--an indicator of the newly developing situation. It must also be noted that Renando was a member of the Punta Venado and the official who ordered him whipped was from the Sapallo Grande section, and the second wife, who was also whipped, was from the San Miguel section. The official did not have the second wife sent away, and it can only be surmised that there were no single men locally available for her. Renando was not able to keep the second wife simply because he was not strong enough to do so. It is becoming abundantly clear that the Cayapa cannot come to grips with a determined wrong-doer. The following case illustrates this in terms of polygyny.

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Cristobal marries his second wife in the Church. Cristobal Tapullo of Muisne had two wives. The first one only had one live birth, a daughter. The second wife is Carmelina de la Cruz from Sapallo Grande, and it is said that he married her in the Church. Carmelina knew that Cristobal was married when she went to him for the first time. The two wives were very angry with each other, but they never used more than verbal abuse, and Cristobal never attempted to interfere in their quarrels. Cristobal had gone to fiestas with both wives, but nothing was ever done about it, because he had married the second wife in the Church. Cristobal's /apín^{y}a/, 'brother's son,' Segundo Tapullo, also had two wives. He lived in Muisne in his own house. About six months after his first wife came to live with him, he went to a fiesta at Sapallo Grande to look for a second wife. He told the /ún^{y}i/ that he was not married /in point of fact, he had not married his first wife in the Church/, and that he wanted a wife. A wife was found for him, and he took her back to Muisne. When the second wife saw the first wife, she was very angry and wanted to return home, but she could not do so as the distance was too great. People wanted her to go to

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Sapallo Grande to find another husband, but Segundo refused to allow her to go. Several years later the second wife's father came down, and the two men had harsh words nearly resulting in physical assault. The girl wanted to return with her father "but Segundo refused, being much stronger, and he knows more Spanish."

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Cristobal, by marrying the second wife in the Church, had placed himself in a position beyond the power of Cayapa law, and he could only be dealt with by Jesus himself. Segundo, it seems, had learned something from his uncle. He had the model of polygyny before him, and the speed with which he left his first wife to find a second well before the customary time for a Church wedding, indicates that he knew exactly what he was doing. The Cayapa consider one to be truly married only when the priest has performed the service. Whether this sophistry can be considered to be part of Cayapa legal thinking remains to be seen. The test will come, when, and if, Segundo visits any of the ceremonial centers during a fiesta.

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The statement " . . . and he knows more Spanish" appears to be something of a non sequitur; however, a man who speaks Spanish fluently to some extent controls

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

events in the outside world of commerce and government. For example, because of Segundo's ability to speak Spanish proficiently, he served as a threat to his father-in-law. One can visualize him doing nothing more than shouting at the old man in Spanish with the result that his father-in-law would be completely terrorized. Segundo could describe the dire straits in which the old man would find himself if Segundo went to the authorities, and the old man would unquestionably believe him.

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Trivinio Cortes claimed that a man named Cristobal Sandoval of Muisne has two wives, as does Cristobal's brother. It may very well be that Cristobal Tapullo and Cristobal Sandoval are one and the same. In any event, Trivinio claims "they have both been punished but permitted to keep the second wives because who would take care of the children?" "In the old days, the man and woman were burned to death, as people were very angry. Nowadays, they do not get very angry about such things." While people do not demand that the culprits be burned, they do get upset and on occasion even non-kin will attempt to take matters into their own hands, as in the following case.

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A neighbor threatens to beat up a polygynist.

Roberto Cisarrón, a brujo, had two wives. They lived a short distance above San José on the Río Cayapas. The women lived in separate houses several hundred feet apart connected by a small path. One day Roberto became intoxicated while he was curing a patient, and his first wife, who also was drunk, scolded him for having taken a second wife. Roberto had also married the second wife in the Church. He and his first wife came to blows, and Roberto eventually threw her into the river from which she was rescued by a passing Negro. Later, when sober, she went over to the second wife's house and assaulted her. In turn, after this attack the children of the second wife assailed the childless first wife. Roberto hid the second wife in the home of a Negro for about two weeks. His first wife knew what was happening and she was very angry. Eventually, Roberto moved the first wife into a small nearby rancho. The family of the first wife never complained, but the father of Romulo Añapa who was not related to any of the principles said that if Roberto did not get rid of the second wife, he himself would beat him up. Later, when inebriated, Roberto came over to the house of Romulo's

father, and they argued. Roberto claimed that he needed two wives, and, being a rich brujo, he could afford them. Furthermore, the second wife could supply him with children. Romulo's father replied that Roberto should know well what he was doing in his own heart, and after death, Jesus would punish him. 595 627 [556]

The case materials so far presented indicate that the polygynists and would-be polygynists have been wealthy and powerful dissidents. The following case of Segundo Añapa is a contrary instance that portends of major changes to come. 595 [556] [178]

Poor man attempts polygyny. Julio Tapullo who lived a short distance below Sapallo Grande had a crippled left arm. His wife, María Cimarrón, deserted him for another man named Segundo Añapa. Segundo who lived near Playa Grande on the Río Cayapas was already married to Petrona Cimarrón who was not related to María. Despite the objections of his first wife, he and María lived together for over a month. A 'niece' of Petrona met Aurelio who is one of the /[illegible]tala/ from the Río Camerones; she met him when he was bringing in bananas for sale directly to the boat at San Antonio. 595 586 684 × [694]

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She told him the story, and when Aurelio returned home, he notified the /ũnⁿi/, Gabriel, and the case was brought up at Punta Venado during Christmas of 1960. Julio Tapullo, looking somewhat embarrassed, stood alone off to one side with his crippled left arm, supported by his right arm, laid across his chest. He was dressed in rather shabby clothing. [Most Cayapa try to wear new clothing to a fiesta.] [292] His wife and Segundo stood somewhat apart in the center of a circle composed of about sixty people. Everyone, including the /ũnⁿi/, was very drunk. Gabriel asked why María had left her husband, and she replied that Julio was not supporting her and that he never bought her cloth and jewelry. Julio flatly denied everything. People in the crowd were saying that Julio could do as much work with his one good arm as most men could do with two. In the discussion between Gabriel and the two culprits it became obvious that they had come into contact quite accidently. Segundo had been out looking for a second wife at the same time that María had left Julio, and they met on the Río Onzole. Gabriel asked Segundo why he had felt he had to look for another wife when he already had three children, but

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Segundo did not reply. In the crowd the murmur went around, "por gusto," for pleasure. [Best translated here as, "for the hell of it."] They both received two hundred and fifty lashes, and as a Cayapa woman does not live by plantain alone, Gabriel advised Julio to spend more money on his wife.

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Again it is seen that Cayapa women are capable of direct action, but much more important, a case of polygyny had been successfully legally quashed. Compare, however, the severity of the sentence with that of Rosenda: two hundred and fifty lashes versus twenty, plus a thirty sucre fine. Cayapa law can handle the "little man." It is almost as if polygyny were becoming quasi-respectable. Gabriel implied that Segundo had no need for another wife, since he had children. The lack of follow-up action directed against the rich and powerful and the severe quashing that Segundo received may signal the formation of a class-structured society wherein polygyny is legally restricted to the wealthy. In any event, the chief in discussing with me all of the on-going cases of polygyny presented above denied his responsibility. He said that even though all of them were living in sin, everything was actually

all right because these cases had been "settled" previously by the late /[illegible]/, Arcilio.

The omnipresent theme seems to be that a truly determined wrong-doer cannot be handled within the legal framework, and his punishment is shifted to the realm of the supernatural. This results in a de facto acceptance of the illegal act that may be very productive of greater change ultimately leading to de jure acceptance in terms of legal decisions.

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[P.199]

CHAPTER V

LAND, PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Land is the basis of the Cayapa economy. The region, undefined and unsurveyed, has been deeded to the Cayapa as a tribe. Negroes and Whites who desire land must purchase it from an Indian in order to have a clear title. The title is for the land itself and not just for usufruct. The Cayapa may obtain land by cutting it out of the virgin forest (monte jivaro), he may buy it or he may inherit it. More land is available for subsistence farming than for other purposes. For the cash crop of bananas the land must be of good quality, well drained, and within easy access of a navigable stream that flows into the main river body traveled by La Propaganda, the banana buyers. In addition, the grower must be able to meet the banana boat on schedule. A stand of rubber trees will also increase the value of the land. Rubber is sold in Colombia where, traditionally, the price is higher than in Ecuador and retail prices on consumer items wanted by the Cayapa are cheaper. Once a year, as a rule,

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Once a year, as a rule,

groups of Cayapa will band together for protection against the rattlesnake and brigands that infest the forested regions, load their canoes with as much rubber as they have been able to collect, and set off in small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colombian goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to yawning.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be good for raising pigs. (Remoteness lessens the possibility of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and aguacate. Large sections are planted to the tagua palm that, at one time, was as important economically as the banana is today. The tagua nut is only a minor item in the

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diet now, but the leaves are in demand for roofing material. Another cash crop is hardwood trees, but they are not often planted; enterprising individuals cut them out of the unclaimed forest.

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Land is seldom held in one large block. It is usually scattered about among other holdings so that, quite often, choice properties are separated by distances involving several day's travel. Many Cayapa have two houses, each built as close as possible to their main holdings. Inevitably, they must spend considerable time away from large sections of their property and, as a result, Negroes often illegally harvest standing crops or, perhaps, plant their own. Negroes may buy land from the Cayapa, but as the banana economy continues to boom, the Indians are more and more reluctant to sell. Sometimes usufruct is rented by the Negro, usually for a share of the profits, but arguments invariably develop. It is said that the Indian is always at a disadvantage in his dealings with the Negro because of the latter's readiness to engage in witchcraft and "spoil" the land for the Indian owner. If several members of an Indian's family sicken or die, after a recent quarrel with a Negro about land, it is assumed that witchcraft has been

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at work and that the land is spoiled. The Indian will then sell the land for the best price offered but will often take a lower price to avoid selling to the Negro held to be responsible for the witchcraft.

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Sometimes, boys and young men are given sections of land as advance inheritances which they work as they wish, and their work validates their claim to the inheritance. Generally, only those children who have consistently helped the parents work the land are entitled to inherit. Ill will between parents and children need not enter into consideration at all. Maximino Añapa, for example, a son of Marianito Añapa of the Río Camerones, as a very young child was sent to live with his mother's brother in Muisne on the coast, possibly to get him away from an influenza epidemic in the inland area. He stayed with his uncle for many years and helped him work the land; later he cut some out for himself. He used to return to his parents' home for visits of varying lengths of time, but the main attraction for him, however, seems to have been the school at Encanto. When needed, he helped his father work the land; however, he will not inherit any of the land because he said that it had all been promised to his brothers. Since he

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spent the greater part of his life living and working with his uncle presumably he will inherit land from the uncle. His rights to such an inheritance, however, are still legally ambiguous, as the following reported dispute indicates.

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A conflict of the principle of inheritance by work-validation and the principle of inheritance by kinship. Some years ago when tagua was still selling well, Romulo Añapa and Trivinio "owned" some land jointly. Trivinio's mother had been the legal owner of the land originally. The manner of kinship between Romulo and Trivinio is not known. Trivinio was lazy and "never" worked the land, whereas Romulo helped Trivinio's parents. After the death of Trivinio's parents, Romulo agreed to sell all of the land for about eight hundred sucres to Marianito Añapa "who is somewhat related." Meanwhile, Trivinio sold half of the land to Sanchi, his /acʸinʸa/, 'sister's son.'

One day, a widow related to Romulo and Sanchi built a small rancho on the section of land that Sanchi believed was his by purchase. He threw the old woman off the land and she went crying to Romulo, who became

very angry. A meeting was called in the house of Santiagueño Añapa, and Romulo pointed out that the land was really his as he had worked it, while Trivnio as a boy was lazy and never helped. Romulo, therefore, demanded the money that Sanchi had paid to Trivinio, plus more on the grounds that they were not family. Since Marianito had paid half of the agreed upon money to Romulo, he owned half of the land with clear title. If Sanchi wanted to keep the other half, he would have to make an additional payment to Romulo. Sanchi refused to pay any more money, and Trivinio refused to hand over the money he had received from Sanchi. Romulo and Trivinio are enemies to this day, and apparently the case never went to the chief for settlement. Sanchi continued to own the land that he had paid Trivinio for, and Marianito continued to own the land that he had bought from Romulo. In both instances, exactly half the land went to each purchaser.

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The principle of kinship, perhaps, has not been overridden by the principle of working the land, and the de facto inheritance was an equal division, that, in fact, seems to have been tacitly recognized by the

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principles themselves and constructive notice seems to have been drawn from the circumstances known to all of the potential buyers. Romulo wanted to sell all of the land but actually was offered, and accepted payment for, only half. He alone believed that he had the right to make a conditional sale of all of the land to Marianito. Trivinio made no pretense of selling more than half and did not object to Romulo's selling the other half, a recognition of the principle, at least in part, that work validates ownership of the land. The issue, however, was moral, rather than legal and since it was not completely resolved, Romulo and Trivinio have become life-long enemies. Marianito, who bought half the land, will not leave any to his son Maximino, precisely because Maximino has not been readily available to help work the land.

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Although ownership of land is validated by use, it is not necessary for property to be in continual use to validate ownership. A person may have clear title, either through purchase, inheritance, or by clearing the land from monte jivaro, which will be recognized by his contemporaries, but as land is never registered,

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except when sold to a Negro or a White, if it is seldom used, the children and grandchildren may not be certain of the ownership and of the boundaries. Such problems may be resolved fairly easily if older people with knowledge of the original land transactions can be consulted, but the presence of such people, of course, can never be guaranteed. Land that is not in active use is always in jeopardy as illustrated in the following case.

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Huru Cimarrón attempts to claim land sold illegally by his father. Many years ago, the father of Huru Cimarrón sold some land that actually belonged to the father of Romulo Añapa. The purchaser was another Indian. When the real owner of the land was told of the sale he protested to the chief, who sent up a commission to get Huru's father. Huru was a child at the time. During the proceedings, his father remained silent, although he was ordered to pay back the one hundred sucres that he had received from the sale and was then fined thirty sucres which went to the chief.

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Some years later when both fathers were dead, Huru tried to claim the land. He and Romulo fought at

Punta Venado, with relatives of each man joining the fray. After order had been restored, the chief stated that the land belonged to Romulo and that Huru was too young to have known what had happened earlier. Huru wanted Romulo to pay twenty sucres damages for cutting his head in the brawl, but Romulo refused on the grounds that Huru had started the argument. He did however, buy a half bottle of rum, which they consumed together. Both Huru and Romulo are "family," but the manner of relationship is unknown.

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Boundaries of land become well known with usage and may be disputed when the land is not used intensively. In either case, disputes may occur but are more apt to require settlement by a third party, if the boundaries are not well known.

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A Negro official renders a Cayapa-type decision. After Sanchi built a house on his land, he observed one day that Perdomo had planted bananas nearby. Sanchi insisted that they had been planted on his land and, with his mother's brother, Heverico, called in Cristobal, the Negro Inspectór of the village of Camerones at that time. Cristobal decided that Perdomo should keep

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the crop but that when the plants were dead, the land should revert to Sanchi. Meanwhile, Marianito complained to Perdomo that the land was really his. Perdomo asked why he had not worked the land before, and Cristobal, the Inspectór, ignored the claim. Sanchi paid Cristobal ten sucres for his services.

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The decision was acceptable to both claimants. It followed the reasoning, apparently, that although the land belonged to Sanchi, he was not working it at the time. There seems to have been a general feeling that the land was monte jivaro and never had been worked before. It did however, adjoin the acknowledged property of Sanchi. By disputing Perdomo's use of the land, he signified his intention of using it. Perdomo was at a disadvantage because he had no land adjoining the section under dispute. Cristobal balanced propinquity and intention on the one hand, with actual use on the other, in reading his decision. The decision definitely acknowledges the land as belonging to Sanchi, but Perdomo was permitted to profit from his labor. The dispute occurred several years ago, and in 1960 it was being said that Perdomo planned to use the land again.

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Antonito forfeits his profit by fighting. About 1955, Pedro José planted some calabash trees to mark the boundary between his land and the neighboring land of Antonito Riki. One day, while working near the line, he spotted some cacao plants that had been planted on his side. He said nothing at the time, but some weeks later, during a wake given by Kalía at his daughter's death, Pedro José became drunk and inquired of the group at large, and of Antonito in particular, "Who planted the cacao?" Antonito admitted the act, and an argument began which soon developed into a general fight. Kalía stopped it after a while, stating that he did not want people to fight when he was sad over the death of his daughter. Pedro José wanted forty sucres damages for the blows to his eyes but Antonito, backed up by his mother, refused to pay and Pedro José left the wake with his daughter. Later he uprooted the cacao plants, but nothing more was ever done.

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Although the uprooting of the cacao plants was an act of spite, Pedro José was justified, as the boundary was clear and well-known. Ordinarily, Antonito could have expected to profit from the labor he expended in planting the cacao, but by getting drunk,

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fighting, and then refusing to pay just damages, he effectively cancelled his proprietary interest in the cacao plants. That nothing more was ever done, indicates a feeling of ex post facto quid pro quo.

Decisions given by the /únʸi/ concerning unauthorised planting often follow the decision made by the Inspectór Cristobal in the case of Sanchi vs. Marianito. Cristobal's decision was but one alternative in the Cayapa legal repetoire. It is not a very popular decision, because by the time the land has reverted to its original owner, most of its fertility is gone. This type of decision, however, seems to be applied when the claimant's title to the land is very clouded as a result of not having used it. In these instances, the decision is premonitory: it states very clearly "nota bene, work your land, or lose it." The following case decided by the /únʸi/, Gabriel Añapa, illustrates this point.

Land used just for rubber tapping is jeopardized. In the early part of 1960, Ciro Añapa and his elder brother made a trip to Pichiyaco. Upon their arrival they were notified by a relative that their land had

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recently been planted without permission by the Cimarrón brothers of Encanto. Ciro and his brother were angry, but said nothing until they became drunk at a party at the home of Gabriel. Harsh words were exchanged, but Gabriel settled the case. He decided that the Cimarrón brothers could use the land for five years without any cost, but then the land would revert to Ciro and his brother, Santiagueño. Ciro did not like the decision and pointed out that the land would have to remain fallow for five years so that he would lose its use for ten years. There were about twenty-five rubber trees on the land, Ciro said, and if the trees were tapped by the Cimarrón brothers he would take the case, not to the /únʸi/, but to the authorities at Limones.

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The Cimarrón brothers claimed that the land did not belong to Ciro and Santiagueño. Ciro claimed that the land belonged to his father. The major issue lay in the fact that Ciro and his brother did not plant crops, but only tapped the rubber trees. Rubber tapping per se involves very little work, and no clearing of bush. It cannot be equated with the work of clearing and planting the land, weeding, and harvesting. Ciro's

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claim was definitely in jeopardy. It is interesting that he threatened to go to the provincial authorities. In discussing the case with the writer, Ciro stated that "the /únʸi/, is not worth much, and when it comes to collecting fines, he doesn't do so. If need be, I will go to Limones." To be sure, Ciro was disgruntled with the unauthorized planting and the decision ruling it, nevertheless, in effect, he accepted it. The rubber trees became his main concern, although the /únʸi/ did not specifically prohibit the Cimarrón brothers from tapping the trees. Gabriel's narrow decision left the door open for further litigation.

When title to the land is clear, decisions indicate that the owner should profit from unauthorized plantings. This may just as easily be stated in reverse, however; namely, the interloper is entitled to a substantial part of the fruits of his illicit labor. This point is illustrated in the following variant of a case described to the writer by the /únʸi/.

The usurper is awarded limited usufruct. Some years ago, Pablo Candalehu asked Marianito Ñapa to sell him a small piece of land about twenty arms-length long.

423
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Marianito refused, saying that the land was worthless. Although Pablo built a house and planted the land, Marianito never complained. Recently, however, Marianito planted bananas and plantain on some of Pablo's land which also had a stand of about thirty rubber trees. Pablo went to see Marianito, but he remained silent, apparently out of shame. During a party in Encanto, Pablo notified the /ún^{y}i/. When all the people gathered, Marianito's wife said they would stop all work on Pablo's land. The /ún^{y}i/ replied that they should continue to work. As the first crop is usually small, they decided, it would all go to Marianito, but following crops were to be divided equally, and "when the crop dies, the land is Pablo's."

As an aside, Gabriel remarked that Pablo long ago had paid Marianito ten sucres for the land, but the other version of the case disputes the payment. In the case described above, Marianito came out slightly ahead; in the following version, the outcome is very different indeed.

The usurper is awarded substantial usufruct.

For many years, Pablo Candalehu had been working parts

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of Marianito's land. Marianito had never objected, but recently had planted some plantain, beans, and corn on the land being worked by Pablo. Pablo complained to the /ún^{y}i/ who decided that the land would revert to Pablo after the plantain died. Pablo wanted to be able to cut half of the crop, but Gabriel refused to permit this. He decided that the land would go to Pablo, if Marianito were no longer able to use it.

It does not really matter which of the two versions most closely approximates the truth. What is important, is that Gabriel's version seemed to warrant one type-decision, and the other version seemed to warrant another. In the latter version, Pablo, by his complaint, upset a precariously balanced situation of tacit reciprocity. In winning his case, however, he lost it, for after the land has been in use for many years it must be fallow for a period, so it is useless for many more years. The version of Gabriel hinges on whether or not Pablo had indeed paid for the use of Marianito's land. It was assumed that he did and, therefore, his complaint against Marianito's action was valid, and Marianito was ordered to share the gains of his unauthorized planting with Pablo.

423
685
[197]

It is the nature of the tropical rain forest that neglected clearings revert to a condition closely resembling the pristine within a few years. In this event, it is difficult to determine whether or not one is cutting virgin growth. From time to time, this leads to a conflict that may be settled in any of the ways described above, or may be handled in the manner illustrated below.

Antonito demands a quit claim. About 1957, Ciro Añapa and his brother Santiagueño were told by Antonito Añapa, that they were working on some land that he had cut from monte jivaro. When Ciro's brother saw the land, however, it looked like jungle once more, and he pointed out that it must have been many years since Antonito had worked it. At a party at Trivinio's house when everyone was drunk, Antonito demanded one hundred sucres. Ciro replied that he never remembered Antonito's working the land under dispute. Heverico, who was present, told Ciro and his brother to pay the hundred sucres, saying that, after all, it was not a large sum of money. Heverico, however, did not know if the land belonged to Antonito or not. Ciro and his brother agreed to pay the

hundred sucres, but did not. During Christmas at Punta Venado, they were approached again, again agreed to pay, but failed to do so. Antonito later came to their house up the Río Camarones and then they paid the money. 423 685

The land is now the joint property of Ciro and Santiaguaño, and they have clear title. The question of whether the one hundred sucres conveyed title by a sale, or served as a quitclaim is moot. Given the nominal price and the cloudy state of Antonito's ownership, the transaction could best be viewed as a quitclaim. [425]

Indians seldom register land in their names, but if they sell land to a Negro, the transaction is usually registered at the insistence of the purchaser for his protection. Consequently, the Cayapa is never required to show proof of ownership; his statement that he owns the land for sale is sufficient. Some Cayapa find the prospect of selling another man's land, without his permission and knowledge, a beguiling one, and rumors are constantly being circulated of one or another Cayapa thinking of doing it, doing it, or perhaps having completed the transaction. In any event, the hurling 423 685 425 177 203 626 000

of acrimonious charges, because of a rumor concerning fraudulent land sales, is usually sufficient to squelch whatever factual basis there may have been in the rumor. Very often, the rumors are just malicious in intent, as seems to have been the case in the following instance.

Rumor mongering causes family dispute. Ciro Añapa is not liked by his father's god-father's daughter. Through the system of compadrazgo they are considered to be family, /búlutála/. She apparently spends a good deal of time gossiping about Ciro, much to his annoyance, and although he would very much like to complain to the /ún^{y}i/, he does not do so because they are family. When Ciro lent some land to Perdomo in Encanto, she claimed that the land was not his and he had no right to make the loan. She generally spreads rumors of illegal land deals involving him. One day as he was studying in his house, three of the Cisarrón brothers and their mother visited him because they had heard that he had sold their land in Encanto to a Negro. The old woman burst into tears saying that she had once given a feast in honor of Ciro's dead mother,

423
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203
[426]
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203

and she returned to her house where she continued to cry "like one does at a funeral." The Cimarrón brothers remonstrated with Ciro, who remained silent, ashamed, because "three mouths were speaking against me." All left except Segundo Cimarrón. Ciro asked him who had made the accusation and was told that it was Segundo's brother-in-law who was married to his sister, the very one who had been constantly gossiping about Ciro. Segundo then demanded fifteen hundred sucres, saying that they were not family anymore. Ciro replied that he did not have the money, and more to the point, that the charges were not true.

When the Cimarróns' mother went home to weep "like one does at a funeral" it meant that someone was going to die, which made Ciro's brother, Santiagueño, very angry, so that, at a party, he spoke very harshly to the Cimarrón brothers. The proliferation of baseless rumors involving land transactions such as those described above, is a realization that the Cayapa's hold on the land is becoming increasingly more tenuous as the expanding banana market causes the land to increase in value. This point was made very clear by Joselino Caisero, the Negro Inspector of the village of Camarones,

[177]

[177]

4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD4 Cayapa SD4

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179
209
L85

who discussed land problems with the author. His arm described a broad arc over the Río Cayapas flowing before us as he said, "The Cayapa think that they own the land, but they just hold it by our grace." It is small wonder indeed, that the Cayapa rumor mill creates innumerable variations on this basic theme.

423
S93
L85

As we have noted, it is generally agreed that the right of ownership is validated by working the land. Often a group of brothers will work the land together, which is regarded as an ideal situation as brothers should be together, just as the term for brother, /kǎ.tala/, means 'some together.' The actual working of the land imposes little problem concerning ownership, but for a stand of rubber trees that requires no maintenance at all, a problem is posed.

Rubber trees are divided into three parts for three brothers. Duro Cimarrón and his brother Segundo, came to blows at a party held at the school house in Borbón. Their father had owned a piece of land just below the rompido, up the Río Canandé, on which were some rubber trees. Duro wanted to tap some of the rubber, but Segundo had arrived at the site first and made

off with the latex. Suru claimed that the land was his, as he was the eldest son, and Segundo agreed to leave the untapped trees for Suru. But they are three brothers, and the /[illegible]/, to avoid further fighting, divided the land three ways among them.

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593

<u>The rubber poacher began most of the profits.</u> Espírito Santo had a piece of land on which was a stand of about fifteen rubber trees. Chapiro tapped them without permission and collected about fifty pounds of rubber. He turned the rubber over to his brother, Bertram, who went to Colombia with Pablo [illegible] and two Negroes, Estupinian and Manuel Caisero. Bertram sold the rubber for Chapiro. Suru Cimarrón had noticed that the trees were tapped and told people that Ciro had done the poaching. But Santiaguito, Ciro's brother, had seen Chapiro skulking in the vicinity and told people that the trees had, in truth, been tapped by Chapiro. Suru's wife, who is Espírito's sister, became very angry with Chapiro and said that if she were a man, she would beat him up. Some time later at a party in <u>Entrada</u>, Espírito approached Chapiro and asked how much he had gained by the sale. Chapiro did not argue, and

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settled for thirty *sucres*.

Given this very low settlement [Chapiro probably made at least two hundred *sucres*], it would appear that the interloper can realize most of his profits from illicit rubber tapping, while the owner of the trees can only plead *mea culpa* for not having been there first! Buro Cimarrón had been "outraged" by the theft of the rubber, nevertheless one wonders what he was doing in the vicinity of his brother-in-law's trees. Similarly, Santiaguano could only have seen Chapiro "skulking" if he too, had been in the vicinity of the trees. Everyone seems to have had a bit of larceny in mind.

It is seen that in terms of land, work, and rubber, cultivation is not only a means of producing foodstuffs but of authenticating ownership as well. Thus, the individual who appropriates part of someone else's land is permitted, as a rule, to benefit from the art to the extent of his invested labor; if the purported owner accepts the appropriation without protest, that is, without indicating his own intention and desire to work the land, then the ownership of the

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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land is acceded to the cultivator. The theft of rubber appears to be more an indication of industry than of wrongdoing, and whatever criminal aspects exist are usually expiated by the sharing of the profits.

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422
[423]

The stealing of pigs, however, is in a totally different category. Unlike land, there is never a clouded title to the ownership of the animals, and unlike land, the fact of ownership of the animals is sufficient to establish the owner's legal rights. Pigs are not worked as is land, and increased production is left entirely up to the pigs. No matter how hard a pig thief may work--and, sometimes, he must run for miles across difficult country to round up the animal(s)--his industry brings him no rewards when he is caught, because he has contributed no productive labor. As a matter of fact, pig-stealing is recognized as an offense, although the thief may not be punished. The following case is illustrative of this point.

The owner of stolen pigs tracks down the thief. Lorenzo Añapa became ill some time in 1957 and went to Sapallo Grande to consult the /ũn^{y}i/, Jesusito, who is a curer. The treatment lasted two weeks. When Lorenzo

returned, he found that his pigs were gone. He suspected Perdomo of having taken them, and for one year he questioned residents of the area for evidence. At last he found the Negro who had bought the pigs and he identified Perdomo as the man from whom he had bought them. Lorenzo took this evidence to the late /únʸi/, Arcilio, who returned with him and held a hearing. Perdomo was present, but said very little in his own defense as Ramón, a Negro employee of the man who had purchased the pigs, identified Perdomo as the seller. The pigs had been sold for five hundred sucres, and the /únʸi/ ordered Perdomo to pay four hundred sucres to Lorenzo, fifty sucres to the witness, Ramón, and fifty sucres as a fine to the /únʸi/, who had lost two days work to attend to this matter.

Perdomo was not permitted to keep any of his ill-gotten gains nor, aside from the shame of being uncovered as a thief, was he penalized in any manner. As a rule, irregularities involving pigs are settled quickly. If a pig eats the produce from someone else's garden, for instance, payment is made for the produce without question. Occasionally, however, a quarrel involving pigs may become quite serious as is seen in the following

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422
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account of a dispute that occurred about sixty years ago.

A foraging sow is killed and the owner chooses exile over revenge-murder. Gerardo's elder brother, Reninio Perdomo, had a sow that was just about ready to drop her young. She ate some plantain belonging to a neighbor who administered a severe beating to the sow. That same night the litter of piglets was born dead, and soon after, the sow died also. Reninio became highly incensed and beat up the neighbor. His anger still not assuaged, he decided to move to the coast, for otherwise he might kill the neighbor and then be imprisoned as a result. He could not tolerate the idea of imprisonment. "People now said that it was better to move out, than kill and get thrown in jail."

[423]

The case is interesting because of the murderous passions invoked by the beating of the sow and her subsequent death--passions that were not aroused when land or rubber were involved. In addition, the case is of interest because it is the only known incident in which an individual, rather than commit murder, chose exile.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

In marked contrast to the sexual sphere, decisions involving land always involved a compromise solution, a balancing of conflicting claims. It appears to the writer that compromise solutions of this type preclude punishment for the usurper. Restitution rather than punishment or partial profit marks settlement of pig-stealing cases, because the thief does not have a claim based upon productive work. The compromise solutions in land disputes reflect a basic acceptance by all parties to the dispute that work validates ownership and keeps the boundary lines and title clear.

422
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685
[684]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CHAPTER VI

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSION

The basic personality of the Cayapa is marked by anxiety, suspicion, and lack of confidence. Cooperation is minimal, and social cohesion is maintained through the use of alcohol. Cayapa culture is marked by extremely heavy permissive drinking patterns. The Cayapa drink to get drunk: they drink at weddings and funerals; they drink for joy and sorrow; they drink out of fear when an earthquake appears to threaten the end of the world; and they drink to screw up enough courage to bring litigation before the chief. While they are not at all addicted to alcohol, they are to some extent dependent upon it. The dependency arises out of a deep-rooted basic anxiety that is manifested by a generalized fear of others, an inability to maintain friendships, low male sex drive, female sexual forwardness and latent homosexuality. Following Kardiner (Kardiner et al. 1939; 1945), it will be posited that there is a connection between the primary institution of child rearing, the Basic Personality Structure, and the system of law and government as their derivatives

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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the system of law and government as their derivatives.

Dependency on alcohol is generally recognized as a means of reducing anxiety, although specific interpretations may differ as to the nature of the anxiety. My analysis of drinking in Cayapa culture is based on psychoanalytic theory as the data seem to fit best within that framework.

> Addictive alcoholism is classified as an oral perversion. This perversion results from traumas that occurred during the earliest stage of psychosexual development, at the time when the individual's means of achieving security and release from tension was through stimulation of the oral cavity (Chafetz and Demone, Jr. 1962: 21).

Cayapa infancy and childhood may be seen as classic examples of oral fixation derived from a traumatic blocking of normal psychosexual development. Drinking is also related to homosexuality, "Since the fixation at the oral stage is so early, in psychosexual development, the alcoholic has never achieved a genital level of differentiation and is so desirous of receiving love, he does not differentiate the sex of the provider" (Chafetz and Demone, Jr. 1962:41). Although no overt homosexuality is observed among the Cayapa, a great deal of

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homoerotic play is evident during fiestas and, because of the low male sex drive, may be the substitute.

During Cayapa infancy and early childhood, children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training long before the zonal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely. The coincidence of the harsh toilet training and the availability of the breast leads to an intensification of oral gratification and a positive psychosexual fixation at this stage. We have already described the toilet training of the Cayapa infant and child, and discussed the extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces on the part of adolescents. The fact that the child is often permitted almost immediately to suck the nipple after having gone through a truly frightening experience involving defecation as described above, structures the peculiarly poignant oral fixation of the Cayapa infant and gives a heightened intensity. The oral fixation derived from anal frustration at such a very early period, is the psychological equivalent of oral frustration and is later intensified by the weaning practices. Weaning is accomplished by

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[776]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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shaming, ridicule, the application of bitter tasting substances, or frightening the child with stories of cannibalistic ogres.7 Thus, within the psychoanalytic framework, the seeds of dependency drinking are sown and begin to develop.

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> . . . oral frustrations in the infant result in cannibalistic fantasies toward the mother's breast and her total person. Because the child projects its feelings and fantasies, it also views the external world as cannibalistic and develops fears of objects in it. This results in an unconscious fear of being devoured by the love object. The vagina, which is unconsciously equated with the mouth, comes to represent the castrating, devouring organ. Such anticipations result in avoidance of the heterosexual object . . . (Bieber 1962:6-7).

For the Cayapa, the equation of vagina:mouth is not at all unconscious. The vagina dentata motif is clearly present, and sexual intercourse is spoken of as the vagina eating the penis. As for cannibalistic fantasies, they still exist in the stories that the Cayapa tell of the wild Indians who lived in the area before them; these Indians were cannibals and preyed on the Cayapa. The fantasies are also used to manipulate events. When I first explored the Cayapa area up to the Río Tigre, I decided to do my work among the Cayapa of the San

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[186]

Miguel section and, after reaching an agreement on the location of a house, I made a down payment for the purchase of roofing material. Two weeks later I returned with my family, but was told that we could not settle in the San Miguel section: the inhabitants were afraid of us, as they had heard we were cannibals. The rumor had been started by people of the Punta Venado section who wanted us to live with them. Earlier, a resident missionary had started a small dispensary among the San Miguel group, and another missionary was conducting a very large medical practice in the Sapallo Grande section. Since the people of Punta Venado wanted a medical gringo, too, they started the rumors of our cannibalistic propensities to frighten the people of San Miguel into rejecting us so that we would move in with them. They told the stories with such gusto that for a brief period, even after we settled among them, they believed the fantasies were indeed true.

It is not only the complex of sphincter training, nursing and weaning that convinces the young boy that the world and its objects are threatening and cannibalistic, but play behavior also. A common game that parents and older siblings play with young males is to

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hold the child high overhead, open the mouth and then close it over the child's genitals. The game is never played with female children. As far as gross observation can tell, the experience is not at all frightening to the child; it is, however, oral incorporation of no mean order and fits quite comfortably within the pattern that is beginning to unfold. Alternately rejected and over-indulged, the child is unable to develop a sense of security, personal worth, or control over his behavior.

155

> What enduring qualities are rooted in this muscular and anal stage? From the sense of inner goodness emanates autonomy and pride; from the sense of badness, doubt and shame. To develop autonomy a firmly developed and convincingly continued state of early trust is necessary. The infant must come to feel that his basic faith in himself and in the world (which is the lasting treasure saved from the conflicts of the oral stage) will not be jeopardized by this sudden violent wish to have a choice, to appropriate demandingly and to eliminate stubbornly. . . His environment must back him up in his wish to "stand on his own feet" lest he be overcome by that sense . . . which we call shame, or that secondary mistrust . . . which we call doubt (Erickson 1950: 80-81).

"Autonomous motivation," for Dorothy Lee, is the sine qua non of the human condition (Lee 1961:103-121). But autonomy and pride or doubt and shame are derived from the resolution of the problems that beset the child

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through the various stages of his psychosexual development. For the Cayapa, autonomous motivation and independence is considerably reduced and heard only faintly in a very muted minor key. Even the penis is said to be able to think for itself, at least in terms of sex, for "when the penis wants to bother a woman it erects itself." This seeming lack of involvement or control of an erogenous body area has been amply demonstrated in terms of Erickson's psychosexual approach. This is paralleled to some extent by Robert W. White's discussion of effectance motivation, wherein the organism attempts to develop competence and mastery over his environment, and competence, states White, finds expression elsewhere, as well as in the erogenous bodily zones. As we shall see, this is most certainly not an either/or proposition, but more in the nature of a complimentary approach to Erickson's framework. White's position is very important for the light it throws on the Cayapa data, and requires an extended quotation.

[831]

> Clearly we are dealing with important problems of development, but is it correct to place the decisive struggle in the bathroom? Does the child in toilet training provide an adequate model, a sufficient interpretative nucleus, for all that is going on? Let us

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introduce again the competence model and see whether or not it can help us with the problems of this stage. It is worth noticing at the outset that direct observation does not give the libido theory the kind of support it provided in the oral stage. To be sure, there is plenty of evidence, even in the pages of the clean-minded Gesell, that children are interested in anal functions, that they play with feces, and that they experience frustration and conflict over the process of training. But direct observation would never suggest that these happenings were the central preoccupations of the second and third years, nor would introspection convince us that retaining and eliminating could have anything like the intensity of oral pleasure. The evidence for a stage of predominantly anal libido thus rests heavily upon the reconstructions that occur in psychoanalytic treatment. On the other hand direct observation has long recognized a sharp and significant crisis in human relations, usually called two-year old negativism . . . We may be dealing here with a profound intrinsic crisis in the growth of social competence.

Let us ask what the child accomplishes during the second and third years in the way of competent interactions with his environment. As regards locomotion he starts as an awkward toddler, but by the middle of the second year he becomes a restless runabout . . . It is this picture of persistent, driven motor activity that led Mittelmann . . . to postulate a motility urge. The second and third years . . . show the most rapid growth of motility; he even asserts that at this stage the motor urge "dominated all other urges." Motility is seen by him as "one of the most important avenues for excercising such functions as mastery, integration, reality testing, and control of impulses--usually referred to in analysis as ego functions." There is an increasing emphasis now on motor accomplishment leading to self-esteem (White 1960: 115-116).

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Given his peculiarly harsh, intense and very early training in sphincter control, the Cayapa's autonomous motivation, or competence, is derived in no small degree from the little drama that is enacted daily on the causeway behind the cooking area. This interpretation of the rigorous training, however, does not refute the importance of the motility urge, but enhances it. As a rule, the child undergoes the severe training in sphincter control and perhaps weaning, at the same time that he is frustrated in his exploratory forays outside the house, precisely when he is in the stage of heightened motility. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls; it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. As a result, he is not permitted to master, integrate and test the world outside his home. He is confined within the house except for family movements for work-visits with relations or to <u>fiestas</u> [where he is still confined within the limits of the house] This confinement lasts

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until the child is about four years of age. The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that stem from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. [Prior to this time the child may have bean extremely healthy.] During the period of confinement to the house he is effectively blocked off from sunlight within the house and on canoe trips he is placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is seldom brought home to the confined child; the adults eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors at the river side. The child is permitted, indeed encouraged to eat refined sugar by the fist full and to drink soda pop. During his fifth year when he is permitted to leave the confines of the house he is able to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit; then the incidence of skin diseases decreases and his rickety appearance disappears.

The low sexual drive of the adult male Cayapa is best reflected in his replies to questions on the frequency of coitus. Recalling that sexual prowess is admired, married men in their late twenties and early

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833
[52]

thirties spoke of "maybe twice a week." It would appear that the Cayapa, even at his braggadoccio best, operates sexually at a very low level. One Cayapa termed coitus "medio trabajo--a little like work." Another informant, when asked if he enjoyed sex, replied, "Siempre me gusta, pero no mucho--sure I like it, but not much." It is my impression that there is a very large minority among the Cayapa who feel along with Lord Chesterfield that "the position is ridiculous, the pleasure is momentary, and the price is outrageous."

The women's genital behavior is more forward, as attested by our legal material, so that it must be asked, "If female children receive the same kind and amount of toilet training as the male, and the same nursing and weaning, how can this come about, especially since I have postulated that the male sexual patterns arise out of oral fixation which is the result of the juxtaposition of harsh sphincter training and breast feeding and/or weaning?"

Both males and females strive for greatly intensified oral incorporation [not only is sexual intercourse spoken of as the vagina eating the penis, but a man tells a woman with whom he enjoys sex "/[illegible] cuimbu/--

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your vagina is delicious," but the matter is resolved differently for girls.

> . . . owing to the fact that a girl's 'graspiness' does not need to remain fixated in the mouth . . . it can normally shift to the vagina and pass for genital behavior (Erickson 1950:86).

The sexual forwardness of the women [forward only in comparison with the backwardness of the males], is not true genital behavior but rather an expression of incorporative fixation, and is psychologically equivalent to the heavy dependency drinking of the Cayapa male. Cayapa women also drink and get drunk, but their drinking is only the palest reflection of the drinking behavior of the men; the psychological needs of the women, it is quite clear, are satisfied more genitally.

[279]

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Affiliative behavior. Affiliative behavior is characteristic of many animal orders, and especially of the primate. On the human level, affiliative needs are intensified by the peculiarly human process of socialization, and the general dyadic patterns of 'Me-You,' 'Them-Us,' as learned behavior, becomes formed in the cultural expectancies that rack an individual's psycho-

sexual-social development. This leads to friendship relationships of one kind or another, and as we have been told, in bi-lateral societies, these relationships are especially marked by elaborate gift giving or other dyadic exchanges (Sahlins 1960:76-87). For the Cayapa, affiliative behavior, as expressed in these terms, can only be found in rudimentary form. One might almost say that the Cayapa practice a form of avoidance behavior that is extended to all non-kin. This avoidance is not pronounced with the Negroes and Whites. Commonly, one may see a Cayapa guiding his canoe downstream, coming abreast of another Indian poling his way upstream. They turn their heads away from each other and pass in silence, unless they are family or very well known to each other. When an Indian passes a Negro or a White, or passes in front of their houses, loud salutations are exchanged. From within a Cayapa house, when the sounds of a canoe on the river are heard, people rush to the edge of the house and peer intently; if it is a Cayapa canoe, excited whispers are heard "/čšči/" which means 'people.' No word is exchanged, the "people" in the canoe glide past with averted glances.

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At the Negro village of Concepcion, Indians wander about and visit casually the homes of many of the Negroes whom they know. Among themselves there are no casual visits to friends--there are really no friends, with the possible exception of some of the pupils at the Encanto Indian school. The language has no word for "friend" beyond the Spanish loan-word. There is family and not-family and, one does not visit family casually either. There must be a purpose beyond a desire just to visit. Dyadic relations are easily set up with the Negroes and are quasi-friendships that are quite clearly instrumental on both sides. I have no count but my decided impression is that prestation increases markedly between Indian and Negro. Negroes very often ask to become a god-parent for a minor ceremonial occasion when the child's nails are cut for the first time. The nail parings are placed in a cup of rum and drunk by the father and the Negro god-father. Small gifts are exchanged of little monetary value, and food is consumed along with the alcohol. Thenceforth at very irregular intervals, small presents will be exchanged. Gifting, while not especially generous on any level, showed an apparent increase with

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4:Altschuler E-S (1959-1960) 1965
SD4 Cayapa SD4

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[152]
[371]

the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense interpersonal relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in three different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa:Cayapa, Cayapa:Negro, and Cayapa:White.

> . . . anxiety acquired in childhood might be generalized to other people . . . because of their similarity to the persons responsible for the frustration and punishment of the child--their similarity, above all, to the child's parents (Whiting and Child 1960:347).

Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa--much more so than Negroes and Whites.

The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by avoidance or

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highly restrictive interpersonal involvements. When in their canoes, which pass each other quickly, they can easily and effectively avoid each other. Where they cannot pass by rapidly, as at the weekly *fiestas* at the ceremonial centers, heavy drinking is required to get the low-jobs done, arrange the marriages, and to maintain a minimum of social integration and interaction. With the increase in social integration and interaction brought about by liberal amounts of alcohol, a new factor can be noticed. For some, latent homosexuality comes close to the surface in the form of homoeroticism. Young boys may be seen on the floor wrapped in each other's arms, and young men may be seen seated in the same hammock, facing each other, holding hands. It must be emphasized that this is not homosexual *per se*, but *erotic* in the sense of a transfer of libidinal affect to another male. I have only witnessed this behavior at the *fiestas*. If the Cayapa have strong latent homosexual tendencies where the generalized fear of others may be seen "as a defense against sexual anxieties . . . against homosexual tendencies" (Whiting and Child 1962-1957), why then do we not find it in its *sexual*

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manifestations? The psychoanalytic frame of reference regarding homosexuality is directly relevant for the Cayapa. 155 838

> The wish to have a larger penis, in general reflects a feeling of unacceptability and inadequacy, in particular a feeling of sexual inadequacy; a belief, usually unconsciously held, that sexual functioning has been injured and is vulnerable to further injury; a wish to supersede other males who are feared and regarded as superior. The wish for a larger penis and excessive fearfulness is significantly associated . . . (Rieber 1962: 181).

The Cayapa tell a story of an ogre who is very ugly and black and looks like a Negro; he has a very long penis with which he kills women. Here we see all of the requisite feelings for a predisposition to homosexuality as well as an expression of underlying Cayapa-Negro attitudes, marked, from the point of view of the Cayapa, by fear, aggression, envy, and sexual inadequacy. [776] [186] [177]

Manifest homosexualism would be a behavioral innovation, requiring of its innovator extraordinary determination, very much akin to the persistent and determined polygynous and incestuous behavior that has been noted in the legal material. It appears that one [178]

of the main requirements for homosexuality is a profound feeling of fear and inadequacy, hardly the sort of person who would persistently and doggedly pursue this rather striking innovation. It should be noted that the Cayapa flatly deny the existence of homosexual practices. Just once did an informant admit that "maybe some boys" practiced mutual masturbation.

In the recently built Indian school at Encanto, boys and young men now maintain, for several months of the school year, a high frequency of interaction with non-related boys, and for some, very intense feelings of chumship are beginning to form that never existed before. Given the increase in duration and frequency of interaction, homoeroticism could very easily pass over into homosexualism.

Friendship is a most novel situation for the Cayapa and he cannot easily function within it. In his dealings with Negroes, rules of ritual kinship may obtain or a hail-fellow-well-met stance may be adopted. The anthropologist-Cayapa situation was completely new, especially in the informant relationship. This was the closest approach to friendship, in the western sense, that they had ever experienced.

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Given the psychological factors that have been discussed so far, it would seem that some informants could only unconsciously structure the relationship in terms of possible homoerotic feelings which could develop in a situation of increased duration and frequency of interaction with one person. This is what the informant-anthropologist relation does. When I would begin to use other informants, as an anthropologist must, the first informant would react in terms of rejection, and pout; he would gradually become withdrawn, and finally break off the informant relationship. The situation is quite similar to the "camarada complex" described by Ruben E. Reina for Chinautla in Guatemala (Reina 1959:44-50).

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123

A similar situation was revealed in the matter of giving rides in my motorized canoe whenever I went on long trips. For example, Lorenzo Martín once asked for a ride when I planned to go up to San Miguel and I agreed. A time was set, broadly enough to take account of Cayapa casualness regarding time. He never arrived at all! When next seen he said that I should have waited much longer than I did, and he was clearly offended that I had not. At another occasion, he came

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155
572
[123]

just as I was leaving, with my canoe dangerously overloaded with Indians. He asked to go along. It was pointed out that there was absolutely no room, whereupon he suggested that I eject someone to make room for him. When this was refused, he went into a fit of pouting. Reverend Glenn, the missionary in the Sapallo Grande area, reports that Cayapa whom he consider to be friends, will come to the dispensary long after hours, or when there is a long line and demand to be taken first. The demand is always refused and pouting always follows.

[177]

Friendship in the western sense does not really exist in Cayapa life and culture, except in embryonic form. The complex of friendship that is offered to them by the surrounding population, more often than not, leaves the Indian either in debt, defrauded, and/or, as he believes, bewitched. This, coupled with the tenuous diminishing of the fear of others, leads to a dyadic relationship that requires constant testing and probing, that is neurotically destructive of the relationship itself. The strong committment to alcohol alleviates the fears of other people, the self-doubts, the personal and sexual inadequacies, the basic anxiety of Cayapa life.

[571]
[273]
[182]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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622
182

anxiety of Cayapa life.

Given these features of Cayapa life and culture it may be seen that tribal cohesion can best be achieved by means of a chief who fulfills the requirements of dominance that goes hand in glove with attitudes of submission in a people who lack both confidence and competence. Political behavior as described in the body of the text may be viewed as a projective system, in Kardiner's terms, wherein an attempt is made to mold the present chief into an image of their ego ideal.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

105
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671
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The nexus between the realms of Cayapa law, government, and politics, can be found in the area of personality and social structure. The law derives from a functional complex that is characterized by a deep-rooted anxiety, sexual inadequacy, heavy permissive and dependent drinking, periodic political behavior, and individual deviant behavior that ultimately leads to sweeping socio-cultural changes. The framework of this complex, and its legal derivative, is a society that is bi-laterally organized and lacks corporate bodies; whose only action groups are marked by constant changes in personnel, as individuals and family members move about tending their widespread land holdings. Cayapa fear and anxiety, coupled with a generalized fear of others, effectively blocks the formation of action groups that are more than temporary unions of very short duration. Even non-kin dyadic friendship groups were marked by extreme instability as the bonds of friendship are being constantly tried and probed and usually found wanting.

and pushed and usually found wanting.

Cayapa law readily lends itself to a division into Civil and Criminal law. The former is concerned mainly with property (especially land) while the latter is preeminently concerned with sexual behavior and sin. In the realm of Cayapa Civil law, especially in cases that involve land, legal decisions are compromises in the sense that the usurper is permitted limited return on his labor. There is agreement by all parties to the dispute that land as such is owned, but lacking written records, the best proof that a claimant to land ownership has is evidence of his having worked the land he claims. Work is the best validation of ownership, but the land need not be continuously worked; however, as work is neglected, and as memories fade, ownership is contested. Basically, land disputes involve a claim by the usurper that the original ownership is in jeopardy. These claims are always balanced with the claims of the owner and a compromise solution is reached. The land, in effect, is shared for a period of time and the owner is warned that he must continue to work his land intensively or be subject to further challenges to his ownership. Compromise is an effective

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622

solution and serves to exclude the chief from entangling alliances with one party as opposed to the other. Whether this serves to enhance the position of the chief in his role as third person in the legal process, is not clear. Aubert (1963) believes that mediating decisions foster independence for the third party office, as well as increased prestige. Structurally, the office of /ũn^{y}i/ is an independent one that does not permit the formation of alliances with groups that are virtually impossible to form anyway, given the social and psychological structure of Cayapa culture.

671
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In the legal materials dealing with land it is seen that all of the parties to the dispute were in complete agreement as to the nature of land and its ownership. Conflict does not involve different value positions on the part of the disputants but rather individuals are competing for scarce goods that embody shared cultural values. Polygyny among the Cayapa represents a mixture of competing interests, as in land disputes, and also some lack of agreement as to what the basic issues and values are. Women are valued goods, in a sense, that at present are in scant supply. A compromise solution, as in land disputes, is not

[684]
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[695]

671
684
595
178
[695]

possible to reach, inasmuch as the religious element of sin is also a factor, and the /ũn^{y}i/ cannot condone sin. He must condemn the parties involved in the polygynous marriage. The dispute does not involve a conflict of interests, as in the land cases, but rather new values that markedly conflict with traditional values. The individuals holding the new values refuse to accept an aligned decision, that is, a decision based in effect on an "alliance" with the believers of the traditional values. Ultimately, if the unilateral decision against polygyny cannot be enforced, it is superseded by <u>de facto</u> compromise. Thus, if the parties have been punished once but persist in their sinful behavior, further punishment is left to God, and the polygynous union may continue.

[696]

671
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178

For cases of incest and adultery, the conflict of interest, although present, is minimal. In addition, conflicting values are not an issue, as no one seriously presents a new value position that encourages incest and adulterous behavior. The nature of incest and adultery is such that a compromise solution, while not impossible perhaps, is improbable. In these cases, where sinful behavior is at issue, the official can adopt a unilateral

[695]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

671
684
178

non-compromise position. Persistence in transgression, however, is tantamount to the defense of new value positions that leads to de facto compromise. The Cayapa judge, with the legal avenues that are open to him, cannot handle a strong personality, that is, one that either develops new values, as the polygynist, or the one that refuses to be deterred from wrongdoing, as in the case of the persistently incestuous couple.

Eventually, de facto compromise may assume the dignity of social acceptance. The effective restraint of the poor would-be polygynist, as opposed to the de facto acceptance of the wealthy polygynists, may lead to the formation of class distinctions; that is, a wealthy man will be permitted to have more than one wife but a poor man will not be permitted to enjoy this privilege. Normally, it would be expected that incest could achieve social acceptance only with great difficulty, but from an examination of the case of Lorenzo Ñapa (p. 139) it becomes clear that the incest range for some people is narrowing considerably, for in this case the incestuous arrangement has been given the express approval of the families concerned and de facto

[588]

671
178
[684]
[588]

compromise on the part of the /ʻunʸi/ permits the continuance of this union.

Many things somewhat beyond the ordinary cannot be handled directly, but only by means of de facto compromise or latently. Every society is an action system that in one degree or another utilizes specific innovations for definite ends. Often, the latent functions of an innovation incur more sweeping changes than do the manifest ones. For example, the manifest function of the Indian school was to increase literacy. Its latent function was to increase homosexual behavior. The cultural emphasis for the Cayapa seems to be that of latency, and sweeping changes come about, not because they are sought, but because the socio-psychological matrix of the law can only permit de facto acceptance of threats to basic values.

Cayapa law, in terms of de jure decisions is not at all able to "redefine relations between individuals and groups as the conditions of life change" (Hoebel 1954:275). Cayapa culture is not, however, moribund. Extraordinary socio-cultural changes are taking place precisely because the law cannot accommodate

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

easily to new economic changes and value positions which are redefining relationships between people. The redefining of a situation, or the creation of a new structural arrangement, very often involves legislation or political behavior. For the Cayapa, new definitions and new structural arrangements cannot be legislated through de jure decisions; nor can they take place through primary political involvement due to the paucity of strategic political possibilities inherent in a bilateral system that lacks corporate bodies which may be utilized in the formation of alliances; rather, they take place by means of de facto compromise.

Some authorities maintain that political behavior involves the "formation of new principles of organization" (Rivera 1960). That is, groups or individuals who have differing ideological or value commitments attempt to restructure society. In these terms, Cayapa behavior is not so much political as governmental. It is concerned mainly with the maintenance of stability and the status quo. Such political behavior as is found among the Cayapa apparently stems from periods of uncertainty that are in part sociological and in part psychological. When a new /únʸi/ takes the reins

When a new /únʸi/ takes the reins

671
178
642
622
156
626

of authority, his individual personality and behavior, complicated by the cultural emphasis on heavy drinking, will effect the complementarity of expectations between the /únʸi/ and the people. If there is a lack of conformity between the behavior of the /únʸi/ and the expectancies of the people, there will be an effort on the part of individuals to effect conformity by engaging in moralizing, gossiping, nagging, and threats to shift allegiance to other authorities--all directed against one man, the /únʸi/. The aim of all of these kinds of behavior is to return to the status quo ante, when the late /únʸi/ was the image of true leadership. As the new /únʸi/ is pressured into modifying his behavior in the direction of the cultural expectancies, the agitation and political behavior will diminish.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CASE LOCATOR

Page

131. Chapiro caught in flagrante delicto.

133. The seduction of Gabriel's daughter by Chapiro.

137. Carmelina, a crippled girl, is taken by a marriage commission over the protests of her mother.

141. Romulo appeals to a White official.

143. Perdomo fights for his sister.

146. Mother removes her daughter from the bridegroom's house.

148. A widow marries a single youth.

151. Santiagueño hires a Negro to bring his children back.

153. A man refuses to return to his wife after being punished.

157. A case of double desertion and incest.

156. Adultery between a woman and her son-in-law.

159. The incestuous widow.

159. When incest is no longer incest.

161. The determined incestuous couple.

162. The light punishment of the philandering Captain.

166. The young fornicator defended by a cousin.

167. The cuckold protests in vain.

Page

170. The blame is placed on the woman because she did not say no.

171. Cristobal uses his brother as a pawn to get a second wife.

174. Mariano takes a second wife.

176. Polygyny defended as the right of the wealthy.

179. Perdomo loses his second wife by losing a fight.

181. Cristobal marries his second wife in Church.

184. A neighbor threatens to beat up a polygynist.

185. A poor man attempts polygyny.

193. A conflict of the principle of inheritance by work-validation and the principle of inheritance by kinship.

196. Nuru Cisarrón attempts to claim land sold illegally by his father.

197. A Negro official renders a Cayapa-Type decision.

199. Antonito forfeits his profit by fighting.

200. Land used just for rubber tapping is jeopardized.

202. The usurper is awarded limited usufruct.

203. The usurper is awarded substantial usufruct.

205. Antonito demands a quitclaim.

207. Rumor mongering causes a family dispute.

209. Rubber trees are divided into three parts for three brothers.

210. Rubber poacher keeps most of the profits.

Texts

212. The owner of stolen pigs tracks down the thief.

214. A foraging sow is killed and the owner chooses exile over revenge-murder.

113

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113

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

113

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684

[For cases involving sex and marital offenses and the punishments imposed see category 116, pp. 131-139, 148-188.]

588

[For examples of unsanctioned polygynous marriages see category 116, pp. 171-188.]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

PREFACE

THE information contained in this volume was obtained during the period from July, 1908, to April, 1909, when the author lived with the Cayapa Indians of northwestern Ecuador. This work was suggested to Mr George G. Heye by Prof. Marshall H. Saville, when he found the rich archeological deposits at La Tolita, near the mouth of Rio Santiago, and was undertaken for the purpose of obtaining information with which to solve certain problems connected with the highly developed prehistoric art in pottery and metalwork shown especially in and about the mounds at La Tolita. The results of the present research have failed to give any clew to the manufacturers of these archeological objects, owing to the great antiquity of the culture represented by them and to the fact that the Cayapa Indians are comparatively recent immigrants into this region. However, many interesting and important observations concerning the ethnology of the region were made, and the results of these are here offered as a contribution to the ethnology of this hitherto little known region of northwestern South America. Forming as they did a part of the field research of the Marie Antoinette Heye Expedition, the studies whose results are the subject of the present work were due to Mrs Heye's interest and generous patronage.

The author left San Francisco in June, 1908, so calculating the time of his journey as to connect, via New Orleans and Colon, with a vessel of the Pacific Naviga-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

only the principal species with which the Indians are particularly concerned. Moreover, it is a source of regret that it is impossible, except in a very few instances, to give the scientific names of any of the species mentioned. It was originally intended that a collection should be made of all those forms of vegetal and animal life employed in any way by the Indians. In fact, a good beginning had been made in this matter, and considerable time had been spent in preparing mammal and bird skins during the first three months' residence on the river, but, unfortunately, during the author's illness from fever for nine weeks, these specimens were completely spoiled by insects and no time was available later to gather another collection. The only specimens saved were certain insects preserved in alcohol.

MAMMALS

English	Spanish	Cayapa
deer	venado	ma'na
wild hog	saino	aven-dū'cū, awen-dyū'cū
peccary	tatabara	na'-tcūcū, ne-tū'cū, ka'ne tyūcū
tame hog	puerco	kū''tcī, kō''tcī
(large rodent)	guanta	wala'mbū
(large rodent)	guatin	kō'yō, kū'yū
jaguar	*tigre*	*kē'la, a-kē'la*
black-marked species		pabañe'la
red-marked species		lakembī'lya
ocelot	tigrillo	tōmañ-gē'la
puma	león	lyū-kē'la, lyū-kē'na
monkey	mono	wa'cū, wo'cū

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[p iii]

PREFACE

The field work among the Cayapa Indians of Esmeraldas province in Western Ecuador upon which this thesis is based, was carried out from August 19, 1959 to October 25, 1960. The field research was financed by a Doherty Foundation Fellowship and a research grant from the National Institutes of Mental Health, United States Public Health Service.

The main focus of the research was in the area of social control through law and government. A dimension of great significance for the study was supplied by the functional realist approach to law propounded both in text and the lecture-room by Professor E. Adamson Hoebel. Professor Hoebel made it very clear that Law is a living operation, and the product of living beings whose personalities have been shaped by a living culture. Working through the matrix of culture and personality, Law has in some societies reached heights of human magnificence and orderly elegance, and perhaps as often, in some of the ethnographic backwaters,

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

121

the Law displays its all too human frailties. This study in Cayapa legal behavior portrays a people with very many, very human, frailties which are revealed through the dynamics of Law, Government, and Personality.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[R 216]

CHAPTER VI

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSION

The basic personality of the Cayapa is marked by anxiety, suspicion, and lack of confidence. Cooperation is minimal, and social cohesion is maintained through the use of alcohol. Cayapa culture is marked by extremely heavy permissive drinking patterns. The Cayapa drink to get drunk; they drink at weddings and funerals; they drink for joy and sorrow; they drink out of fear when an earthquake appears to threaten the end of the world; and they drink to screw up enough courage to bring litigation before the chief. While they are not at all addicted to alcohol, they are to some extent dependent upon it. The dependency arises out of a deep-rooted basic anxiety that is manifested by a generalized fear of others, an inability to maintain friendships, low male sex drive, female sexual forwardness and latent homosexuality. Following Kardiner (Kardiner et al. 1939; 1945), it will be posited that there is a connection between the primary institution of child rearing, the Basic Personality Structure, and

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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155
279
[154]
[121]

the system of law and government as their derivatives.

Dependency on alcohol is generally recognized as a means of reducing anxiety, although specific interpretations may differ as to the nature of the anxiety. My analysis of drinking in Cayapa culture is based on psychoanalytic theory as the data seem to fit best within that framework.

> Addictive alcoholism is classified as an oral perversion. This perversion results from traumas that occurred during the earliest stage of psychosexual development, at the time when the individual's means of achieving security and release from tension was through stimulation of the oral cavity (Chafetz and Demone, Jr. 1962: 21).

Cayapa infancy and childhood may be seen as classic examples of oral fixation derived from a traumatic blocking of normal psychosexual development. Drinking is also related to homosexuality. "Since the fixation at the oral stage is so early, in psychosexual development, the alcoholic has never achieved a genital level of differentiation and is so desirous of receiving love, he does not differentiate the sex of the provider" (Chafetz and Demone, Jr. 1962:41). Although no overt homosexuality is observed among the Cayapa, a great deal of

155
133
271

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

PREFACE

THE information contained in this volume was obtained during the period from July, 1908, to April, 1909, when the author lived with the Cayapa Indians of northwestern Ecuador. This work was suggested to Mr George G. Heye by Prof. Marshall H. Saville, when he found the rich archeological deposits at La Tolita, near the mouth of Rio Santiago, and was undertaken for the purpose of obtaining information with which to solve certain problems connected with the highly developed prehistoric art in pottery and metalwork shown especially in and about the mounds at La Tolita. The results of the present research have failed to give any clew to the manufacturers of these archeological objects, owing to the great antiquity of the culture represented by them and to the fact that the Cayapa Indians are comparatively recent immigrants into this region. However, many interesting and important observations concerning the ethnology of the region were made, and the results of these are here offered as a contribution to the ethnology of this hitherto little known region of northwestern South America. Forming as they did a part of the field research of the Marie Antoinette Heye Expedition, the studies whose results are the subject of the present work were due to Mrs Heye's interest and generous patronage.

The author left San Francisco in June, 1908, so calculating the time of his journey as to connect, via New Orleans and Colon, with a vessel of the Pacific Naviga-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

tion Company at Panama for Esmeraldas. Owing, however, to the irregularity of schedule along this western coast, it was necessary to remain a fortnight in Panama until the next steamer sailed. The arrival of this vessel from the south brought a welcome visit from Professor Saville, who, returning from a summer's archeological research in Ecuador, was able to give further valued information concerning the region to be visited and the encouraging news that health conditions there were then favorable.

Finally, after a voyage of five days, with the usual stops at Buenaventura and Tumaco, our vessel dropped anchor in the harbor of Esmeraldas, where the author was warmly greeted by Mr George D. Hedian, American consular agent at Esmeraldas. Mr Hedian had known Professor Saville for three years and had participated with him in the archeological expedition of the previous summer. His cordial interest, therefore, was threefold: that of a consul, that of a coworker, and, above all, that interest born of whole-souled friendship, as was amply proved throughout the author's stay in the region, and especially evidenced by his fraternal kindness in times of illness and on many other occasions. Mr Hedian's good advice concerning methods of travel and health precautions, and his kind offices in arranging matters of business concerning the expedition, were a result of long residence in the region and of thorough knowledge of the country and its people. The writer takes this opportunity to express his personal appreciation of Mr Hedian's many courtesies.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

It seemed best for the writer to remain in Esmeraldas for about a week in order to recuperate from a slight fever contracted at Tumaco during a canoe trip of a few hours to inspect the mounds on El Morro island in the bay of Tumaco. During this week he also had an opportunity to meet all the people of importance in Esmeraldas, the capital and chief city of the province of the same name, and to outfit so far as was necessary for the trip up the Rio Cayapas. Among others the author met the Governor of the province, who kindly gave him letters of recommendation to the local teniente politico at La Tola.

Finally, passage was obtained for La Tolita on a balandra, or small sloop. The author was accompanied by Mr Hedian, who had arranged his affairs in order to accompany him among the Indians and to see that he was properly introduced to some of their head-men.

After a journey of two days we disembarked at La Tolita, where we were hospitably received by Señor Don Pablo I. Sánchez, owner of the hacienda, and by Señor Don Calixto Ramírez, his business manager. Both of these estimable Spanish gentlemen facilitated in every way the work of the expedition, and it is a pleasure to acknowledge their many kindnesses. Mention must also be made of the tender care given the author during illness by these two and by Señora Sánchez, Señor Don Maximiliano Sánchez, and Señor Don Manuel. Acknowledgment should also be made to these friends for their interest in obtaining a considerable collection of pottery and stone objects from

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[P ii]

PREFACE

The field work among the Cayapa Indians of Esmeraldas province in Western Ecuador upon which this thesis is based, was carried out from August 19, 1959 to October 25, 1960. The field research was financed by a Doherty Foundation Fellowship and a research grant from the National Institutes of Mental Health, United States Public Health Service.

The main focus of the research was in the area of social control through law and government. A dimension of great significance for the study was supplied by the functional realist approach to law propounded both in text and the lecture-room by Professor E. Adamson Hoebel. Professor Hoebel made it very clear that Law is a living operation, and the product of living beings whose personalities have been shaped by a living culture. Working through the matrix of culture and personality, law has in some societies reached heights of human magnificence and orderly elegance, and perhaps as often, in some of the ethnographic backwaters,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

They go about inhabited places always at night, and although ordinarily they are invisible to the human eye, their presence is known by their blubbering speech, although they can speak intelligibly if they so desire. 776

That, to the Cayapa mind, the bö"tülya still exist and that they are much feared is shown by the following incident. While the guest of one of the Cayapa officials it was the author's custom sometimes to sit for hours in the evening conversing with him on various phases of Cayapa life. On one of these occasions, on a pitch-dark night, we were talking merely of the ordinary pursuits of the people. A lighted torch had been placed between us, which precluded the probability of the informant being able to see into the darkness outside the house. Suddenly, in the midst of our conversation, he sprang to his feet, ran over and untied the dog, and sent him down the ladder, while he himself ran to the railing at the side of the house, meanwhile urging the dog on in pursuit of something out in the darkness. He later explained that he had heard the blubbering speech of a bö"tülya near the house; he had seen nothing of the spirit and knew of its presence only by the sounds it made, but had hastened to drive it away to keep it from stealing his pigs and chickens which were confined under the house. [123]

These spirits are believed to travel during the day as well as at night, and in case a house is left without occupants they frequently visit it and either carry away the food stored in it or cook it on the spot for the purpose of inhaling the steam and aroma which arise therefrom.

Although it is maintained that the bö"tülya do not

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Father's si. so. da. /ʌhpunā?ma/
Father's mo. br. son /uhpūyu/ w.s., /ahčīyu/ m.s.
Mother's br. son's wife /sūya/
Husband's fa. si. son /apīpi/
Mother's br. son's son /apīnʸa/ m.s.
Father's father's si. son /apīku/ m.s.
Mother's br. so. daughter /unʸunātacūhki/

842

Pregnancy and Birth. The Cayapa understand that there is a connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy but believe that repeated intercourse is necessary for conception. A woman is known to be pregnant when the menstrual period ceases and the areolae and nipples /čukāpa/ become enlarged and darker. There do not seem to be any abnormal food cravings nor are there any food taboos. There is some feeling of "shame" concerning pregnancy, and a woman never tells her husband or anyone else that she is pregnant. It will soon be obvious to everyone anyway.

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The woman continues her normal routine until she is well advanced in her pregnancy, at which time she remains in the house where she eventually gives birth. Children have been born at fiestas, and I was a partial witness to such a birth at a fiesta at Zapallo Grande. The party was an ofrenda given by Marianito Añapa in honor of his parents, who had died

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4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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about twelve years earlier. Off to one side in a small cubicle, a minor commotion was in progress. I walked over and saw a group of women standing around a woman who was seated with her back to me. When I asked what was happening, I was met with a burst of laughter and giggles. Men who were approached grinned and said that it "was an affair of the women." Perhaps an hour later, I returned to the cubicle and watched the seated woman grasp and twist a piece of cloth that had been suspended from one of the rafters. An old crone was serving as the mid-wife. The actual birth took place during one of my periodic absences to watch the festivities which were going on unabated. A few curious children and some women were the only by-standers.

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Elderly women are generally the mid-wives, but there are a few men who ply the trade on occasion. The mid-wife knows enough to manipulate the unborn child to a good birth position, which is done by massaging and kneading on the abdomen. Most births are normal and fairly easy. It is said that if the child is born with its arms akimbo, then the mother will die.

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4 Alexander E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
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children, after about the age of six, defecate in the river or in the woods behind the house. As soon as an infant is able to sit, he is placed over the women's and girl's urination hole to defecate. He is not permitted to return to the comfort of the house until he has done so. The weather may be somewhat inclement, it may be dark, the child may howl and scream, he may decide to withhold his feces in defiance of parental command, but no leniency is shown. He must sit out on the causeway, alone, miserable, afraid or defiant, and only after he defecates, is he removed and brought into the house where he may be rewarded with the breast. By the time the child is two years old, he is trained, or perhaps, a better word, broken. Understandably, most Cayuga show an extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces. One day four young boys, ranging in age from about ten to fourteen, came to visit just as my infant son defecated. The boys stopped in their tracks and one, pointing to the mess on the floor, shouted, "/ga/" 'feces,' whereupon they fled.

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If no new sibling has arrived, the Cayuga infant is permitted to nurse at the breast for about three years.

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seldom brought home to the confined child; the adults eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors at the riverside. During his fifth year when he is permitted to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit, the incidence of skin disease decreases and his rickety appearance disappears. 146 155 262

Children are wanted and beloved. As an example of permissiveness, they are allowed to indulge in cookies, candies, sugar and soft drinks, but conversely an element of teasing often enters the picture. To illustrate, a small child will be offered a goody, which, when he reaches for it, will be snatched away. Reactions to this affront vary; some children cry; others just sit looking forlorn. The adults seem to enjoy this teasing. An impressive example of contrastive behavior presented itself one day as a group of Indian women and their children came to visit us. Everyone was seated on the floor in a circle, and the conversation was desultory. Finally, a woman took a piece of candy and handed it to my son who was sitting on his mother's lap. As he reached out eagerly for the tidbit, the woman brought her hand back. At this everyone laughed, but the child 155 [142] [262] 129 155

had never been teased in this manner before, and his eyes flashed pure hatred for the woman as he leaned forward, glaring at her. All laughter ceased; everyone gazed fascinatedly at the child. Shortly, the woman offered the candy again, and as it was taken, she jerked her arm back violently as if it had been burned. Clearly, a Cayapa child would never react in this manner; he would have remained passive. The group broke up shortly after this; the event doubtlessly became the subject of much conversation. Frank remained extremely popular with both Indians and Negroes, and passersby on the river before our house would call out his name. When the writer visited, I was asked to bring him along, and, he was never teased again.

By the age of three years, children are clothed in miniature replicas of their parents' clothing. Genital shame is marked by the age of five or six years. Nothing men and boys convulsively grasp their genitals as they enter the water; on the other hand, women and girls merely wade into the water and remove their shirts when they are waist deep in the river. Nothing is frequent, and swimming is considered to be a great sport by the children.

ties are often very tender. On one occasion while the writer was treating a man for a fever his married sister came in and knelt beside him. She put her mouth close to his ear and whispered to him while she gently stroked his back. It is said that brothers should work together on all things, that they should inherit and work land together.

Parent-child relationships are affectionate and close. Both parents play with their children and indulge them. Often children were brought in to the writer for an injection of penicillin. In these cases if the child cried and stated emphatically that he did not want it, the parents would not insist. Generally boy and girl children are treated much the same in play behavior with the parents and other siblings with one exception. Boy children, up to about the third or fourth year, are often held up at arms-length above the head of the older person who then lowers the child slowly. When the child is within reach, the older person then places his mouth over the child's genitals for a few seconds. This game is never played with girl children.

While husband and wife relationships tend to be affectionate, the woman is often in a near dominant

the coffinmakers a gift of two or three liters of rum which is consumed on the spot. If the deceased is a woman, her husband goes through her belongings and sets aside items that are especially attractive and/or expensive, and these are later auctioned off at the funeral. The money received in this manner is used to pay for special masses for the dead. Finally when all is in readiness, the body is placed in the coffin. The funeral is held at a house that is on the main river to facilitate the final removal of the body to the ceremonial center for burial. The coffin is placed in a canoe which is piloted by a close male relative: father, husband, brother, etcetera. The pilot sets out alone with the corpse for the funeral site.

One day I received word that the wife of Aurelio Añapa had just died from the bite of a venomous snake. She had been attended by a brujo for a period of four days to no avail. The following morning at about two o'clock, we heard faintly the mourning chant of the Cayapa. Slowly the sound came closer, and far up the river a light was moving steadily. Finally, after what appeared to us to be an interminably long time, Aurelio

came close to our house. He cried out, wailing in the Cayapa manner, "Here is the house of Don Milton where we used to go together; it gives me pain to think that we will no longer go there, ay . . ." At this he passed by our house, and we could hear him call out landmarks that were familiar to him and to his wife--landmarks that they would no longer see together. Finally he moved out of sight and out of hearing. We were quite disturbed over this, not only because she was a friend, but also because we had an ample supply of antivenom and had not been notified of the snakebite when we might have helped her. People were saying that Aurelio did not hire effective brujos. They said that the ones he hired were known to be ignorant of snakebite curing. Aurelio had been married for about ten years and had no children. His wife gave birth once prematurely, and the child died; ever since this, unfortunately, she had been sterile. This was a great sadness to them, for they wanted children very much. When I asked others why Aurelio had never adopted children, the answer always was, "He wants his own blood."

Funerals tend to begin late in the afternoon,

spirit is said to reside in each piece. Black stone axes are especially potent, as are pieces of crystal that have been purchased in town. Tobacco is part of every curing; the smoke wafts the illness away from the body. A considerable amount of alcohol is used as well. The witch takes a mouthful of /lahala/, 'rum,' and sprays it out of his mouth with a loud "whoosh" at the patient's back; a considerable amount of rum fails to compress as spray, and the witch finishes the curing in an advanced state of inebriation! In general, the manner of effecting a cure is as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:344-352). However, I participated in one that differed considerably. I was told one day that a curing session was in progress at a point not too distant from my house. When I arrived, the cure had apparently been going on for some time. A middle-aged man lay on a reed mat that had been placed on the ground. Alejandro of Borbón sat off to one side leaning back against two parallel sticks that had been thrust into the ground to serve as a backrest. From time to time he alternately whistled short stretches of staccato sounds, that had a decided "blues" quality.

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and chanted a curious mixture of Spanish and what may have been unintelligible magical Quechua words. The Spanish element predominated, but not as connected discourse. The manner of chanting made comprehension extremely difficult for me, but the sequence may be described as stretches of humming, interspersed with unintelligibility, peaked by the words "negrone . . . India brava . . . enfermidad . . . bruja . . . ." that is, "Negro . . . wild Indian . ... sickness . . . witch . . . ." From time to time there were straight Spanish incantations: "This man is sick, I know, I know, cure, cure, Negro." The Negro is included in the list of powerful words because it is felt that Negroes often practice black magic against the Indians; similarly, the India Brava were a powerful people whose very stone and pottery artifacts retain their ancient power. The witch is included for obvious reasons, and Spanish is used probably because it connotes power. A man who controls Spanish controls the outside forces to a degree impossible for a monolingual Cayapa.

On occasion, Alejandro would take a mouthful of rum and blow it out in the direction of the patient.

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While this was going on, Gerardo, a minor brujo who is also Alejandro's father, rolled up some hoja blanca leaves in the shape of a cone, and placed it on the head of the patient who, by now, was sitting up. The old man then ran both of his hands up the patient's body toward the head. When he reached the forehead he squeezed tightly, quickly gathered up the conical "dunce-cap," and ran off into the jungle where he threw it away. He had brought out some of the malignant spirits through the patient's head and into the hat. As this was going on, the patient kept looking at me out of the corner of his eye; finally he said to Gerardo, while pointing his lips at me, "He's real big;" at this, Gerardo asked if I would like to try removing some of the illness. I agreed with alacrity, and as I placed my hands along the patient's sides and began massaging upwards, he cried out: "/ŭra, ŭra/, which means "good, good." Gerardo and I worked together, and used up four cone hats. Throughout all of this activity, Alejandro kept humming and chanting, and taking long pulls at the rum bottle, and occasionally spraying some in our direction.

[273]

At the conclusion of the curing ceremony, the

patient, who appeared to be wracked by malaria, declared that my power had helped him considerably. This comment was accepted with perfect equanimity by the two brujos who nodded and agreed that I did have big hands.

There appears to be no conflict between the Cayapa theory of disease and modern medical practices. On several occasions, Kalía, an active brujo, would come to me for medications to give his patients. The feeling was that the White man's medicine taken together with the native remedy could not be beaten; however, quite commonly, western medication is sought only as a last resort.

Almost everyone has a modicum of curing knowledge, but one would never dare to utter incantations that summon spirits, unless he has paid a teacher for knowledge. An unauthorized person who called the spirits would be killed by them. Most people will at one time or another attempt to effect a cure. A brief illustration of some of these points can be seen in the following events recorded during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado in 1959:

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[Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado] [193]

It was one thirty in the afternoon on Friday, when a very sick child was brought to the /iñ'i/ to be cured. Gabriel, was quite drunk, but he took the child and blew on the top of its head. He then passed the child to a Negress, who did the same thing, and then tossed the child up into the air. The /iñ'i/ then took the child and blew on its head again. The parents of the child stood by crying, as it was obvious that the child was in mortal danger. Some other Indians began taking turns blowing at the child's head, and one began to suck out at the nostrils, while another massaged the child's hands. The Negress suggested using some chocolate, but this advice was ignored. I offered some sulfa pills, but the father refused them. The /kapitán/ then began rubbing a commercial menthol ointment around the child's face, neck and chest. While he was doing this, the /iñ'i/ slumped down in a corner of the room and passed out drunk. The Negress kept urging the /kapitán/ to rub some of the ointment on the child's back, and he did so. Then the mother took the child, and offered it the breast, which was refused.

The child was gasping very hard. At this point, the father took off his western styled shirt, and put on a yellow Cayapa shirt. As he was doing this a young man took hold of the child's right wrist, and began blowing on the fingers, while another began to briefly blow on the child's head.

Eventually, the number of people working on the child dwindled to three men, including the /kapitán/, who are said to be bruja - - - they removed the child to an abandoned house site, and they sat on a log discussing what to do. Each bruja, as he drank from a bottle of rum, stated that he would use a very important and strong incantation; and then with a long look at the others, added, "and I am not afraid either." One began to whistle and chant, and another began sucking at the child's mouth, while the third kept complaining that I was too

> ugly to hear, and that I must leave before he began his cure, but the other two assured him that I was a "good gringo." By this point, the three brujos were quite drunk, and unable to function. The father took the child back to the main house, where it died early the following morning.

It is felt that brujos can kill as well as cure, but except for one instance, excessive sorcery was never attributed to Cayapa brujos. The father of Ramón of Rosario was a brujo who was killed because "he killed too many people." This was the only instance recorded and it was apparently done on an individual basis and not through the legal apparatus.

Government. The Spanish governmental nomenclature can be found with varying degrees of completeness in each of the four tribal sections. The list as noted by Barrett included the following: "Governador, secretario de la governación, teniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento." (Barrett 1925:313). In 1960, the terms alcalde, comisário, and teniente político were apparently no longer in use, and no one knew of any individual who occupied any of these offices.

Today, as in 1908, there are apparently three

began saying that they would attend the fiesta at one of the other tribal centers rather than attend one headed by an incompetent drunkard. Others said that if they attended, they would not ask Gabriel to settle their disputes; rather than this, they said, they would go to the national authorities. Gabriel was clearly not very secure in his position. The behavior of the people in these instances was political because there was a shifting of support from one authority to a contender. Furthermore, the shift of support was ideologically motivated in terms of values concerning the nature of the chieftainship (cf Bastos 1958; Rivera 1960). Gabriel's reaction to this was to drink more. Often when I would be talking to one or more Indians, Gabriel would appear on the scene, quite drunk, and begin to electioneer in a loud voice. He would tell the Indian(s) that he was responsible for my being there and that they would all benefit by my knowledge of hypodermics and penicillin. Whenever I saw Gabriel, he was obviously drunk; these observations extended over many months.

The personal crisis for Gabriel seems to have

shaming, ridicule, the application of bitter tasting substances, or frightening the child with stories of cannibalistic ogres.) Thus, within the psychoanalytic framework, the seeds of dependency drinking are sown and begin to develop.

> . . . oral frustrations in the infant result in cannibalistic fantasies toward the mother's breast and her total person. Because the child projects its feelings and fantasies, it also views the external world as cannibalistic and develops fears of objects in it. This results in an unconscious fear of being devoured by the love object. The vagina, which is unconsciously equated with the mouth, comes to represent the castrating, devouring organ. Such antagonisms result in avoidance of the heterosexual object . . . (Stekel 1962:6-7).

For the Cayapa, the equation of vagina:mouth is not at all unconscious. The vagina dentata motif is clearly present, and sexual intercourse is spoken of as the vagina eating the penis. As for cannibalistic fantasies, they still exist in the stories that the Cayapa tell of the wild Indians who lived in the area before them; these Indians were cannibals and preyed on the Cayapa. The fantasies are also used to manipulate events. When I first explored the Cayapa area up to the Río Tigre, I decided to do my work among the Cayapa of the San

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Miguel section and, after reaching an agreement on the location of a house, I made a down payment for the purchase of roofing material. Two weeks later I returned with my family, but was told that we could not settle in the San Miguel section: the inhabitants were afraid of us, as they had heard we were cannibals. The rumor had been started by people of the Punta Venado section who wanted us to live with them. Earlier, a resident missionary had started a small dispensary among the San Miguel group, and another missionary was conducting a very large medical practice in the Rosalio Grande section. Since the people of Punta Venado wanted a medical gringo, too, they started the rumors of our cannibalistic propensities to frighten the people of San Miguel into rejecting us so that we would move in with them. They told the stories with such gusto that for a brief period, even after we settled among them, they believed the fantasies were indeed true.

It is not only the complex of sphincter training, nursing and weaning that convinces the young boy that the world and its objects are threatening and cannibalistic, but play behavior also. A common game that parents and older siblings play with young males is to

At the Negro village of Concepcion, Indians wander about and visit casually the homes of many of the Negroes whom they know. Among themselves there are no casual visits to friends--there are really no friends, with the possible exception of some of the pupils at the Borrero Indian school. The language has no word for "friend" beyond the Spanish loan-word. There is family and not-family and, one does not visit family casually either. There must be a purpose beyond a desire just to visit. Dyadic relations are easily set up with the Negroes and are quasi-friendships that are quite clearly instrumental on both sides. I have no count but my decided impression is that prestation increases markedly between Indian and Negro. Negroes very often ask to become a god-parent for a minor ceremonial occasion when the child's nails are cut for the first time. The nail parings are placed in a cup of rum and drunk by the father and the Negro god-father. Small gifts are exchanged of little monetary value, and food is consumed along with the alcohol. Thenceforth at very irregular intervals, small presents will be exchanged. Gifting, while not especially generous on any level, showed an apparent increase with

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the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense interpersonal relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in three different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa-Cayapa, Cayapa-Negro, and Cayapa-White.

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> . . . anxiety acquired in childhood might be generalized to other people . . . because of their similarity to the persons responsible for the frustration and punishment of the child--their similarity, above all, to the child's parents (Whiting and Child 1953:347).

Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa--much more so than Negroes and Whites.

The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by avoidance or

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of the main requirements for homosexuality is a profound feeling of fear and inadequacy, hardly the sort of person who would persistently and doggedly pursue this rather striking innovation. It should be noted that the Cayuga flatly deny the existence of homosexual practices. Just once did an informant admit that "maybe some boys" practiced mutual masturbation.

In the recently built Indian school at Buranta, boys and young men now maintain, for several months of the school year, a high frequency of interaction with non-related boys, and for some, very intense feelings of chumship are beginning to form that never existed before. Given the increase in duration and frequency of interaction, homoeroticism could very easily pass over into homosexualism.

Friendship is a most novel situation for the Cayuga and he cannot easily function within it. In his dealings with Negroes, rules of ritual kinship may obtain or a hail-fellow-well-met stance may be adopted. The anthropologist-Cayuga situation was completely new, especially in the informant relationship. This was the closest approach to friendship, in the western sense, that they had ever experienced.

Given the psychological factors that have been discussed so far, it would seem that some informants could only unconsciously structure the relationship in terms of possible homeostatic feelings which could develop in a situation of increased duration and frequency of interaction with one person. This is what the informant-anthropologist relation does. When I would begin to use other informants, as an anthropologist must, the first informant would react in terms of rejection, and pouts he would gradually become withdrawn, and finally break off the informant relationship. The situation is quite similar to the "camarada complex" described by Ruben E. Reina for Chinantla in Guatemala (Reina 1959-60-60).

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A similar situation was revealed in the matter of giving rides in my motorized canoe whenever I went on long trips. For example, Lorenzo Martín once asked for a ride when I planned to go up to San Miguel and I agreed. A time was set, broadly enough to take account of Cayapa casualness regarding time. He never arrived at all! When next seen he said that I should have waited much longer than I did, and he was clearly offended that I had not. On another occasion, he came

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just as I was leaving, with my canoe dangerously overloaded with Indians. He asked to go along. It was pointed out that there was absolutely no room, whereupon he suggested that I eject someone to make room for him. When this was refused, he went into a fit of pouting. Reverend Glenn, the missionary in the Tagulin Grande area, reports that Cayapa whom he considers to be friends, will come to the dispensary long after hours, or when there is a long line and demand to be taken first. The demand is always refused and pouting always follows.

[177]

Friendship in the western sense does not really exist in Cayapa life and culture, except in embryonic form. The complex of friendship that is offered to them by the surrounding population, more often than not, leaves the Indian either in debt, defrauded, and/or, as he believes, bewitched. This, coupled with the tenuous diminishing of the fear of others, leads to a dyadic relationship that requires constant testing and probing, that is neuroticially destructive of the relationship itself. The strong commitment to alcohol alleviates the fears of other people, the self-doubts, the personal and sexual inadequacies, the basic anxiety of Cayapa life.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1939-1940) 1965
SD4 Cayapa SD4

[P 34]

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship. The eliciting of kinship terminology among the Cayapa proved to be extremely difficult and time consuming. Many informants professed to be ignorant of many of the terms and clearly preferred to use Spanish nomenclature; however, sufficient data were collected to illustrate a major structural shift from Barrett's 1939 recording to the writer's 1960 notes. At present, the writer is unable to account for this shift in terms of Barrett's material and his own, as the residence and marriage patterns remain basically the same in the reports of the two investigators; however, there is some indication that new terminological forms were just beginning to come into the language in 1939. It is also known that the Cayapa tribe has undergone a process of fission, changing from one unit in 1939 to three in 1959 and four by 1960. We lack most of the vital details, but it is a reasonable assumption that changes in residence either went along with or followed the formation of the new groups.

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of the main requirements for homosexuality is a profound feeling of fear and inadequacy, hardly the sort of person who would persistently and doggedly pursue this rather striking innovation. It should be noted that the Cayuga flatly deny the existence of homosexual practices. Just once did an informant admit that "maybe some boys" practiced mutual masturbation.

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In the recently built Indian school at Buxerta, boys and young men now maintain, for several months of the school year, a high frequency of interaction with non-related boys, and for some, very intense feelings of chumship are beginning to form that never existed before. Given the increase in duration and frequency of interaction, homoeroticism could very easily pass over into homosexualism.

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Friendship is a most novel situation for the Cayuga and he cannot easily function within it. In his dealings with Negroes, rules of ritual kinship may obtain or a hail-fellow-well-met stance may be adopted. The anthropologist-Cayuga situation was completely new, especially in the informant relationship. This was the closest approach to friendship, in the western sense, that they had ever experienced.

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Given the psychological factors that have been discussed so far, it would seem that some informants could only unconsciously structure the relationship in terms of possible homosexual feelings which could develop in a situation of increased duration and frequency of interaction with one person. This is what the informant-anthropologist relation does. When I would begin to see other informants, as an anthropologist must, the first informant would react in terms of rejection, and soon he would gradually become withdrawn, and finally break off the informant relationship. The situation is quite similar to the "comrade complex" described by Ruben E. Reina for Chinautla in Guatemala (Reina 1959:44-50).

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A similar situation was revealed in the matter of giving rides in my motorized canoe whenever I went on long trips. For example, Lorenzo Martin once asked for a ride when I planned to go up to San Miguel and I agreed. A time was set, broadly enough to take account of Cayapa casualness regarding time. He never appeared at all! When next seen he said that I should have waited much longer than I did, and he was clearly offended that I had not. On another occasion, he came

[305]

details of style and construction (Barrett 1925:154-157).

Dolls: /náwawa/. Dolls for children were scarce among the Cayapa of the Punta Venado section. Barrett briefly discusses dolls, and the impression received is that they were common. They were always made of a single block of wood, and were carved in both human and animal forms. No measurements are given, but they were very likely similar to the dolls of today, measuring usually twelve to thirteen inches in length and from three to four inches in width. They are most frequently carved out of Guayacan, an extremely hard wood. The one Guayacan doll in my possession is carved in two pieces. It is a seated figure, obviously of a white man, wearing a visored cap, a necktie cut in bas-relief, a jacket, breeches, and boots that are tinted reddish. He is seated in a two-legged chair which is sufficient since his own feet serve as the other two legs. The chair is fastened to the figure by two nails through the bottom, and five nails from the rear.

At the present time, many models for play purposes are cut out of balsa in the forms of airplanes, and the forms of coastal banana boats. Other wooden articles

Other wooden articles

still made by the Cayapa include the /táči wimáso/ 'bark cloth beater,' /mačúka/ 'plantain masher,' and food stirrers of various types. A full listing and description can be had by consulting Barrett (Barrett 1925: 159-161). Elliptical wooden bowls called batea in Spanish, are cut from a single piece of wood, and they serve as trays for the preparation of some foods.

322 [412] [252] [415]

Musical instruments, which are played by the men, include the marimba or /mā'mba/, a large drum called by the Spanish word bombo, and a small free-standing drum that tapers at the base called conuno. The Negroes use the same instruments, but they also use various gourd rattles and bamboo shakers. Guitars are occasionally found among the Negroes but only seldom among the Cayapa.

534 [462] [171]

Pottery. This art is scarcely practiced anymore. In fact I was completely unaware that earthenware pots were in the household inventory at all until I was asked one day if I wished to purchase a small Cayapa-made one for five sucres (.30 U.S.). This was the only pot I ever saw, except for the large cantaras made by the people of the San Miguel section, for the storage of /wápo/, the fermented sugar-cane juice called guarapo in Spanish.

323 [178] [126] [273]

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6
Cholo

much lighter than that of the average North American Indians.

In a word, therefore, the Cayapa may be said to be a well proportioned, though somewhat undersized, light-brown people, with brachycephalic heads, black or dark-brown hair which varies from straight to wavy, to show considerable variation in the shape of the nose, to have very dark-brown eyes, wide upper lips, full and fairly high foreheads, high cheekbones and round faces, and to have supraorbital ridges and chins that are not at all prominent.

No opportunity was presented to measure the few Cholo who live on the Rio Cayapas. They are, however, of quite a different type from the Cayapa, being somewhat shorter and more thick-set than the latter, and as a rule more mongoloid in general appearance. In pls. CXI-CXIII are shown two boys, two girls, and one young man of about twenty-one years, all members of this tribe.

Measurements

In the accompanying tables the following abbreviations are used:

St, Stature.
Sr, Stretch of arms.
Sh, Height of shoulder (acromion).
Hmf, Height of middle finger from surface upon which heel rests.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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A, Length of arm (acromion to tip of second finger).
Hs, Height sitting.
Wsk, Width of shoulders between acromia.
Lfa, Length of forearm (elbow to tip of middle finger).
Lk, Length of head.
Bk, Width of head.
Wf, Width of face between zygomatic arches.
HfI, Distance from hair line to chin
HfII, Distance from nasion to chin.
Hn, Height of nose.
Wn, Width of nose between ala.

$IStr, \frac{Str}{St}$

$IA, \frac{A}{St}$

$IHs, \frac{Hs}{St}$

$IWsk, \frac{Wsk}{St}$

$FI, \frac{HfII}{Wf}$

$NI, \frac{Wn}{Hn}$

$CI, \frac{Bk}{Lk}$

1: Heimann--1 F-4, 5 (1895-1930) 1932 SD6 Cayapa SD6

THE CAYAPA INDIANS*

by

Max Heimann

In the far north west of the Ecuadorian Republic there is a river named the Santiago. Near the village of Borbon it is joined by one of its tributaries, the Cayapa River. The Cayapa Indians, a harmless tribe consisting of no more than 2500 persons, live on the upper reaches of the Cayapa River and around its sources.

I have never been able to understand why they are called "uncivilized" and "savage." Would it be because they dress more simply, more comfortably, more suitably and cheaply than we European fashion slaves? Or would it be because they speak their own language, unknown to us, and because they do not know how to read and write and do not stuff their heads with the dead weight taught in schools and called "education"? Or even, would it be because they have other customs and manners as well as different moral concepts?

One thing is certain--the Cayapa are happy people, because they are more satisfied with their lot than we Europeans, who are so demanding and feel so superior with our conceit in our sham civilization, in the clothes prescribed for us by the tyrants of "fashion" and in the "wisdom" acquired in schools.

They frequently come to town in small groups of five to 20 persons. I have seen them many hundreds of times, but again and again I am delighted when I meet these small, but well-built and sturdy [282] figures. The men are not taller than 150-160 cm. (Translator--5 ft. to 5ft. 4 in.), while the women are barely 140 cm. (Translator--4 ft. 8 in.). Their skin is copper brown in color.

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* The author a business man, lived in Tumaco (southwest Colombia) for 35 years (1895-1930) and was German Vice-Consul for the Departamento Narino from 1907 to 1930. Although he never actually visited Cayapa villages, he did have occasion to see and question groups of them "many hundreds of times," on their frequent visits to Tumaco. Apart from this, several of his employees have been in Cayapa villages and have given him reports. (K. Th. Preuss).

E:Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

THE CAYAPA AND COLORADO

By John Murra

INTRODUCTION

The *Cayapa* and the *Colorado* are the last surviving Indian groups in the lush western lowlands of Ecuador (maps 1 and 6). Once an area of extensive Indian occupation, western Ecuador is now inhabited by a Spanish-speaking population of mixed Indian, Negro, and white ancestry, known as montuvios. The *Cayapa* and *Colorado* have precariously managed to hang on to their jungle homes. Speaking closely related if mutually unintelligible languages of the *Barbacoan* division of the *Chibchan* family, they represent the southernmost extension of that major division. Comparative studies with other *Chibchan*-speaking groups in Highland and eastern Colombia, with *Quechua*-speaking Indians in Highland Ecuador, and with various Montaña groups should prove of considerable culture-historical interest.

THE CAYAPA

The *Cayapa* are a riverain people inhabiting the lowlands of northwestern Ecuador. Sprinkled through the jungles of Esmeraldas Province, an area of difficult colonization and control, they managed for centuries to avoid the enslavement suffered by their Highland neighbors or the ethnic annihilation of most Coast aboriginies. Only in the past few decades have their settlements been pushed back into the hills by Spanish-speaking montuvio and Negro homesteaders. World War II requirements in balsa wood, rubber, and other tropical commodities have accelerated this process of displacement and acculturation.

The Cayapa River and its affluents, from the mouth of the Ancón to the foot of the Andes, are the main area of *Cayapa* settlement. Barrett (1925) found three concentration spots: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, corresponding to three political, tribal divisions, which might since have shifted or amalgamated. In addition, small groups of *Cayapa*, in various degrees of acculturation, are found in the Santiago Valley and along the coast into Colombia. Estimates of their numbers vary but hover around a mean of 2,000.

The chief source and authority on the *Cayapa* remains S. A. Barrett's monograph (1925). Barrett visited them in 1908–9, long enough to bring

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY THE CAYAPA INDIANS

[p.xvi (A)]

h: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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INDIAN PROVINCE OF ESMERALDAS ECUADOR

[p xvi 2 B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

THE CAYAPA INDIANS OF ECUADOR

By S. A. Barrett

TERRITORY

Geographical Situation

[31] [101] THE people known as the Cayapa Indians live at present almost wholly on the main and tributary streams of the Rio Cayapas, one of the large rivers of the northwestern part of the Province of Esmeraldas, Ecuador, and about ninety miles in a direct line north of the equator. Their [48] territory is within comparatively easy reach of the ocean, which almost all visit at least once a year.

There are a few, perhaps an aggregate of one hundred individuals, who live in several other localities, namely, on the adjacent Rio Santiago, at Pueblo Viejo, and at points along the immediate coast from the Rio Dabele, a few miles south of the town of Esmeraldas, the capital of the province, northward to the Rio Rosario, about eight miles southeast of Tumaco, in the extreme southern- [161] western part of Colombia. However, practically all the Cayapa, approximating fifteen hundred to two thousand individuals, now live on or in the immediate vicinity of the river which bears their name.

133 The Rio Cayapas heads in the western slope of the coast range of the Andes at a point not far from Mt Cotacachi, which attains an altitude of 16,290 feet (4,966 meters). The western slope of this sierra is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

133 very abrupt; it soon gives place to the broad coastal plain which stretches thence to the ocean and which is broken only by low foot-hills in its eastern part near the higher mountains, and by short, isolated, low ranges of hills and individual hills in its western part nearer
131 the coast. The portion of this coastal plain now occupied by the Cayapa is that along the lower course of the Rio Cayapas and its tributaries. There are very few, if any, who reside as far as the lowest of the foot-hills of the coast range.

133 The lower course of the Rio Cayapas is wide, very deep, and sluggish; but immediately above tidewater it is a swift, more or less shallow stream, with numerous rapids, and in its upper course its current is so rapid that it may be ascended by canoe only with difficulty, even when not in flood. At time of very high water, on the other hand, the river is quite impassable at certain rapids, especially that known as Corriente Grande. The nature of the coastal plain is such as to produce numerous rapids, some of them of considerable extent, but, so far as it was possible to ascertain, there are no cataracts along the lower course of the river.

To the east of the coast range of the Andes, and separating it from the much higher sierra, spreads an extensive valley, at a lofty altitude, in which are situated the chief interior cities of Ecuador, including Quito (9,350 feet, or 2,850 meters), Ibarra (7,380 feet or 2,250 meters), and others. It was here, according to
[173] their traditions, that the Cayapa formerly lived. Beyond this great main range of the Andes lies the vast Amazon basin.

4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965

SD6 Cayapa SD6

[p. v]

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ESMERALDAS PROVINCE, ECUADOR

[71]

CHAPTER I

THE CAYAPA, THEIR TERRITORY AND ECONOMY

The Pacific lowlands of the province of Darien in southeastern Panama; Colombia; and the northern part of the province of Esmeraldas Ecuador, may be thought of as a geographical and cultural unit. 101

> If the area has any physical unity, it is to be found in the hot, humid climate and the vegetation cover of dense tropical rain forest. . . . The Area's position between 1° and 8° north of the equator gives it high year round temperatures and contributes to an almost continuous relative humidity above 90 per cent . . . Culturally the area is one chiefly because of its predominant Negroid population; because of a common way of life based mainly on subsistence agriculture, fishing, and primitive mining . . . Today nearly 80 per cent of the scant population of the lowlands is Negroid, with a large proportion of unmixed African blood. This area, then, may be considered one of the major Negroid areas of Latin America . . . The few Whites and Mestizos of the area are found mainly in the larger trading towns, mining camps, and seaports (Nuot 1957:3).

At the southern limits of the Pacific lowland area, in Ecuador, live the Cayapa Indians. Their lines and culture center about the Río Cayapas and its tributaries. At its lower reaches, the river forms a right 133 [131]

angle with the Río Santiago, and together they make up the second largest drainage system in the northwestern part of the province of Esmeraldas. The confluence of the two rivers lies approximately at 1°5' north latitude, or about 90 miles due north of the equator, and 78°59' west longitude. The area is a tropical rain forest because of the very cold Humboldt Current that flows along much of the Ecuadorian coast, however, extremely dense clouds usually cover the area as far inland as the foothills of the Andes, and moderate the temperatures. They range from 65° to 75° Fahrenheit at night and from 70° to 90° during the daytime, depending upon the amount of cloud cover. Generally, the sky is a very bright overcast. When the cloud cover lessens, the sky is an intense hot blue. There are no weather stations in the Río Cayapas area, and consequently we have no readings of any significance. Barrett (1925-4) estimated the annual rainfall on the Río Santiago at between 24.63 feet to 26.46 feet. Since the distances between the Río Santiago and the Río Cayapas are not very great, Barrett's observations may reasonably be applied to the Cayapa area as well.

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The low alluvial coastal area of the Cayapas-

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4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Cayapa and Colorado and thereby systematically proved the relationship that had always been assumed on purely inspectional grounds (Mance 1962). The most recent classification proposed by Greenberg places Cayapa-Colorado within the sub family called Paezan, which together with Chibchan proper belongs to the Macro-Chibchan family (Greenberg 1956). This classification is similar to that proposed by Mason (Mason 1950:180). A claim that Cayapa is closely related to Mayan is proposed by Professor Aquiles R. Perez T; however, the documentation is not convincing at present (Perez 1960: 491-494).

History. The first actually reliable information on the Cayapa comes from the pen of W. B. Stevenson, who visited them briefly in 1809. At that time, there was but one group of Cayapa (those who lived in the vicinity of Punta Venado). The chief, or alcalde, as Stevenson called him, carried a "baston, insignia of authority" which he presented to Stevenson. He then ordered the Indians to obey Stevenson ". . . and they advanced one after another to kiss the head of the baston, and accompanied me to the house of the alcalde, which was

their traditional tales probably took place by way of the *Río Santiago* until the confluence with the *Río Cayapas* was reached; thence, movement was up the *Río Cayapas*. 174

In 1879 Wolf marked on his map of Esmeraldas province a "town"--that is, a center of habitation named *San Miguel de Cayapas* and in 1894 Basurco recorded Cayapa living up the *Río Sapallo Grande* and the *Río San Miguel*. The latter group is reported to have an *alcalde* (Basurco 1894:414). Between 1809 and 1879 the Malaba had apparently been replaced by the Cayapa. By 1908 Barrett reported definitely that the Cayapa were divided into three tribal groups: Punta Venado, Sapallo Grande, and San Miguel. Each group was reported as having its own ceremonial center and being led by an /ʌ̀ʷʸʟ/ or *gobernador*. During my 1959-1960 field trip, I was told by Gabriel Anapa, the /ʌ̀ʷʸʟ/ of the Punta Venado group, that some twenty-five years earlier a group of people had left the Sapallo Grande section and had formed a new tribal unit with its own /ʌ̀ʷʸʟ/. They left after a dispute with the /ʌ̀ʷʸʟ/ of Sapallo grande concerning the re-establishment of Pueblo Viejo, the ancient center in the mountainous upper reaches of the *Río*

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Santiago drainage system. The dissident group claimed that the Saints were stronger in the old area and would be of greater help to the Cayapa. The new group settled in Sapallito, where they have their own ceremonial center, but for reasons unknown they did not return to Pueblo Viejo. Factionalism apparently accounts for some of the tribal fission.

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Settlement Patterns. In 1879 the banks of the Río Cayapas almost as far down as Borbon, a town at the confluence of the Río Santiago and the Río Cayapas, were inhabited by Cayapa Indians while Negroes were found mainly along the Río Santiago (Wolf 1879). By 1894 Borbon had become a Negro town, and the lower reaches of Cayapa settlement had retreated up stream toward the area of the Río Onzole. At this time, about twenty-three Negroes were reported by Basurco to be living at Telembí, a "village" of three houses about 77.5 kilometers from the mouth of the Río Cayapas. The Negroes had been given special permission by the Cayapa to live there provided they did not pan for gold which was found occasionally. (Basurco 1894). In 1960 Telembí was a thriving Negro village of several hundred people, and the greater part

[135]

of the population of the Río Cayapas up to Sapallo Grande was Negro. Isolated Negro enclaves are found today as far up as San Miguel. Negroes tend to live in village settlements, some of which are of political and/or economic importance, while the Cayapa live scattered along the river banks. The town of San José, which lies a few miles below the Río Camerones, is the administrative center for the area. San Antonio, which is located a few miles above Punta Venado, is of considerable commercial importance as it is readily accessible to the small coastal vessels engaged in the banana trade.

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The most characteristic feature of the area is its riverine quality, and settlement and movement centers on the rivers for both Indians and Negroes. The large hilly land areas between the rivers are completely uninhabited, and the dense jungle growth makes foot travel exceedingly difficult. Except for short hunting trips or to secure trees for the making of canoes, the jungle or monte is avoided. The river, on the other hand, is open and free. The river scene is seldom a quiet one. People going down stream maneuver their canoes into mid-channel, taking full advantage

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The conditions prevailing in this high interior valley offer great contrast with those under which the Cayapa now live, not only as to topography, but also as to climate, natural resources, modes of travel, the nature of their habitations, the food supply, and in various other particulars. 133

Climate

The climatic conditions of the territory of the Rio Cayapas are typically tropical. The temperature is equable throughout the year, the maximum day temperature ranging, so far as it was possible to determine, between 70° and 85° Fahrenheit.[1] Rains are of almost 132

[1] "The temperature at night ranges from 65 to 75 degrees Fahr., on cloudy days from 70 to 80 degrees Fahr., and on sunny days from 75 to 87 degrees. The latter degree I have experienced but twice in seven or eight months' residence. . . . . Although almost directly under the equator, that burning equatorial heat and those malignant fevers of which we read, are here unknown. The cause of this salubrious climate is the moisture-laden current which, sweeping by the Gallapagos islands, reaches this portion of the Ecuadorian coast and deposits its moisture as it strikes the slopes of the Andes. The clouds shield the country from the direct rays of the sun, the copious rains wash the country clean, the snows furnish cooling water, while constant evaporation tempers and cools the air."—Extract from the report of the engineer to the United States Gold Dredging and Rubber Company, on the Rio Santiago. This report was based on observations made during 1895–96. A report made by another engineer of the same company for the month of May, 1901, gives the night temperature as ranging between 60°–67°F., and the day temperature as ranging between 65°–74°F. The daily rainfall is given in this report as ranging from 0.81 inch to 0.87 inch.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

132 daily occurrence, although the year is divided into a so-called wet season and a so-called dry season. The former corresponds to the fall, winter, and spring months, and the latter to the summer months of the North Temperate zone. At all times, however, this particular region is bountifully supplied with rain, although it is only a short distance north of the more arid portions of the western coast of South America. Beginning with the region about the Rio Esmeraldas, the rainfall rapidly decreases toward the south, and save in a few exceptional areas the territory becomes correspondingly more arid. Even at such a short distance as Manabi the aridity is very noticeable, and still farther to the south, on the Peruvian coast, the country is very arid. To the north, on the other hand, as far as southern Mexico, the rainfall is very abundant, and in some sections may even exceed in volume that of the Cayapa region.

It was not feasible on the present expedition to carry apparatus for measuring the precipitation exactly, but according to systematic observations[2] made during the first three months of 1895, in April, 1896, and again in May, 1901, on the Rio Santiago, a few miles distant from the Rio Cayapas, and a part of the same drainage system, the daily precipitation ranged from .81 inch to .87 inch, or a total annual precipitation of from 24.63 to 26.46 feet. If data were available for every month of the year, it is not improbable that these figures would be found to vary. Further, if obser-

[2] See Note 1, page 3.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

vations extending over a series of years were available, it would probably be found that the precipitation varies considerably from year to year. For instance, according to reports the winter months of 1909–10 were attended by an unprecedented rainfall. On the whole, therefore, it is safe to assume that the observations of the engineers referred to represent a fair average of the precipitation of this region.

In consequence of the great rainfall and the constant saturation of the ground, floods are frequent along all the rivers of this region. These freshets come, of course, only when there is a continuous and an unusually heavy fall of rain for several hours, or, as sometimes happens, for several days. In the latter event the Rio Cayapas rises several feet at its mouth, which is itself upward of a mile wide, and where the lowness of the bordering lands permits the stream to spread over wide areas. Farther up-stream, where the hills confine its waters, the river rises much higher; and at some points, where for considerable distances there are no low flood-plains and where the banks are steep, it rises as high as fifty feet.

As a result of such conditions there has been developed a form of pile-dwelling, the floor of which is raised from six to twelve feet above the ground. The Cayapa always endeavor to build their houses as near the river as possible, on account of their dependence on it as a means of travel and for other purposes. The floods, however, must always be taken into account in selecting a site even for such a pile-dwelling, since at times of such

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

floods it not infrequently happens that the waters rise so high as completely to surround the house, and indeed sometimes to within a few inches of its floor.

The excessive rainfall naturally produces great humidity,[1] which would be very oppressive were it not for the fact that the sky is almost constantly overcast, so that the full power of the sun is rarely felt in the region. This fortunate circumstance renders the climate, which would otherwise be almost intolerable, very equable and pleasant.

RESOURCES

TREES AND PLANTS

By virtue of the climatic conditions above set forth the vegetation of the Cayapa region is typically tropical. Almost every foot of ground is covered by a dense jungle growth comprising many species of trees, palms, shrubs, and smaller plants, and characterized by an abundance of vines and parasitic vegetation. So dense is this growth that it is practically impossible to travel on land even a short distance without the use of a machete.

Among the most important and characteristic plants of the region are the various species of palms, many of which are put to use by the Cayapa in one way or another. In the following list of the trees and plants of this section are given the Cayapa and the local Spanish names of those palms which are most useful to the

[1] One of the engineer's reports, above referred to, places the humidity at an average of about 80 per cent.

[p. 6]

angle with the Río Santiago, and together they make up the second largest drainage system in the northwestern part of the province of Esmeraldas. The confluence of the two rivers lies approximately at 1°5' north latitude, or about 90 miles due north of the equator, and 78°59' west longitude. The area is a tropical rain forest because of the very cold Humboldt Current that flows along much of the Ecuadorian coast, however, extremely dense clouds usually cover the area as far inland as the foothills of the Andes, and moderate the temperatures. They range from 65° to 75° Fahrenheit at night and from 70° to 90° during the daytime, depending upon the amount of cloud cover. Generally, the sky is a very bright overcast. When the cloud cover lessens, the sky is an intense hot blue. There are no weather stations in the Río Cayapas area, and consequently we have no readings of any significance. Barrett (1925:4) estimated the annual rainfall on the Río Santiago at between 24.63 feet to 26.46 feet. Since the distances between the Río Santiago and the Río Cayapas are not very great, Barrett's observations may reasonably be applied to the Cayapa area as well.

The low alluvial coastal area of the Cayapas-

of the Cayapa and the Negroes of the area. The extreme humidity of the region, coupled with the saturated, heavy clay soil that predominates, precludes slash and burn cultivation. The Cayapa region is just on the very southern edge of the area marked by a peculiar diagnostic trait: 241 [171] [132]

> . . . slash-mulch cultivation, of probable Indian origin, has evolved. Seeds are broadcast and rhizomes and cuttings are planted in an uncleared plot; then the bush is cut; decay of cut vegetable matter is rapid, forming a thick mulch through which the sprouts from the seeds and cuttings appear within a week or ten days (West 1957: 129).

The main food crops are maize /píšu/, plantain /pánda/, sugar cane /éla/, sweet manioc /kú?ču/, Rascadera (Xanthosoma sagittifolium), a taro-like aroid tuber called /túa/, squash /ú/, pineapple /čílʸa/, beans /múlu/, and bananas /seda/. The latter were universally considered to be starvation food, and prior to the recent world market demand for them, were fed to the pigs. There are many fruits such as papaya /papáⁱya/, oranges /lánsa/, lemons /lémo/, zapote /sapúte/, guabo /šílʸu/, chirimoya (A. cherimola). Some sweet potatoes are grown, but they are scarce due to the depredations of 241 262 [439] [231]

THE CAYAPA INDIANS*

by

Max Heimann

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY THE CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. xvi (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1906-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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INDIANS PROVINCE OF ESMERALDAS ECUADOR

[p. xvi 2. B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

THE CAYAPA INDIANS OF ECUADOR

By S. A. Barrett

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Geographical Situation

[3] [101] THE people known as the Cayapa Indians live at present almost wholly on the main and tributary streams of the Rio Cayapas, one of the large rivers of the northwestern part of the Province of Esmeraldas, Ecuador, and about ninety miles in a direct line north of the equator. Their [148] territory is within comparatively easy reach of the ocean, which almost all visit at least once a year.

There are a few, perhaps an aggregate of one hundred individuals, who live in several other localities, namely, on the adjacent Rio Santiago, at Pueblo Viejo, and at points along the immediate coast from the Rio Dabele, a few miles south of the town of Esmeraldas, the capital of the province, northward to the Rio Rosario, about eight miles southeast of Tumaco, in the extreme southern- [161] western part of Colombia. However, practically all the Cayapa, approximating fifteen hundred to two thousand individuals, now live on or in the immediate vicinity of the river which bears their name.

•133 The Rio Cayapas heads in the western slope of the coast range of the Andes at a point not far from Mt Cotacachi, which attains an altitude of 16,290 feet (4,966 meters). The western slope of this sierra is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

133 very abrupt; it soon gives place to the broad coastal plain which stretches thence to the ocean and which is broken only by low foot-hills in its eastern part near the higher mountains, and by short, isolated, low ranges of hills and individual hills in its western part nearer
131 the coast. The portion of this coastal plain now occupied by the Cayapa is that along the lower course of the Rio Cayapas and its tributaries. There are very few, if any, who reside as far as the lowest of the foot-hills of the coast range.

133 The lower course of the Rio Cayapas is wide, very deep, and sluggish; but immediately above tidewater it is a swift, more or less shallow stream, with numerous rapids, and in its upper course its current is so rapid that it may be ascended by canoe only with difficulty, even when not in flood. At time of very high water, on the other hand, the river is quite impassable at certain rapids, especially that known as Corriente Grande. The nature of the coastal plain is such as to produce numerous rapids, some of them of considerable extent, but, so far as it was possible to ascertain, there are no cataracts along the lower course of the river.

To the east of the coast range of the Andes, and separating it from the much higher sierra, spreads an extensive valley, at a lofty altitude, in which are situated the chief interior cities of Ecuador, including Quito (9,350 feet, or 2,850 meters), Ibarra (7,380 feet or 2,250 meters), and others. It was here, according to
[73] their traditions, that the Cayapa formerly lived. Beyond this great main range of the Andes lies the vast Amazon basin.

3: Bárrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The conditions prevailing in this high interior valley offer great contrast with those under which the Cayapa now live, not only as to topography, but also as to climate, natural resources, modes of travel, the nature of their habitations, the food supply, and in various other particulars.

Climate

The climatic conditions of the territory of the Rio Cayapas are typically tropical. The temperature is equable throughout the year, the maximum day temperature ranging, so far as it was possible to determine, between 70° and 85° Fahrenheit.[1] Rains are of almost

[1] "The temperature at night ranges from 65 to 75 degrees Fahr., on cloudy days from 70 to 80 degrees Fahr., and on sunny days from 75 to 87 degrees. The latter degree I have experienced but twice in seven or eight months' residence. . . . . Although almost directly under the equator, that burning equatorial heat and those malignant fevers of which we read, are here unknown. The cause of this salubrious climate is the moisture-laden current which, sweeping by the Gallapagos islands, reaches this portion of the Ecuadorian coast and deposits its moisture as it strikes the slopes of the Andes. The clouds shield the country from the direct rays of the sun, the copious rains wash the country clean, the snows furnish cooling water, while constant evaporation tempers and cools the air."—Extract from the report of the engineer to the United States Gold Dredging and Rubber Company, on the Rio Santiago. This report was based on observations made during 1895–96. A report made by another engineer of the same company for the month of May, 1901, gives the night temperature as ranging between 60°–67°F., and the day temperature as ranging between 65°–74°F. The daily rainfall is given in this report as ranging from 0.81 inch to 0.87 inch.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

servations extending over a series of years were available, it would probably be found that the precipitation varies considerably from year to year. For instance, according to reports the winter months of 1909–10 were attended by an unprecedented rainfall. On the whole, therefore, it is safe to assume that the observations of the engineers referred to represent a fair average of the precipitation of this region.

In consequence of the great rainfall and the constant saturation of the ground, floods are frequent along all the rivers of this region. These freshets come, of course, only when there is a continuous and an unusually heavy fall of rain for several hours, or, as sometimes happens, for several days. In the latter event the Rio Cayapas rises several feet at its mouth, which is itself upward of a mile wide, and where the lowness of the bordering lands permits the stream to spread over wide areas. Farther up-stream, where the hills confine its waters, the river rises much higher; and at some points, where for considerable distances there are no low flood-plains and where the banks are steep, it rises as high as fifty feet.

As a result of such conditions there has been developed a form of pile-dwelling, the floor of which is raised from six to twelve feet above the ground. The Cayapa always endeavor to build their houses as near the river as possible, on account of their dependence on it as a means of travel and for other purposes. The floods, however, must always be taken into account in selecting a site even for such a pile-dwelling, since at times of such

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965

SD6 Cayapa SD6

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ESMERALDAS PROVINCE, ECUADOR

4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1962) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[P 1]

CHAPTER I

THE CAYAPA, THEIR TERRITORY AND ECONOMY

1

The Pacific lowlands of the province of Darien in southeastern Panama; Colombia; and the northern part of the province of Esmeraldas Ecuador, may be thought of as a geographical and cultural unit. 101

> If the area has any physical unity, it is to be found in the hot, humid climate and the vegetation cover of dense tropical rain forest. . . . The Area's position between 1° and 8° north of the equator gives it high year round temperatures and contributes to an almost continuous relative humidity above 90 per cent . . . Culturally the area is one chiefly because of its predominant Negroid population; because of a common way of life based mainly on subsistence agriculture, fishing, and primitive mining . . . Today nearly 80 per cent of the scant population of the lowlands is Negroid, with a large proportion of unmixed African blood. This area, then, may be considered one of the major Negroid areas of Latin America . . . The few Whites and Mestizos of the area are found mainly in the larger trading towns, mining camps, and seaports (Wust 1957:3).

At the southern limits of the Pacific lowland area, in Ecuador, live the Cayapa Indians. Their lives and culture center about the Río Cayapas and its tributaries. At its lower reaches, the river forms a right 133 [131]

angle with the Río Santiago, and together they make up the second largest drainage system in the northwestern part of the province of Esmeraldas. The confluence of the two rivers lies approximately at 1°3' north latitude, or about 90 miles due north of the equator, and 78°59' west longitude. The area is a tropical rain forest because of the very cold Humboldt Current that flows along much of the Ecuadorian coast, however, extremely dense clouds usually cover the area as far inland as the foothills of the Andes, and moderate the temperatures. They range from 65° to 75° Fahrenheit at night and from 70° to 90° during the daytime, depending upon the amount of cloud cover. Generally, the sky is a very bright overcast. When the cloud cover lessens, the sky is an intense hot blue. There are no weather stations in the Río Cayapa area, and consequently we have no readings of any significance. Barrett (1925:4) estimated the annual rainfall on the Río Santiago at between 24.83 feet to 26.46 feet. Since the distances between the Río Santiago and the Río Cayapas are not very great, Barrett's observations may reasonably be applied to the Cayapa area as well.

The low alluvial coastal area of the Cayapas-

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Santiago drainage system is fringed by a sandy beach and backed by a brackish mangrove forest swamp that extends inland for some two to four miles, at which point a slight elevation--no more than four to six feet above low tide--begins to be noticed. When one moves up past the town of Borbon, at the confluence of the two major rivers, the countryside takes on the appearance of a fairly flat plain. As one approaches the mouth of the Río Cemerones, which lies at the right hand side as one moves up the Río Cayapas, a marked change in the character of the landscape begins to emerge. Hills thickly covered with green bush and tree growth become more frequent, although they are not too precipitous, ranging from 90 to about 150 feet in height. The predominant color pattern is green, brown, and gray. The main river, especially in flood, is brown-green. Skies are generally bright gray and the vegetation on all sides fall in innumerable shades of green. Occasionally, along the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas huge clumps of water Hyacynths float like bright purple rafts towards the sea.

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Normally, the Río Cayapas flows quite gently, for the rise in altitude is slight until the actual

foothills of the Andes are reached. Thus, for example, Punta Venado, which is approximately 49 kilometers from the mouth of the river, has an altitude of 12 meters as compared to Telembí, approximately 77.5 kilometers from the river's mouth, which has an altitude of 22 meters (Wolf 1879:35). The volume of the waters carried by the rivers varies considerably. Depending upon the amount of rainfall, I have seen a rise and fall in the level of the Río Camerones of well over twenty feet within five hours. The rivers of this system cut through heavy clay soil, and the banks are not part of a flood plain but immediately form part of the hilly interior that is characteristic of the hinterland. The soil is predominantly a heavy saturated clay that is mostly reddish brown in color.

Language. The Cayapa and the Colorado Indians who live in the tropical highlands about seventy miles down the western slopes of the Andes from Quito share the distinction of being the last two aboriginal groups in western Ecuador. Their languages, although not mutually intelligible, are closely related. Recently, B. Moore worked out some phonetic correspondences between

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846 and demons; on the other hand it also aims at inducing the father to identify himself intimately with the child. Obviously the women, for whom these customs do not provide the least amount of consideration, quickly lose their earlier beauty and after a few years, they wilt and become horridly ugly.

594 The marriage of the Cayapa is most harmonious. They do not
[595 have polygamy or polyandry, and adultery never occurs or only
837] [287] very rarely. Women or girls who have relationships with
[689] white or black men or those of any other race, are killed without pity. In fact they are even forbidden to enter into innocent conversation with such men under threat of severe penalty. If one of the spouses dies, they do not remarry, remaining faithful to the
[764] dead. The dead are only buried when the corpse is already in a state of decomposition and when the pestilent smell has become unbearable.

574 While the villagers and inhabitants of other races in these parts
648 are very hospitable and will always offer hospitality to travelers, no matter how poor they are, even without expecting any remuneration, the Cayapa are an exception to this rule. They fear strangers on account of their women, who are not always safe from them; but most particularly they hate the Negroes who have repeatedly attacked their women forcibly. For this reason it is not easy to obtain shelter in Cayapa villages. As they have frequently also been robbed and mistreated by Negroes, they leave their huts as soon as a Negro settles in the neighborhood, and keep on withdrawing further inland. Thus they have already completely disappeared from the banks of the Santiago River and the lower course of the Cayapa River.

135 There still is a lot of gold in their region, as indeed there are
316 small layers of alluvial gold in all these rivers. But these Indians, with the exception of a few, more modern minded, and the rene-
[301] gades, do not collect it, nor do they wear gold ornaments. On the other hand none of them would tell a stranger where the yellow metal could be found, even if he were offered a fortune for his secret. From the Cayapa point of view gold is an accursed thing, which brought the white and the black devils into the country and was responsible for their being pushed back into the interior and
[648] robbed of their dominion. The Negroes, however, are their sworn enemies because they have too often had to suffer bitter injustice from them.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

which were observed, were a large, black, beaked beetle (*Rhymchophorus palmarum*), called kū′perū by the Cayapa, and a large white larva called kōmu′cū by them.

Certain other insects, though of no special economic importance, are of interest to the Indians. One in particular is a large beetle (*Euchroma goliath* L. & G.) whose iridescent wing-covers are employed in making necklaces. There are also large, beautifully colored butterflies, dragonflies, and a large firefly (*Pyrophorus pellucens*), besides a host of other species of insects of greater or lesser interest.

Insects

English	Spanish	Cayapa
beetle (*Rhymchophorus palmarum*)		kū′perū
beetle (*Euchroma goliath* L. & G.)	cucaron	kabē′′tsū
firefly (*Pyrophorus pellucens*)		mū′lūkū
bees		paba ta′nda ciñemi′skī ta′nda amūī a′ma
ant (a large, black, stinging ant)	conga	nyû′mī
larva (a large white larva)		kō′mucū
larva	cogoyo	avī′
a worm or caterpillar	hualpe	tcīlī′lī

MINERALS

Among the natural resources of the country should be mentioned its minerals, certain of which are found

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

135 in considerable deposits along this portion of the coast of Ecuador. In fact this region, like a large part of the western coast of South America, is rich in precious metals, those present in this particular locality being chiefly gold and platinum, although silver and copper are also found. It is an interesting fact that platinum first became known to the civilized world through its introduction from the Province of Esmeraldas; it had, however, been discovered and employed to a considerable extent in the making of ornaments by the aboriginal inhabitants of the region about the mouth of the Rio Santiago before its introduction into the modern arts, in fact long before the coming of Columbus. The high development reached in the art of metal-working by the ancient inhabitants of this section is shown particularly by the elaborate and delicately wrought ornaments of gold and platinum, and occasionally also of silver and copper, found so abundantly at La Tolita near the mouth of the Rio Santiago and at certain other points in that vicinity.

325 The Cayapa Indians of the present day are quite differently disposed toward metal-working, for they have no knowledge of the art, now using no metal [439] objects other than those obtained by trade, such as [173] axes, adzes, and machetes. They assert that they never came into contact with the ancient metal-workers of this region, for the reason that they were long ago driven out or exterminated by another tribe which the Cayapa in turn banished in comparatively recent times. Not 316 only do the Cayapa do no metal-work themselves, but

Santiago drainage system. The dissident group claimed that the Saints were stronger in the old area and would be of greater help to the Cayapa. The new group settled in Sapallito, where they have their own ceremonial center, but for reasons unknown they did not return to Pueblo Viejo. Factionalism apparently accounts for some of the tribal fission.

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Settlement Patterns. In 1879 the banks of the Río Cayapas almost as far down as Borbon, a town at the confluence of the Río Santiago and the Río Cayapas, were inhabited by Cayapa Indians while Negroes were found mainly along the Río Santiago (Wolf 1879). By 1894 Borbon had become a Negro town, and the lower reaches of Cayapa settlement had retreated up stream toward the area of the Río Onzole. At this time, about twenty-three Negroes were reported by Basurco to be living at Telembí, a "village" of three houses about 77.5 kilometers from the mouth of the Río Cayapas. The Negroes had been given special permission by the Cayapa to live there provided they did not pan for gold which was found occasionally. (Basurco 1894). In 1960 Telembí was a thriving Negro village of several hundred people, and the greater part

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177

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ENGLISH	SPANISH	CAYAPA
	palma palmicha	sā′wī (sa′n-tcī = the palm)
	palma chonta dura	ka′imbī (kanō′-tcī = the palm)
	palma chapil or milpeso	kūla′pō-tcī
	palma guividnande	viñga′-tcī
	palma guinul	pūka″-tcī
	palma pambil	bū′a (bū′iñ-tcī = the palm)
	palma crespa	pī′nlya-tcī
	palma chontilla	pē′aputc
coconut	palma coco	kō′kō (kō′kō-tcī = the palm)
fan-leaf palm	palma rampile	pī′tcūa ya′ha kapi′m-tcī

GAME

Game is abundant in the jungle, and there are fish of various species in the streams. The ocean is within a comparatively short distance and its shores abound in many species of Crustacea and mollusks, as well as in the various salt-water fish, all highly prized by the Indians.

The specific uses of each species and its mode of capture, together with other points of interest in connection with it, will be taken up in detail at appropriate points in the following pages. For the present purposes it will be sufficient to give lists of the principal mammals, birds, fishes, Crustacea, mollusks, reptiles, and amphibians which are found in the region.

These lists, like the list of trees and plants previously given, are by no means complete, since they include

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

136 only the principal species with which the Indians are particularly concerned. Moreover, it is a source of regret that it is impossible, except in a very few instances, to give the scientific names of any of the species mentioned. It was originally intended that a collection 136 should be made of all those forms of vegetal and animal 121 life employed in any way by the Indians. In fact, a good beginning had been made in this matter, and considerable time had been spent in preparing mammal and bird skins during the first three months' residence on the river, but, unfortunately, during the author's illness from fever for nine weeks, these specimens were completely spoiled by insects and no time was available later to gather another collection. The only specimens saved were certain insects preserved in alcohol.

MAMMALS

136 192

English	Spanish	Cayapa
deer	venado	ma′na
wild hog	saino	aven-dū′cū, awen-dyū′cū
peccary	tatabara	na′-tcūcū, ne-tū′cū, ka′ne tyūcū
tame hog	puerco	kū′′tcī, kō′′tcī
(large rodent)	guanta	wala′mbū
(large rodent)	guatin	kō′yō, kū′yū
jaguar	tigre	kē′la, a-kē′la
black-marked species		pabañe′la
red-marked species		lakembī′lya
ocelot	tigrillo	tōmañ-gē′la
puma	león	lyū-kē′la, lyū-kē′na
monkey	mono	wa′cū, wo′cū

3: Barrett E-5 (1903-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

136
192

ENGLISH	SPANISH	CAYAPA
monkey	mico, machin	cū′rĭ, cō′rĭ
howler monkey	mongon	hŏyū′ngū
	cusumbi	wa′sū, wa′se
squirrel	ardilla	ĭ-ya′mbū, ya′mbū
armadillo	armadillo	tcĭl-ya′mbū
rat (large species of wood rat)	raton	ĭ′yō
rat (small species)		pakōla′la
	zorra	cĭ′ni

BIRDS

toucan	paliton	tcandō′tō (o)[9]
toucan (small species)	pichilingo	pĭ′tcĭ (o)
grouse	perdiz	ū′ndūrūrū, ō′ndōrōrō (o)
turkey, wild	pava, drumalona	ē′lĭ
turkey, wild	pavon, cantona	ka′ntsū
turkey, domestic	pava	kastī′lya walya′pa
dove	paloma	mabō″kō (o)
		pastō″kō (o)
		wa′pū′pū (o)
buzzard	gallinaso	kū′ndūrūrū, petyū′tyū
pelican	alcatraz	nana″ka
	guacharaca	watcara′ka (o)
frigate bird		nyambĭwa′tū
hawk	gabilan	hūya′lyū
hawk	gabilan de machiñ	cūĭ hūya′lyū
hawk	gabilan de mono	wac hūya′lyū
	canchimalo	tcañgō′kō
	catanita, panchana	kĭwĭkū′ctcĭ

[9] As elsewhere among aboriginal peoples, onomatopoetic terms are of frequent occurrence among the Cayapa, the tendency being especially noticeable in bird names. Terms of this kind in the above list are indicated by means of (o) following them.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

136
192

ENGLISH	SPANISH	CAYAPA
parrot (large green)		lō'rō, alō'rō
parrot (small green)	catalina	kiū" kōtci
macaw		a'kara

REPTILES AND AMPHIBIANS

boa constrictor	guaicauna	hūrūhū'rū
boa constrictor	sobrecama	we'sū
alligator	lagarto	e'mbū
crocodile	caiman	e'lmbū
crocodile, young	tulisio	dē i'cū
iguana	iguana	ara"pī
lizard (large species)	piande	bīmbū'ka
lizard (large species)	lagartilla	dūmbē'la
lizard (chameleon-like)		kapūtckē'rūn
salamander	salamanca	wacpī'nī
tree-toad or frog		pa'tata

FISH

shad	sabalo	awī'lī
sting-ray		pīpū"pū
		tyū-wī'lī
	verugate	antca'ma

MOLLUSKS

oyster	ostion	osti'ñ, osteō'n
	piangua	pī'añgū, icpia'ñgūa
	chiripiangua	tcī'rīpiañgūa
periwinkle		ka'kū
	almeja	tcū'ya

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CRUSTACEA

136
192

ENGLISH	SPANISH	CAYAPA
crayfish	camaron	a'bícū, pi'cū
crayfish (another species)		karma da (?)
crab	cangrejo	nē'lū, nē'lō
crab (a particular species)		tepūī nē'lū
crab (a particular species)		kaia nē'lū
crab (a particular species)		kaia'pa nēlū
	mapara	ma'para

INSECTS

Many species of insects abound in the Cayapa region, though few of them directly concern the Indians in an economic way. In view of the fact that many of these insects are not mentioned later in these pages, it seems appropriate to enter more into detail at this point respecting certain of them than was necessary in dealing with plants and animals. 136

Among the insects worthy of particular mention are certain malevolent ones, such as centipedes, scorpions, tarantulas, ticks, stinging gnats and, above all, the mosquito, of which there are a number of species. Contrary to the conditions in many parts of the tropics, however, there seems to be a total absence in the Cayapa region of the yellow-fever bearing species of mosquito, as there is also of the plague-bearing flea. Hence this particular section of the tropics to the present time has been entirely free from these two dreaded maladies, 136 164

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

136
164

though both exist at various other points along the western coast. There appears to be no particular lack of hosts for either of these insects; and from the fact that the yellow-fever mosquito does exist at Tumaco, only a short distance north of the mouth of the Rio Cayapas, one is at a loss to account for its absence from a region so close as Esmeraldas province where climatic conditions are similar. In the case of the flea, however, at least one possible explanation appears, namely, the difference in climate between the Esmeraldas region and that of the vicinity of Guayaquil. At Guayaquil and southward the coast is comparatively arid, thus giving favorable dry breeding places for the flea, while from Esmeraldas northward the rainfall is very great, consequently the ground is thoroughly saturated and the breeding grounds of the flea are greatly diminished, if not altogether lacking.

Of the mosquitos which do exist here the most dangerous are those of the one or more species which are said to transmit malaria—the "tropical" or "jungle" fever as it is commonly called. Fortunately these pests appear not to be very numerous; at least the cases of "jungle" fever among the Indians, as also among the whites and negroes, are not numerous. Probably a certain degree of immunity is experienced by natives and old residents, for as a rule they have comparatively light attacks of the fever, though often a newcomer is violently infected and sometimes with fatal results.

Another annoying species of mosquito is a small one, the bite of which produces a local infection which slowly

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

spreads if not promptly checked. The remaining species, of which there are several, are also annoying, but their bites appear to produce no particularly evil effect. 136 164

The tick is found only about the mouth of the Rio Cayapas and elsewhere along the immediate coast. This annoying insect is said to be almost exclusively confined, in this region at least, to those sections where domestic animals, particularly cattle and horses, are kept. Thus the Indians, by virtue of their location, are little troubled by it, though much annoyance is experienced by others living where it occurs at all abundantly. 136

Centipedes, scorpions, and tarantulas are encountered only occasionally, but their bites and stings cause considerable trouble now and then. The centipedes are the most numerous and are of large size, reaching a length of fifteen inches or more. There are also certain other poisonous insects not known in temperate regions, but these appear to be rare.

Among the malevolent insects which do not injure man directly are the termites which destroy woodwork and even extend their tunnels into the dwellings. The damage they do, however, is never considerable.

There are many species of ants in this region, the most of which are quite harmless. One, however, the so-called army, or driver, ant is of importance, though it must be regarded quite as benovolent as it is malevolent. This species travels in great armies, as the name implies. It is strictly carnivorous, and will attack almost any living animal, whether large or small.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

136 [578] It is claimed by the Indians that if an army of these ants enters the dwelling, there is but one recourse, namely, its occupants move out and visit nearby relatives or friends for a day or two. Meantime the ants penetrate every nook and corner of the house from top to bottom, including the palm-leaf thatch, and devour or drive out every living thing in it. Cockroaches, one of the greatest pests of the region, are almost always present in large numbers in the thatch, but after a visitation of army ants, they, together with the centipedes, scorpions, and all other forms of insect life have disappeared.

While residing in the cane-mill previously referred to (pl. VI), a short distance above the village of Punta Venado on the lower course of the Rio Cayapas, at about ten o'clock one morning there appeared on the ground about the house a large number of these ants. On investigation it was found that they were issuing from the jungle in myriads, traveling along an old and fairly well-beaten Indian hunting trail that led from the jungle out into the clearing. The cane-mill was surrounded by a clearing of about two acres, with a relatively open portion, about half an acre in extent, immediately adjacent to the mill. The cane, which had been recently planted in this area, did not exceed a foot or so in height, hence a good opportunity was afforded to observe the movements of the ants. To all appearances they paid attention to nothing except their journey, so long as they were on the trail within the jungle; but immediately they reached the edge of the clearing, the dense line, which was as wide as the trail

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

would permit, broke into several smaller lines which deployed in various directions as the ants commenced their hunt for food. This hunt was thorough to a degree, and involved searching every nook, corner, and crevice of everything they encountered. While thus hunting, the ants passed in large numbers around and under the cane-mill, but for some unknown reason, and much to our relief, they did not climb the housepoots and overrun the mill itself. 136

A species of small red land crab is very abundant throughout the region. Many of these crab burrows were seen in the vicinity of the cane-mill, which gave an opportunity of observing the attacks of the ants upon the crabs. The scene about the mill during one of these attacks was so animated that it was scarcely possible to keep watch of any particular crab burrow and thus observe the ants as they besieged it. The observer became aware of their presence there, however, when the rightful owner of the burrow suddenly emerged from its entrance and scuttled away in vain endeavor to rid himself of his tormentors. Running first one way, then another, in his attempt to escape, the crab soon found that, while he had been attacked in his burrow by from half a dozen to perhaps a score of ants, each of which clung tenaciously, the farther it ran the more of the enemy it accumulated, until it was finally overcome by sheer force of numbers. Now and then, of course, a crab managed to escape.

Perhaps the most striking instance of the methods employed by these ants in their foraging was given by

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[536] their ransacking of a heap of old crushed sugar-cane stalks, commonly spoken of as "cane-trash," which lay in front of the mill. To all appearances this refuse pile was not inhabited, but when the ants commenced their search of it, it proved to be literally alive with land crabs and with insect life of various kinds. As a rule, these occupants which succeeded in reaching the surface of the pile, did so in each case with several ants clinging tenaciously to them. Now and then one of the flying creatures, such as a cockroach, would endeavor to escape by means of its wings, but would usually alight within a few feet in order to try to rid itself of the clinging ants, but it usually found that these efforts were rewarded only by an attack of a larger number of the pests.

After two or three hours of hunting and feasting in this clearing, the army of ants took its way up the river-bank and disappeared into the jungle, leaving no trace of its visit save an empty crab-shell or other mute reminder here and there.

[537] Many stories are told by the Cayapa and others of the work of these ants, some of them tending to show what may be regarded as a certain degree of sagacity on the part of the ants. That they work in unison in their attacks on small animal life is shown by the above personal observation, and this fact may be taken as in a measure corroborative of the following experience of Señor Don Calixto Ramírez, who has resided for many years in this region and who has had excellent opportunities for observing its natural history.

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Shortly after Señor Ramírez's arrival in this section of Ecuador, he had occasion to be out looking up cattle, in company with a friend who at the time was an old resident. They were on the upper course of the Rio Santiago, and in riding along they observed a line of army ants so moving as to indicate that they formed a segment of a circle, the remainder being hidden by the jungle. The two observers tied their horses a short distance away and followed the ants, as the circle moved inward, until they reached a point where the center of the circle was visible. There they saw, to their surprise, a coiled equis, the most venomous snake of the region. The serpent was perfectly quiet, and apparently asleep. The ants moved cautiously in until their circle enclosed a space of but a few feet in diameter. At this juncture four or five ants approached the equis and finally bit it, thus causing the snake to bestir itself. It moved off toward one side of the circle of ants, where it met a warm reception; it then raced in another direction, with no better result; and so it darted in various directions in its frenzied endeavor to escape, until finally the circle closed in completely, when nothing was to be seen but a writhing mass of ants and the snake, a foot or so high and two or three feet in diameter. Time did not permit the observers to witness the disposal of the snake, but on their return, a few hours later, there was not an ant in sight, but as an evidence of the combat, the snake's skeleton, picked absolutely clean, lay at the point where it met its fate. 136

There are also many other kinds of ants, among which

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

136 may be mentioned at least one species of leaf-cutting ant whose peculiarly spiny body presents an interesting appearance, though it is in no way of special importance [825] to the Indians. One very large, black, stinging ant, called conga in Spanish, and nyû′mī in Cayapa, is much feared by the Indians and others resident in this region, for the reason that its sting produces not only an annoying local irritation, but also a rise in the temperature of one bitten, so that it is commonly said that the sting of the conga insures two days of fever.

825 Certain species of small bees are of value to the 136 Indians, particularly in the production of the wax used [237] in calking canoes and pottery, and in painting canoes; [278] it is also employed remedially to a slight extent as a [262] cure for cuts and abrasions. The honey made by these bees is very little sought as a food, and is quite secondary in value to their wax. The Indians recognize four classes of these bees. The paba ta′nda is a small black species that lives in trees and makes the best wax which is yellow in color and is produced in larger quantities than that made by any of the other bees. The ciñemi′ski, also a small black bee, lives in the ground and produces an inferior black wax which is used only to a limited extent by the Indians. The third of these small black bees is the ta′nda, which lives in trees but which produces much more honey than wax. The fourth species, amūī a′ma, is a small yellow bee which likewise lives in trees and produces a black wax that is used to a considerable extent.

136 825 262 Certain insects are employed as food. Two of these,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

which were observed, were a large, black, beaked beetle (*Rhymchophorus palmarum*), called kū′perū by the Cayapa, and a large white larva called kōmu′cū by them.

Certain other insects, though of no special economic importance, are of interest to the Indians. One in particular is a large beetle (*Euchroma goliath* L. & G.) whose iridescent wing-covers are employed in making necklaces. There are also large, beautifully colored butterflies, dragonflies, and a large firefly (*Pyrophorus pellucens*), besides a host of other species of insects of greater or lesser interest.

Insects

English	Spanish	Cayapa
beetle (*Rhymchophorus palmarum*)		kū′perū
beetle (*Euchroma goliath* L. & G.)	cucaron	kabē″tsū
firefly (*Pyrophorus pellucens*)		mū′lūkū
bees		paba ta′nda ciñemi′skī ta′nda amūī a′ma
ant (a large, black, stinging ant)	conga	nyū′mī
larva (a large white larva)		kō′mucū
larva	cogoyo	avī′
a worm or caterpillar	hualpe	tcīlī′lī

MINERALS

Among the natural resources of the country should be mentioned its minerals, certain of which are found

[The Negroes, however, wean their children after one year, and some Cayapa women are beginning to imitate them.] Weaning is accomplished by shaming or ridiculing the child, or frightening him with stories of cannibalistic ogres, or applying bitter tasting substances to the nipple.

The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that arise from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. This stems in major part from the fact that the child is generally kept within the confines of the home at these ages. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls; it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. Consequently his movements within the house are restricted and he is effectively blocked off from direct sunlight and on canoe trips he is usually placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

731 361 floods it not infrequently happens that the waters rise so high as completely to surround the house, and indeed sometimes to within a few inches of its floor.

132 The excessive rainfall naturally produces great humidity,[3] which would be very oppressive were it not for the fact that the sky is almost constantly overcast, so that the full power of the sun is rarely felt in the region. This fortunate circumstance renders the climate, which would otherwise be almost intolerable, very equable and pleasant.

RESOURCES

TREES AND PLANTS

137 By virtue of the climatic conditions above set forth the vegetation of the Cayapa region is typically tropical. Almost every foot of ground is covered by a dense jungle growth comprising many species of trees, palms, shrubs, and smaller plants, and characterized by an abundance of vines and parasitic vegetation. So dense is this growth that it is practically impossible to travel on land even a short distance without the use of a machete.

137 Among the most important and characteristic plants of the region are the various species of palms, many of which are put to use by the Cayapa in one way or another. In the following list of the trees and plants of this section are given the Cayapa and the local Spanish names of those palms which are most useful to the

[3] One of the engineer's reports, above referred to, places the humidity at an average of about 80 per cent.

[illegible] 116, pp. [illegible] A]

[p. 6]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Indians. A number of these palms produce foods, and several provide leaves which are used in making house-thatch, while the trunk of one makes a durable flooring for houses. These matters will be taken up more specifically in the discussion of these subjects.

Another characteristic plant is the giant bamboo, which grows in clumps at frequent intervals along the banks of the rivers, especially along their lower courses. This bamboo often reaches a height of seventy feet or more, and has a basal diameter approximating ten inches. These immense stems serve various useful purposes, among the most important of which may be mentioned that of joists and rafters in house-building.

There is a great variety of trees in the jungle, many of which produce useful woods. Perhaps the most important uses of wood among the Cayapa are in house construction and in canoe-making. In the former the guayacan, which provides the almost indestructible pillars that support the pile structures, is of greatest importance. Several varieties of trees are used in canoe-making, but two or three kinds are preferred to all others.

Another characteristic of the jungle is the association of many species of plant life together in one area. Whereas in the North Temperate zone it is customary to see large tracts of land occupied by a single principal species of tree, such as the pine, in this Ecuadorian region a considerable number of trees of one species growing close together and in such manner as to form anything comparable with a grove is rarely seen. As a

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

●137 rule the various species of trees are associated in a strictly heterogeneous manner, and in all cases there is a fairly dense undergrowth, besides vines and aerial roots in abundance. These latter hang from the trees in such profusion as alone to make it necessary to cut a trail in proceeding even for a short distance by land.

824 137 Of these aerial roots the one known by the local Spanish term *pitigua* deserves special mention. It is very strong and durable, is little affected by climate, [342] and is not attacked by insects. It is, therefore, extensively employed in binding joints in house-building, and indeed wherever a good binding material is needed. [285] It is also extensively used in making certain kinds of basketry.

This general mention of the natural vegetal resources of the Cayapa region will suffice for present consideration, but the separate plants and their particular uses will be treated in detail in the following pages in connection with matters with which they are particularly concerned.

The heterogeneity of the flora of the region, above referred to, is fortunate for its inhabitants, since it places nearly every kind of plant, on which so much of the culture of the Cayapa Indians depends, within comparatively easy reach of all. That the flora should be so varied in any given locality, and that any given species should be so generally distributed, is due to the almost identical climate, soil, and other environmental conditions throughout the region.

The following is a list of the principal vegetal resources, both indigenous and introduced, employed by the Cayapa:

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

137
192
824

Trees and Plants

ENGLISH	SPANISH	CAYAPA
	guayacan	waiaka'n[4]
rubber	caucho	sa'be
cedar	cedro	inū'n-tcī, orinō'n-tcī
	guadaripo	tū-tcī
	amarillo	pītōa'lō
	balsa	na'na
	dama jaua	te'ckī-tcī or tû'ckī-tcī
	achote	ca'imū (canyūñ-tcī = the shrub)
	hawa	ma'iñ-tcī
	guabo	cī'lyū (cī'-tcī = the tree). See p. 109
	guabo macheton	mactĕ-pa' cīlyū
	guabo dulce	pī' cīlyū
	guabo tacoane	ni'ñga cīlyū
	guabo agria	sa' cīlyū
		pū' cīlyū
calabash	calabaza	wa'iyū (wa'i-tcī = the tree), also cu'lya
chocolate	cacao	kaka'bō
papaw	papaya	papa'ia
	caimito	a'kū'iñya (akūi'ñ-tcī = the tree)
	zapote	sapō'te
orange	naranjo	la'nsa (lansa'-tcī = the tree)

[4] In some instances these names are invariably given by informants with *tcī*, signifying tree, following the root of the word; in others this is never added unless it is intended particularly to show that the tree itself is meant. In some cases the addition of *tcī* causes considerable phonetic change in the root. In those cases where the simple root form and also the compound form were obtained, the latter follows the former in parentheses.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

137
192
824

ENGLISH	SPANISH	CAYAPA
lemon	limon	lē′mō (lēmō′-tcī = the tree)
	chocolatillo	tcōkōla′te, tcōkōlaī′a
sandpaper tree		lya′pic-hakī
plantain	platano	pa′nda
banana	seda	sē′da, sēda-kīnī′a
	hoja blanca	fī′ba-hakī[5]
	hoja negra	e′lūñ-hakī
sugar-cane	caña dulce	e′lla
wild cane	caña brava	nya′nyī
corn	maiz	pī′cū
tobacco	tabaco	ta′kō
	yuca	kū′′tcū, kū′ctcū
	rascadera	tū′a
pineapple	piña	tcī′lya
pepper	aji	tyū
	yerba buena	ēvī vē′nō[6]
pumpkin	sapayo	ū
	kuna-kuna	wa′-tcī
	matamba	bī′ta
		nintcū′a[7]
	tangarea	ōlō′n-tcī
	Palms	
ivory nut	palma tagua	tī′mō būlō (ti′ñ-tcī = the palm)[8]
	palma real	ūya′-tcī

[177]

[5] This term, like the Spanish *hoja blanca*, signifies "white leaf."

[6] The name of this introduced plant is obviously a corruption of the Spanish.

[7] A porous vine used as a smoking material by children.

[8] In the majority of cases the names given by informants for these palms are combinations of the simple names of the palms with the word *tcī*, signifying "tree." The five cases in which the simple name was obtainable are here noted, the compound terms following them in parentheses.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ENGLISH	SPANISH	CAYAPA
	palma palmicha	sā′wī (sa′n-tcī = the palm)
	palma chonta dura	ka′imbī (kanō′-tcī = the palm)
	palma chapil or milpeso	kūla′pō-tcī
	palma guividnande	vīñga′-tcī
	palma guinul	pūka″-tcī
	palma pambil	bū′a (bū′iñ-tcī = the palm)
	palma crespa	pī′nlya-tcī
	palma chontilla	pē′aputc
coconut	palma coco	kō′kō (kō′kō-tcī = the palm)
fan-leaf palm	palma rampile	pī′tcūa
		ya′ha
		kapi′m-tcī

137 192 824

GAME

Game is abundant in the jungle, and there are fish of various species in the streams. The ocean is within a comparatively short distance and its shores abound in many species of Crustacea and mollusks, as well as in the various salt-water fish, all highly prized by the Indians. 136

The specific uses of each species and its mode of capture, together with other points of interest in connection with it, will be taken up in detail at appropriate points in the following pages. For the present purposes it will be sufficient to give lists of the principal mammals, birds, fishes, Crustacea, mollusks, reptiles, and amphibians which are found in the region.

These lists, like the list of trees and plants previously given, are by no means complete, since they include

angle with the Río Santiago, and together they make up the second largest drainage system in the northwestern part of the province of Esmeraldas. The confluence of the two rivers lies approximately at 1°5' north latitude, or about 90 miles due north of the equator, and 78°59' west longitude. The area is a tropical rain forest because of the very cold Humboldt Current that flows along much of the Ecuadorian coast, however, extremely dense clouds usually cover the area as far inland as the foothills of the Andes, and moderate the temperatures. They range from 65° to 75° Fahrenheit at night and from 70° to 90° during the daytime, depending upon the amount of cloud cover. Generally, the sky is a very bright overcast. When the cloud cover lessens, the sky is an intense hot blue. There are no weather stations in the Río Cayapas area, and consequently we have no readings of any significance. Barrett (1925:4) estimated the annual rainfall on the Río Santiago at between 24.63 feet to 26.46 feet. Since the distances between the Río Santiago and the Río Cayapas are not very great, Barrett's observations may reasonably be applied to the Cayapa area as well.

The low alluvial coastal area of the Cayapas-

133

Santiago drainage system is fringed by a sandy beach and backed by a brackish mangrove forest swamp that extends inland for some two to four miles, at which point a slight elevation--no more than four to six feet above low tide--begins to be noticed. When one moves up past the town of Borbon, at the confluence of the two major rivers, the countryside takes on the appearance of a fairly flat plain. As one approaches the mouth of the Río Cemerones, which lies at the right hand side as one moves up the Río Cayapas, a marked change in the character of the landscape begins to emerge. Hills thickly covered with green bush and tree growth become more frequent, although they are not too precipitous, ranging from 90 to about 150 feet in height. The predominant color pattern is green, brown, and gray. The main river, especially in flood, is brown-green. Skies are generally bright gray and the vegetation on all sides fall in innumerable shades of green. Occasionally, along the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas huge clumps of water Hyacynths float like bright purple rafts towards the sea.

[137]

Normally, the Río Cayapas flows quite gently, for the rise in altitude is slight until the actual

423
685
[137]

It is the nature of the tropical rain forest that neglected clearings revert to a condition closely resembling the pristine within a few years. In this event, it is difficult to determine whether or not one is cutting virgin growth. From time to time, this leads to a conflict that may be settled in any of the ways described above, or may be handled in the manner illustrated below.

Antonito demands a quit claim. About 1957, Ciro Añapa and his brother Santiagueño were told by Antonito Añapa, that they were working on some land that he had cut from monte jivaro. When Ciro's brother saw the land, however, it looked like jungle once more, and he pointed out that it must have been many years since Antonito had worked it. At a party at Trivinio's house when everyone was drunk, Antonito demanded one hundred sucres. Ciro replied that he never remembered Antonito's working the land under dispute. Heverico, who was present, told Ciro and his brother to pay the hundred sucres, saying that, after all, it was not a large sum of money. Heverico, however, did not know if the land belonged to Antonito or not. Ciro and his brother agreed to pay the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

General Characteristics

The measurements of seventy individuals which follow were made during the last days of the stay among the Cayapa. On departing from New York for this region no anthropometric instruments were available, and arrangements were made to have a set sent later. However, month after month having passed without the arrival of the instruments, it became necessary, near the latter part of the stay, to make them. Through the kindness of Señor Don Donato Yannuzzelli, owner of the Hacienda of Palma, the author was enabled to make a serviceable measuring rod in the shops connected with Señor Yannuzzelli's sawmill. For this purpose a thoroughly seasoned piece of hardwood called in Spanish guayacan was procured and sized with exactness. This was then carefully graduated with a metric rule and when provided with a spring-arm made a serviceable instrument.

Care was always taken to keep the rod from getting wet or subject to conditions that would tend to change its length. After the completion of the measurements the rod was proved with metric rules to make sure that no change in length had taken place. This rod, a pair of calipers lent by Señor Yannuzzelli, and a small thirty-centimeter rule, provided the instruments necessary for the work, and it was possible with these in a short time to procure the measurements here presented.

In the majority of cases the Indians submitted readily to measurement, and had more time been available it

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

would have been possible to obtain a much more complete series. However, with this series of seventy measurements, of which thirty-six represent males and thirty-four females (including nineteen adult males and twenty-one adult females), it is possible to arrive at a fairly clear conception of the physical characteristics of the Cayapa as a tribe. These measurements and the indices computed from them appear in tabular form in the following pages.

The tables of measurements and indices show that the Cayapa on the whole are short in stature, the men averaging only 155 cm. and the women only 146 cm. The range of individual variation among the men, as also among the women, is 14 cm. Among the men there are at least a few individuals who appeared to be somewhat taller than the maximum here given, but as a tribe the Cayapa must be considered somewhat below the average in stature. The difference in stature between men and women is 11.27 cm.; that is to say, the men are 7.7 percent. taller than the women. Considering the fact that the Cayapa as a tribe are low in stature, this is a high percentage. In fact in most races of low stature this difference usually approaches 5 percent. of the female stature. Larger series would probably alter these results somewhat, but it seems probable that they would remain substantially the same since the individuals measured, of both sexes, were about the average of the tribe as a whole.

According to the averages of the cephalic indices of all four classes, men, boys, women, and girls, the Cayapa are clearly brachycephalic. Further, when the indi-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

•141 vidual measurements themselves are considered, the boys, women, and girls clearly fall into this division, for there are in these three classes fourteen, seventeen, and eleven individuals respectively who are brachycephalic, as against three, four, and two who are mesocephalic, these nine only being below 83.33. In the case of the men, however, there is a slightly greater number of mesocephalic than of brachycephalic individuals, the numbers being ten and nine respectively. That the average index of the men falls within the brachycephalic division is due to the fact that the mesocephalic measurements, though greater in number, approach the brachycephalic limit, while six of the nine brachycephalic measurements are well up in that division, ranging from 87.5 to 90.5. This makes the average high and brings the class of men also just within brachycephaly.

Considering now the relations of these measurements from the standpoint of the interrelations of sex and age, we find that the heads of the men, with an average index of 83.58, are materially longer than those of the women, with an average index of 86.85. This is due to the fact that the head of the man is of much greater actual length (10 mm.) than that of the woman, while the actual width of the man's head differs comparatively little (only 2 mm.) from that of the woman.

Among the boys, however, this index, which is 86.37, approaches very nearly that of the women, and differs less than one degree from that of the girls, which is 87.30. Some discrepancy arises in this case from the fact that these averages are derived from different numbers of individuals (17 boys and 13 girls) and also because there

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

are certain differences of age, the girls being on the whole somewhat older than the boys. To obviate this a computation has been made in which the last 13 measurements of boys (nos. 5–17) only have been taken. As it happens, these measurements are of individuals more nearly of the same age of the thirteen girls measured, and the element of extreme youth among the boys is thus eliminated. This computation gives an index of 86.04, which still leaves the index of the boys much nearer that of the women than that of the men, the differences being 0.71 and 2.46 respectively.

It would appear therefore that the head proportions among the adult females differ very little from those of childhood, while in the males the head has a marked tendency to elongate with advancing years.

While dealing with the physical characteristics of the Cayapa it should be noted that in certain of those outward characteristics which are most manifest to the eye, the individual differences are very great. The hair varies from jet-black to a very dark-brown in color, and from absolute straightness to a very pleasing waviness, though in no case is there any near approach to curliness. It is ordinarily fine, though among the men some individuals are found whose hair is moderately coarse. These features are, of course, more noticeable in the women that in the men, since the women always wear their hair long and flowing, whereas the men keep their hair cropped fairly short, though in earlier times they too wore long hair. In many cases the women's hair reaches to the waist, and is very full and heavy. Such, for instance, is the case with the middle-aged woman

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6
Cholo

142 much lighter than that of the average North American Indians.

In a word, therefore, the Cayapa may be said to be a well proportioned, though somewhat undersized, light-brown people, with brachycephalic heads, black or dark-brown hair which varies from straight to wavy, to show considerable variation in the shape of the nose, to have very dark-brown eyes, wide upper lips, full and fairly high foreheads, high cheekbones and round faces, and to have supraorbital ridges and chins that are not at all prominent.

CXII No opportunity was presented to measure the few Cholo who live on the Rio Cayapas. They are, however, of quite a different type from the Cayapa, being somewhat shorter and more thick-set than the latter, and as a rule more mongoloid in general appearance. In pls. CXI-CXIII are shown two boys, two girls, and one young man of about twenty-one years, all members of this tribe.

Measurements

• 141 125 In the accompanying tables the following abbreviations are used:

St, Stature.
Sp, Stretch of arms.
Sh, Height of shoulder (acromion).
Hmf, Height of middle finger from surface upon which heel rests.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

A, Length of arm (acromion to tip of second finger).
Hs, Height sitting.
Wsh, Width of shoulders between acromia.
Lfa, Length of forearm (elbow to tip of middle finger).
Lh, Length of head.
Bh, Width of head.
Wf, Width of face between zygomatic arches.
HfI, Distance from hair line to chin
HfII, Distance from nasion to chin.
Hn, Height of nose.
Wn, Width of nose between alæ.
IStr, $\frac{Str}{St}$
IA, $\frac{A}{St}$
IHs, $\frac{Hs}{St}$
IWsh, $\frac{Wsh}{St}$
FI, $\frac{HfII}{Wf}$
NI, $\frac{Wn}{Hn}$
CI, $\frac{Bh}{Lh}$

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

141

TABLE I.—TABULATION

								MALES						
1	4	1070	1065	850	385	465	580	260	295	160	144	127	153	91
2	4	910	890	700	340	360	495	230	235	161	138	114	128	81
3	4	950	940	730	330	400	560	230	260	161	133	109	135	80
4	4	850	845	660	300	360	495	215	230	158	133	112	116	73
5	6	990	990	780	350	430	545	240	270	164	137	117	136	84
6	6	1000	980	770	350	420	570	235	265	170	144	117	147	80
7	7	1115	1120	900	405	495	610	260	310	161	135	120	150	84
8	7	1090	1100	840	380	460	610	270	290	169	134	118	134	84
9	7	1125	1130	890	385	505	605	250	310	160	140	117	148	91
10	8	1185	1230	955	410	545	650	275	330	156	147	123	139	91
11	10	1285	1330	1030	450	580	685	325	360	166	150	128	150	94
12	11	1335	1415	1080	440	640	705	345	370	164	146	126	164	102
13	11	1310	1310	1045	460	585	705	330	360	165	147	131	148	93
14	13	1480	1505	1190	510	680	735	345	415	176	134	129	153	102
15	14	1385	1450	1120	490	630	730	355	400	164	149	133	166	100
16	15	1315	1390	1070	455	615	705	315	370	160	139	122	148	93
17	16	1395	1390	1140	510	630	775	335	375	167	151	133	167	108
18	18	1560	1570	1305	610	695	835	365	425	184	149	137	164	103
19	18	1490	1550	1235	550	685	775	370	420	184	148	135	161	103
20	21	1580	1630	1320	580	740	855	420	435	191	155	143	168	106
21	21	1490	1555	1240	570	670	805	355	420	180	149	133	159	102
22	24	1530	1560	1260	560	700	850	390	420	180	144	143	162	107
23	28	1470	1525	1225	555	670	785	430	410	175	147	144	181	117
24	30	1605	1615	1340	625	715	865	395	435	180	151	147	172	109
25	32	1595	1705	1330	600	730	850	440	450	175	158	146	168	110
26	32	1570	1650	1305	570	735	840	380	435	168	147	135	178	113
27	34	1580	1690	1320	570	750	850	420	445	187	152	143	187	118
28	35	1490	1540	1250	560	690	810	360	415	170	136	133	175	111
29	35	1505	1550	1210	535	675	815	390	415	172	144	141	179	115
30	35	1605	1720	1335	580	755	895	420	465	187	146	139	180	118
31	35	1580	1575	1275	575	700	860	410	420	165	146	137	166	113
32	60	1575	1660	1315	575	740	830	395	430	178	143	135	177	122
33	60	1570	1610	1300	600	700	835	410	430	178	161	144	166	112

* Measurements are in millimeters.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

OF MEASUREMENTS*

141

MALES

Hn	Wn	IStr	IA	IHs	IWsh	FI	NI	CI	No.
34	29	99.53	43.45	54.20	24.29	71.66	85.30	90.00	1
31	25	97.80	39.56	54.39	25.27	71.05	80.64	85.71	2
30	22	99.00	42.10	58.88	24.21	73.39	73.33	82.60	3
26	26	99.41	42.35	58.23	25.29	65.17	100.00	84.17	4
30	29	100.00	43.43	55.05	24.24	71.79	96.66	83.53	5
30	29	98.00	42.00	57.00	23.50	68.37	96.66	84.70	6
31	28	100.03	44.39	54.70	23.31	70.00	90.32	83.85	7
32	30	100.92	42.20	55.96	24.77	71.19	93.75	79.30	8
32	28	100.44	44.88	53.77	22.22	77.77	87.50	87.50	9
37	31	103.79	45.99	54.85	23.20	73.98	83.78	94.23	10
36	32	103.05	45.18	53.31	25.29	73.43	88.88	90.36	11
40	31	105.90	47 94	52.81	25.84	80.95	77.50	89.02	12
36	32	100.00	44.65	53.81	25.19	70.99	88.88	89.09	13
43	34	105.24	47.55	51.21	24.12	79.08	79.08	76.15	14
39	36	104.68	45.48	52.71	25.63	75.18	92.30	90.85	15
37	31	105.70	46.76	53.61	23.95	76.22	83.78	86.87	16
44	34	99.72	45.16	55.55	24.01	81.20	77.27	90.42	17
36	33	100.64	44.55	53.52	23.39	75.18	91.66	80.98	18
40	37	104.03	45.97	52.01	24.83	76.30	92.50	80.46	19
43	39	103.17	46.83	54.11	26.58	74.13	90.70	81.15	20
46	37	104.36	44.96	54.03	23.82	76.69	80.43	82.77	21
45	38	101.96	45.75	55.55	25.49	74.85	84.44	80.00	22
52	35	103.74	45.57	53.40	29.25	81.25	67.31	84.00	23
47	33	100.62	44.54	53.89	24.61	74.15	70.21	83.88	24
51	35	106.89	45.76	52.22	27.58	75.34	68.63	90.28	25
46	34	105.09	46.81	53.50	24.20	83.73	73.91	87.50	26
48	38	106.96	47.46	53.80	26.58	82.51	79.17	81.29	27
45	31	103.35	46.30	54.36	24.16	83.45	68.88	80.00	28
50	37	102.99	44.85	54.15	25.91	81.56	74.00	83.72	29
51	42	107.16	47.04	55.70	26.16	84.90	82.35	78.28	30
48	35	102.94	45.75	56.21	26.79	82.48	72.91	88.50	31
49	34	105.39	46.98	52.69	25.07	90.37	69.38	80.33	32
52	41	102.55	44.58	53.18	26.11	77.77	78.84	90.45	33

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE I.—TABULATION OF

141

No.	Age	St	Str	Sh	Hmf	A	Ha	Wsh	Lfa	Lh	Bh	Wf	Hft	Hftt
MALES														
34	40	1600	1660	1340	580	760	860	405	450	178	158	146	169	117
35	45	1560	1560	1310	615	695	820	405	430	179	148	135	173	111
36	48	1570	1670	1320	570	750	865	425	440	178	148	142	168	107
FEMALES														
37	5	1045	1040	835	375	460	585	255	280	159	145	119	134	87
38	7	990	960	780	370	410	570	235	255	151	140	118	137	84
39	8	1270	1300	1050	460	590	660	300	360	171	140	124	144	85
40	9	1175	1180	930	415	515	640	280	315	167	144	123	145	93
41	9	1120	1120	895	420	475	625	265	295	158	139	120	143	88
42	11	1270	1280	1040	480	560	690	305	335	163	140	122	148	95
43	11	1120	1120	810	410	400	605	275	300	155	144	120	144	82
44	12	1250	1240	1030	480	550	680	295	340	162	140	125	150	96
45	12	1270	1245	1030	480	550	705	310	330	158	137	121	146	94
46	12	1270	1290	1030	460	570	660	290	340	163	142	123	152	96
47	12	1215	1255	975	430	545	650	285	330	160	141	122	140	92
48	12	1260	1280	1030	460	570	695	280	340	173	142	122	143	94
49	14	1390	1450	1145	500	645	740	340	395	169	145	131	155	102
50	20	1435	1470	1160	530	630	765	345	395	173	142	130	154	97
51	25	1435	1420	1180	560	620	780	350	370	162	146	131	159	98
52	28	1500	1515	1260	595	665	825	370	410	170	148	131	158	108
53	30	1510	1550	1260	580	680	810	370	415	170	143	132	156	104
54	30	1495	1505	1225	555	670	830	355	400	178	152	134	160	101
55	30	1425	1505	1180	510	670	760	335	390	172	151	133	164	105
56	35	1440	1470	1180	540	640	750	340	400	169	143	131	171	106
57	35	1535	1540	1270	580	690	830	355	415	173	144	132	163	111
58	35	1460	1510				800			169	144	136	172	106
59	35	1430	1460	1180	530	650	790	370	400	164	151	129	168	112
60	35	1450	1515	1210	550	660	80	370	390	162	144	135	145	94
61	35	1405	1420	1150	520	630	750	325	380	168	138	127	155	92
62	38	1510	1550	1245	565	680	805	370	410	164	150	131	165	108
63	38	1490	1550	1230	550	680	795	365	410	170	150	128	159	105
64	40	1450	1455	1205	575	630	795	355	390	172	148	130	173	118

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

MEASUREMENTS—*Continued*

141 •

Hn	Wn	IStr	IA	IHs	IWsh	FI	NI	CI	No.
				MALES					
48	40	103.75	47.50	53.75	25.31	80.13	83.33	88.76	34
44	36	100.00	44.55	52.56	25.96	82.22	81.81	82.68	35
46	37	106.37	47.77	55.09	27.07	75.35	80.43	83.15	36
				FEMALES					
34	29	99.60	44.01	55.97	24.40	73.11	85.29	91.19	37
33	29	97.00	41.41	57.57	23.73	71.19	87.87	92.72	38
35	32	102.35	46.45	51.96	23.62	68.62	91.43	81.87	39
36	30	100.35	43.82	54.46	23.82	75.65	83.33	86.23	40
33	28	100.00	42.41	55.80	23.66	73.33	84.84	87.97	41
35	31	100.79	44.09	54.33	24.01	77.87	88.57	85.88	42
38	29	100.00	35.71	54.01	24.55	68.33	76.31	92.90	43
40	30	99.20	44.00	54.40	23.60	76.80	75.00	86.42	44
36	32	98.03	43.30	55.51	24.40	77.68	88.88	86.72	45
39	31	101.57	44.88	51.96	22.83	78.04	79.48	87.11	46
37	29	103.29	44.85	53.49	23.45	75.40	78.37	88.12	47
38	32	101.58	45.23	55.15	22.22	77.04	84.21	82.08	48
43	36	104.32	46.40	53.23	24.46	77.87	83.72	85.79	49
40	30	102.43	43.90	53.31	24.04	74.61	75.00	82.08	50
39	33	98.94	43.20	54.35	24.39	74.81	84.62	90.12	51
46	33	101.00	44.33	55.00	24.66	82.45	71.74	87.06	52
46	36	102.65	45.03	53.64	24.50	78.78	78.26	84.11	53
45	34	100.60	44.81	55.52	23.74	75.37	75.55	85.39	54
44	33	105.61	47.01	53.33	23.50	78.94	75.00	87.79	55
44	31	102.03	44.44	52.08	23.61	80.91	70.45	84.61	56
48	33	100.20	44.95	54.02	23.12	84.09	68.75	83.24	57
40	38	103.42		54.79		77.94	95.00	85.23	58
49	31	102.09	45.45	55.24	25.87	86.85	63.26	92.07	59
41	32	104.48	45.51	55.17	25.51	69.62	78.04	88.88	60
43	33	101.06	44.80	53.38	23.13	72.44	76.74	82.14	61
42	32	102.65	45.00	53.31	24.50	82.50	76.19	91.47	62
44	34	104.02	45.62	53.35	24.49	82.03	77.27	88.23	63
50	36	100.02	43.45	54.82	24.48	90.77	72.00	86.05	64

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE I—TABULATION OF MEASUREMENTS
—Concluded

• 141

FEMALES

No.	Age	St	Str	Sh	Hmf	A	Hs	Wsh	Lfa	Lh	Bh	Wf	Hfl	HflI
65	40	1445	1510	1200	530	670	790	340	400	158	137	125	165	108
66	45	1520	1545	1265	570	695	820	370	415	172	147	134	147	101
67	45	1440	1445	1170	560	610	770	355	380	164	148	133	157	103
68	50	1480	1550	1250	555	695	790	370	415	168	144	145	134	115
69	50	1430	1495	1160	505	655	775	385	400	173	143	135	155	100
70	60	1460	1490	1210	550	660	790	350	395	163	154	129	169	105

FEMALES

Hn	Wn	IStr	IA	IHs	IWsh	FI	NI	CI	No.
47	32	104.49	46.34	54.63	23.52	86.40	68.0	886.71	65
43	34	101.64	45.67	53.95	24.34	75.37	79.0	785.47	66
43	38	100.35	42.40	53.47	24.65	77.44	88.3	790.25	67
50	35	104.73	46.92	53.37	25.00	85.82	70.0	085.70	68
45	40	104.49	45.76	54.20	26.92	74.07	88.8	882.83	69
46	39	102.05	45.20	54.11	23.97	81.40	84.7	994.48	70

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE II

MAXIMUM, MINIMUM, AND AVERAGE MEASUREMENTS, AND INDICES OF ADULTS* 141

	Males (18 + yrs. of age) Nos. 18-36			Females (18 + yrs. of age) Nos. 50-70		
	Max.	*Min.*	*Aver.*	*Max.*	*Min.*	*Aver.*
St	1605	1470	1551.31	1535	1405	1464.04
Str	1720	1525	1609.73	1550	1420	1498.57
Sh	1340	1210	1291.05	1265	1150	1209.50
Hmf	625	535	577.89	595	505	550.50
A	760	670	713.42	695	610	659.00
Hs	895	775	836.84	830	750	791.42
Wsh	440	355	399.21	385	325	357.25
Lfa	465	410	431.05	415	370	399.00
Lh	191	165	178.36	178	158	168.28
Bh	161	136	148.94	154	137	146.04
Wf	147	133	139.89	136	125	131.42
HfI	187	159	171.73	173	145	161.00
HfII	122	102	111.21	118	92	104.61
Hn	52	36	46.68	50	39	44.52
Wn	42	31	36.42	40	30	34.14
IStr	107.16	100.00	103.78	105.61	98.94	102.33
IA	47.77	44.54	45.97	47.01	42.40	44.98
IHs	56.21	52.01	53.88	55.52	52.08	54.04
IWsh	29.25	23.39	25.73	26.92	23.12	24.39
FI	90.37	74.13	79.59	90.77	69.62	79.65
NI	92.50	67.31	78.46	95.00	63.26	77.00
CI	90.45	78.28	83.58	94.48	82.08	86.85
CI, Children (Nos. 1-17)			86.37	CI, Children Nos. 37-49)		87.30

*Measurements are in millimeters.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

141

TABLE III.—STATURE (St)

Measurements (*cm.*)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
140		1
1		
2		1
3		4
4		2
5		3
6		2
7	1	
8		1
9	3	2
150	1	1
1		2
2		1
3	2	1
4		
5		
6	2	
7	4	
8	2	
9	1	
160	3	
No. of cases.....	19	21
Average.....	155.13	146.40

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE IV.—STRETCH OF ARMS (Str) 141

Measurements (*cm.*)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
142		2
3		
4		1
5		3
6		1
7		2
8		2
9		
150		2
1		4
2	1	
3		
4	1	2
5	3	2
6	2	
7	2	
8		
9		
160		
1	2	
2		
3	1	
4		
5	1	
6	2	
7	1	
8		
9	1	
170	1	
1		
2	1	
No. of cases.....	19	21
Average.....	160.97	149.86

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE V.—HEIGHT OF SHOULDER (ACROMION) (Sh)

Measurements (*cm.*)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
115		1
6		2
7		1
8		4
9		
120		2
1	1	2
2	2	1
3	1	1
4	1	1
5	1	1
6	1	3
7	1	1
8		
9		
130	3	
1	2	
2	2	
3	2	
4	2	
No. of cases.....	19	20
Average.....	129.10	120.95

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

141

TABLE VI.—HEIGHT OF MIDDLE FINGER FROM SURFACE ON WHICH HEEL RESTS (Hmf)

Measurements (*cm.*)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
50		1
1		1
2		1
3	1	3
4		1
5	2	5
6	2	3
7	6	2
8	3	2
9		1
60	2	
1	2	
2	1	
No. of cases.....	19	20
Average.....	57.79	55.05

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

141

TABLE VII.—LENGTH OF ARM (A)

(Acromion to Tip of Second Finger)

Measurements (cms.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
1		1
2		1
3		3
4		1
5		2
6		3
7	3	3
8	1	3
9	3	3
70	3	
1	1	
2		
3	2	
4	2	
5	3	
6	1	
No. of cases.....	19	20
Average.....	71.34	65.90

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

141●

TABLE VIII.—HEIGHT SITTING (Hs)

Measurements (cm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
75		2
6		2
7	1	2
8	1	1
9		6
80	1	3
1	2	1
2	1	2
3	3	2
4	1	
5	4	
6	4	
7		
8		
9	1	
No. of cases.....	19	21
Average.....	83.68	79.14

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

• 141

TABLE IX.—WIDTH OF SHOULDERS BETWEEN ACROMIA (Wsh)

Measurements (*cm.*)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
32		1
3		1
4		3
5	1	6
6	2	1
7	1	7
8	1	1
9	4	
40	2	
1	2	
2	4	
3	1	
4	1	
No. of cases.....	19	20
Average.....	39.92	35.72

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

141

TABLE X.—LENGTH OF FOREARM (Lfa)
(Elbow to tip of middle finger)

Measurements (*cm.*)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
37		1
8		2
9		5
40		5
1	3	7
2	5	
3	6	
4	2	
5	2	
6	1	
No. of cases.....	19	20
Average.....	43.10	39.90

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

141

TABLE XI.—LENGTH OF HEAD—(Lh)

Measurements (mm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
158		1
9		
160		
1		
2		2
3		1
4		3
5	1	
6		
7		
8	1	2
9		2
170	1	3
1		
2	1	3
3		3
4		
5	2	
6		
7		
8	4	1
9	1	
180	3	
1		
2		
3		
4	2	
5		
6		
7	2	
8		
9		
190		
1	1	
No. of cases.....	19	21
Average.....	178.36	168.28

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE XII.—WIDTH OF HEAD (Bh) 141

Measurements (mm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
136	1	
7		1
8		1
9		
140		
1		
2		1
3	1	3
4	2	4
5		
6	2	1
7	2	1
8	3	3
9	2	
150		2
1	1	2
2	1	1
3		
4		1
5	1	
6		
7		
8	2	
9		
160		
1	1	
No. of cases.....	19	21
Average.....	148.94	146.04

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE XIII.—WIDTH OF FACE BETWEEN ZYGOMATIC ARCHES (WI)

Measurements (mm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
125		1
6		
7		1
8		1
9		2
130		2
1		4
2		2
3	2	2
4		3
5	4	2
6		1
7	2	
8		
9	1	
140		
1	1	
2	1	
3	3	
4	2	
5		
6	2	
7	1	
No. of cases	19	21
Average	139.89	131.42

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE XIV.—DISTANCE FROM HAIR LINE TO CHIN (Hfl)

Measurements (mm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
145		1
6		
7		1
8		
9		
150		
1		
2		
3		
4		1
5		2
6		1
7		1
8		1
9	1	2
160		1
1	1	
2	1	
3		1
4	1	1
5		2
6	2	1
7		
8	3	1
9	1	1
170		
1		1
2	1	1
3	1	1
4		

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE XIV.—*Continued*

●141

Measurements (mm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
5	1	
6		
7	1	
8	1	
9	1	
180	1	
1	1	
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7	1	
No. of cases	19	21
Average	171.73	161.00

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE XV.—DISTANCE FROM NASION TO CHIN (HIII)

Measurements (mm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
92		1
3		
4		1
5		
6		
7		1
8		1
9		
100		1
1		2
2	1	
3	2	1
4		1
5		3
6	1	2
7	2	
8		3
9	1	
110	1	
1	2	1
2	1	1
3	2	
4		
5	1	1
6		
7	2	
8	2	1
9		
120		
1		
2	1	
No. of cases	19	21
Average	111.21	104.61

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

●[4]

TABLE XVI.— HEIGHT OF NOSE (8a)

Measurements (mm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
35	1	
7		
8		
9		1
40	1	2
1		1
2		1
3	1	3
4	1	3
5	2	2
6	3	3
7	1	1
8	3	1
9	1	1
50	1	2
1	2	
2	2	
No. of cases	19	21
Average	45.68	44.52

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

141

TABLE XVII—WIDTH OF NOSE BETWEEN ALÆ (Wn)

Measurements (mm.)	Number of individuals	
	Male	Female
30		1
1	1	2
2		3
3	2	5
4	2	3
5	3	1
6	1	
7	4	
8	2	2
9	1	1
40	1	1
1	1	
2	1	
No. of cases	19	21
Average	36.42	34.14

TABLE XVIII.—(IStr)

Index	Number of individuals			
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
97				1
8		1		1
9		3	1	1
100	1	6	3	4
1	2	1	3	1
2	1		5	3
3	5	1	3	1
4	4	1	4	1
5	2	2	1	
6	1	2	1	
7	3			
No. of cases	19	17	21	13
Average	103.78	101.37	102.33	100.62
Average (Nos. 5–17)		102.11		

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

•141

TABLE XIX.—(IHs)

Index	Number of individuals			
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
51		1		
2	2		1	2
3	5	3	7	3
4	8	5	6	3
5	1	4	6	2
6	3	1	1	2
7		1		1
8		1		
9		1		
No. of cases	19	17	21	13
Average	53.88	54.71	54.04	54.46
Average (Nos. 5–17)		54.18		

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

141 •

TABLE XX—(IWsh)

Index	Number of individuals			
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
22		1		
3	1	4	4	1
4	3	5	10	2
5	5	5	3	9
6	4	2	2	1
7	4		1	
8	1			
9	1			
No. of cases	19	17	20	13
Average	25.73	23.78	24.39	23.59
Average (Nos. 5–17)		24.25		

TABLE XXI.—(Ia)

Index	Number of individuals			
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
36				1
7				
8				
9		1		
40				
1				1
2		4	1	
3		2	2	2
4		1	3	4
5	6	5	7	3
6	6	1	5	2
7	6	1	2	
8	1	2		
No. of cases	19	17	20	13
Average	45.97	44.29	44.98	43.58
Average (Nos. 5–17)		45.04		

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

141

TABLE XXII.—FACIAL INDEX (FI)

Index	Number of individuals			
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
65		1		
6				
7				
8		1		1
9				1
70		1	1	
1		3	1	1
2		2		
3		2		2
4	2	1	1	
5	4	1	4	1
6	1	1		1
7	1		1	2
8	1	1	1	
9		1	2	
80	1			
1	1	2	2	
2	3		2	
3	1		1	
4	2		1	
5	1			
6			2	
7			1	
8				
9				
90	1			
1			1	
No. of cases	19	17	21	13
Average	79.59	73.61	79.65	74.69
Average (Nos. 5–17)		74.63		

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE XXIII.—NASAL INDEX (NI)

Index	Number of individuals			
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
63			1	
4				
5				
6				
7	1			
8			1	
9	3		1	
70	1		2	
1				
2			2	
3	1	1		
4	2			
5			2	1
6			2	1
7		2	2	
8			2	1
9	2	1	1	1
80	2			
1		1		
2	2			
3	1			1
4	1	2		2
5		1	2	2
6				
7		1		
8			1	2
9		2	1	1
90		1		
1	1			1

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

• 141

TABLE XXIII.—*Continued*

Index	Number of individuals			
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
2	2	1		
3				
4		1		
5			1	
6				
7		2		
8				
9				
100		1		
No. of cases	19	17	21	13
Average	78.46	86.80	77.00	83.64
Average (Nos. 5–17)		87.41		

TABLE XXIV.—CEPHALIC INDEX (CI)

Index	Number of individuals			
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
76		1		
.5				
7				
.5				
8				
.5				
9				
.5		1		
80	2			
.5	2			

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE XXIV.—*Continued*

141

Index	Number of individuals			
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
1	2			
.5	1			
2			2	2
.5	2	1		
3	1		2	
.5	1	1		
4	2	2	1	
.5		1	1	
5			1	
.5		1	3	
6			1	3
.5				1
7		1	1	2
.5	1	1	1	
8			2	2
.5	2			
9	1	2	1	
.5				
90		1	2	
.5	2	2		
1		1		1
.5			1	
2			1	
.5				
3				2
.5				
4		1		
.5			1	
No. of cases	19	17	21	13
Average	83.58	86.37	86.85	87.30
Average (Nos. 5–17)		86.04		
No. Mesocephalic	10	3	4	2
No. Brachycephalic	9	14	17	11

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

141

TABLE XXV.—TABLE OF RELATIONSHIPS

f	= father	g f	= grandfather
m	= mother	g m	= grandmother
so	= son	g so	= grandson
d	= daughter	g d	= granddaughter
br	= brother	h	= husband
si	= sister	w	= wife

1 = so of 34, 57; br of 13, 14, 44, 49.
2 = so of 23, 52; br of 37.
3 = so of 36, 66; br of 20, 39.
4 = (name, Sapo)
5 = br of 9, 43.
6 = (name, Yukito)
7 = so of 35, 56.
8 = so of 30, 60.
9 = so of 29, 61; br of 5, 43.
10 = so of 33, 63; br of 19, 21. (name, Pablo)
11 = so of 62; g so of 68; br of 15; h of 55.
12 = so of 59.
13 = so of 34, 57; br of 1, 14, 44, 49.
14 = so of 34, 57; br of 1, 13, 44, 49.
15 = so of 62; g so of 68; br of 11.
16 = so of 32, 65; br of 47.
17 = so of 67; br of 31, 45. (name, Jenaro)
18 = (name, Pipa)
19 = so of 33, 63; br of 10, 21. (name, Bellisario)
20 = so of 36, 66; br of 3, 39.
21 = so of 33, 63; br of 10, 19; h of 50. (name, Juan)
22 = h of 51. (name, Pehla'sa)
23 = f of 2, 37; h of 52. (name, Piwañtcitcios Barfiki)
24 = so of 68; br of 62, 59; f of 40. (name, Juan Vicente)
25 = h of 53. (name, José Lisandro)
26 = br of 46. (name, Antonio Tamonero)
27 = h of 58.
28 = br of 29.
29 = h of 61; f of 9, 43; br of 28. (name, Chibu)
30 = f of 8; h of 60. (name, Antonio Nyapa)
31 = so of 67; br of 17, 45; f of 42, 48. (name, Ramón Pichota)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TABLE XXV.—*Continued*

32 = h of 65; f of 16, 47.
33 = h of 63; f of 10, 19, 21. (name, José Trejo)
34 = h of 57; f of 1, 13, 14, 44, 49. (name, Rosendo)
35 = f of 7; h of 56. (name, Sylvester)
36 = h of 66; f of 3, 20, 39. (name, Manuel Sanfiki)
37 = d of 23, 52; si of 2.
38 = si of 41.
39 = d of 36, 66; si of 20, 3.
40 = d of 24; g d of 68.
41 = si of 38.
42 = d of 31; si of 48.
43 = d of 29, 61; si of 5, 9.
44 = d of 34, 57; si of 1, 13, 14, 49.
45 = d of 67; si of 31, 17.
46 = si of 26.
47 = d of 65, 32; si of 16.
48 = d of 31; si of 42.
49 = d of 34, 57; si of 1, 13, 14, 44.
50 = w of 21.
51 = w of 22.
52 = w of 23; m of 2, 37
53 = w of 25.
55 = w of 11.
56 = w of 35; m of 7.
57 = w of 34; m of 1, 13, 14, 44, 49.
58 = w of 27.
59 = m of 12; si of 24.
60 = w of 30; m of 8.
61 = w of 29; m of 9, 43.
62 = w of 68; m of 11, 15; si of 24.
63 = w of 33; m of 10, 19, 21.
65 = w of 32; m of 47, 16.
66 = w of 36; m of 3, 20, 39.
67 = m of 17, 31, 45. (name, María)
68 = m of 24, 62; g m of 11, 15, 40.

of the current. Those going up-stream hug the bank as the pilot digs the tip of his oar blade into the bank, or if the channel is shallow enough, into the bed, and then, placing both hands about ten feet up the oar handle, he shoves back, sending the canoe ahead.

Farm land lies at varying distances back from the river. Each house is backed by a clearing which is used for garden crops or sugar cane. The main farm lands extend back from the river from one to three miles. Flat land is at a premium, and the cultivators work up and down the many hills.

Cayapa Physical Appearance. Although no systematic measurements were made, it was apparent from gross observations that Barrett's (1925:408-445) measurements are still valid. He described the Cayapas as short:

> . . . the men averaging only 155 cm. and the women only 146 cm. The range of individual variation among the men, as also among the women, is 14 cm. Among the men there are at least a few individuals who appeared to be somewhat taller than the maximum here given, but as a tribe the Cayapa must be considered somewhat below average in stature (Barrett 1925:409).

They appear to be mostly brachycephalic. The hair is thick, coarse, black and straight; their skin, light

1: Heimann--1 F-4, 5 (1895-1930) 1932 SD6 Cayapa SD6

THE CAYAPA INDIANS*

by
Max Heimann

In the far north west of the Ecuadorian Republic there is a river named the Santiago. Near the village of Borbon it is joined by one of its tributaries, the Cayapa River. The Cayapa Indians, a harmless tribe consisting of no more than 2500 persons, live on the upper reaches of the Cayapa River and around its sources.

I have never been able to understand why they are called "uncivilized" and "savage." Would it be because they dress more simply, more comfortably, more suitably and cheaply than we European fashion slaves? Or would it be because they speak their own language, unknown to us, and because they do not know how to read and write and do not stuff their heads with the dead weight taught in schools and called "education"? Or even, would it be because they have other customs and manners as well as different moral concepts?

One thing is certain--the Cayapa are happy people, because they are more satisfied with their lot than we Europeans, who are so demanding and feel so superior with our conceit in our sham civilization, in the clothes prescribed for us by the tyrants of "fashion" and in the "wisdom" acquired in schools.

They frequently come to town in small groups of five to 20 persons. I have seen them many hundreds of times, but again and again I am delighted when I meet these small, but well-built and sturdy [282] figures. The men are not taller than 150-160 cm. (Translator--5 ft. to 5ft. 4 in.), while the women are barely 140 cm. (Translator--4 ft. 8 in.). Their skin is copper brown in color.

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* The author a business man, lived in Tumaco (southwest Colombia) for 35 years (1895-1930) and was German Vice-Consul for the Departamento Nariño from 1907 to 1920. Although he never actually visited Cayapa villages, he did have occasions to see and question groups of them "many hundreds of times," on their frequent visits to Tumaco. Apart from this, several of his employees have been in Cayapa villages and have given him reports. (K. Th. Preuss).

142 Their bodies are clean, and I have never seen a Cayapa who had a
[515] rash or boils, and only few who had scars. Their hair is thick, bristly
[302] and dull black in color; the beardless men wear it semi-long to the
nape of the neck, while the women let it hang loose and open so that
it not only covers their backs and ears, but in part even their fore-
291 heads and cheeks. Their clothes are extremely modest. The men
wear a sleeveless, shirt-like, loose gown, which usually reaches to
the hips only, but is sometimes longer, reaching to the knees, in
which case it seems to be the holiday attire, and it looks richer hav-
ing a border of differently colored cloth. These clothes are made of
thin, very bright and cheap cotton materials. On special occasions
292 they even dress in gala clothes, which differ from their every-day
531 clothes in that they are decorated with straight lines or zig-zag de-
301 signs of shells. In addition they may deck themselves out in their
177 most precious ornaments consisting of two to ten long necklaces made
of multi-colored glass beads as well as (at least from their point of
view) especially beautiful neck and arm ornaments consisting of the
cardboards 6 cm. wide so well known to all of us, with a whole gross
of ordinary porcelain shirt-buttons on each just as they were delivered
by the European manufacturers. But even among them there are
292 dandies and fashion hounds, who manage to pick up a useless old
177 black waistcoat somewhere, which they then decorate with a lot of
white shells and buttons, wearing it as a sort of open vest over their
red or blue shirts. But imagine the happiness of the young man who
in addition to this splendor, has managed to acquire a stiff round felt
hat. No matter how shabby, battered, greasy and much too small it
may be on his fat pate with the thick mop of hair, he is proud of his
elegance and would not change places even with the governor. The
622 Gobernador de los Cayapas (Governor of the Cayapas) is one of their
177 chiefs, of which each village or district has one—yes of course—he
292 is a great gentleman—he can afford it—he not only wears a shell
301 bedecked waistcoat over his red cotton shirt, but over it still another
long, black morning-coat, which he has bought from or been given
by Don So-and-so, because it had become too tight, unfashionable
or shabby for the latter. And around his neck and wrists he wears
especially wide cardboards with buttons in proportion to his dignity.
Naturally it would be considered unseemly for a governor to come to
town without suitable head-gear, even if it be only a self-made straw
panama hat for lack of a black felt hat. But even he does not wear
[293] trousers or shoes, which are considered superfluous and burdensome;
instead he carries in his right hand a wooden stick five feet long with
a silver knob as a symbol of his position and power.

437 They have sold the new small canoes, tree bark mats
[501 (damajaguas), palm-leaf fans, rubber and rolls of liana (these are
285 used in the construction of bamboo huts to tie up the palm-leaves
283] on the [284] roofs and for some other purposes in lieu of string),
which they have brought from the villages and with the cash they
have earned they now make their small purchases. They have
few wants and do not need much: a few feet of cotton cloth, a
chopping knife, some salt, a small mirror, glass beads, fish hooks,
[411] powder and small shot for the old muzzle-loader which a few of
them may own. This would be all their heart desires. It is little,
even very little, and yet it takes long, even very long, until they
have made their choice and finally decided to buy. First they
talk it over among themselves in their guttural and sónorous lan-
guage and then they start bargaining, and then they count out their
money slowly and cautiously; finally having managed to get the
[462] desired goods, they packed them into the nearly full basket car-
ried by the wife. The women and girls timidly hide behind their
576 menfolk. When spoken to, they do not answer, although they
571 understand sufficient Spanish. Their jealous menfolk have strictly
[191] forbidden them to enter into conversation with men of other races
or tribes. They draw back bashfully. But if the husband is not
present, only the mother or brother, the women become very
loquacious, especially when their tongue has been untied by a
small present—a mirror, necklace or something of the kind. And
they are happy beyond words if you caress their little child, who
looks like a Japanese baby painted brown, and has a friendly smile
even for a stranger. It is amusing to watch the women meeting a
fashionably dressed lady in one of the shops; then they surround
her laughing, amazed and admiring, but they do not appear to be
jealous of the lace dresses worn by European women. The men,
on the other hand, do not honor even the most beautiful and most
elegant white lady with so much as a glance.

142 The Cayapa girls are pretty from the age of 12 to 16 years,
302 their bodies somewhat plump, but still with a beautiful shape.
584 Sometimes young men and women can be seen with red and black
streaks and dots on their faces, chest, arms and legs; this is a
sign that they are engaged.

505 Once their business in town is finished they prepare for the re-
turn journey to their villages. "Adios compadre, adios compadres,"
and chattering and laughing, happy and content, they hurry to
the shore where their canoes are moored. On their way they

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

291
249
142

HARVESTING CANE

[p. 62(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

241
●142
302

YOUTH IN ORDINARY COSTUME

[p. 62(b)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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MAN AND WOMAN IN EVERYDAY DRESS

[p. 12(c)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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A TYPICAL FAMILY GROUP

[p. 62(0)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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765

WOMAN WEARING NECKLACE AND BRACELETS

[p. 64-A]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

291
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WOMAN WEARING DOUBLE MANTA

[p. 69(2)]

3: Barrett E-S (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

211
192
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301

WOMAN'S CUSTOMARY COIFFURE

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

211
142
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301

SINGLE MANTA AND TASSELED GIRDLE

[p. 64(D)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

A FAMILY GROUP

PAMPLET CAYAPA INDIANS

291
142
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594

[p. 64(F)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

142
212
304
302
346
501

FIESTEROS AND CHURCH AT PUNTA VENADO

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p.64(F)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

242
142
301
302

YOUNG MEN DRESSED FOR FIESTA

[p. 64 (6)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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142
302

A TYPICAL HAIR-CUT

[p. 64(H)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME

[p. 64(1)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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302
292
301

FIESTA COSTUME COMPLETED WITH A VEST

[p. 64 (J)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

292
177
142
302

FIESTA COSTUME WITH FOREIGN HAT

[p. 66(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

292
301
42
302
177

FIESTA COSTUMES

[p. 66(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

142
292
301
302

BOY DRESSED FOR FIESTA

[p. 66(c)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

142
292
302

BOY DRESSED FOR FIESTA

[p. 66 (D)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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302
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301

FIESTA COSTUMES

[p. 66(E)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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242
301
302

FIESTA COSTUME

[p. 66(?)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

p.2
242
301
302

FIESTA COSTUME
[p.66 (b)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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301
302

FIESTA COSTUME

[p. 66 (6)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

J: Barrett E.-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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242
301
302

[p. 66(3)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

are certain differences of age, the girls being on the whole somewhat older than the boys. To obviate this a computation has been made in which the last 13 measurements of boys (nos. 5–17) only have been taken. As it happens, these measurements are of individuals more nearly of the same age of the thirteen girls measured, and the element of extreme youth among the boys is thus eliminated. This computation gives an index of 86.04, which still leaves the index of the boys much nearer that of the women than that of the men, the differences being 0.71 and 2.46 respectively. 141

It would appear therefore that the head proportions among the adult females differ very little from those of childhood, while in the males the head has a marked tendency to elongate with advancing years.

While dealing with the physical characteristics of the Cayapa it should be noted that in certain of those outward characteristics which are most manifest to the eye, the individual differences are very great. The hair varies from jet-black to a very dark-brown in color, and from absolute straightness to a very pleasing waviness, though in no case is there any near approach to curliness. It is ordinarily fine, though among the men some individuals are found whose hair is moderately coarse. These features are, of course, more noticeable in the women that in the men, since the women always wear their hair long and flowing, whereas the men keep their hair cropped fairly short, though in earlier times they too wore long hair. In many cases the women's hair reaches to the waist, and is very full and heavy. Such, for instance, is the case with the middle-aged woman 142 142 302

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

shown in pl. xx. Under ordinary circumstances most women wear their hair full-length in this way, but frequently a case (as in pl. xix) is found where the hair is comparatively short. This is due to the custom of cropping the hair on the death of a relative. An example of waviness of the hair is given in the case of the woman shown in the latter plate. The hair in this case is dark-brown. With advancing years the hair tends to become thinner, but no case of even partial baldness was observable either among the men or the women. Throughout life the hair retains its color in almost every instance, but rarely a person is seen who shows a sign of grayness, and one old man was found whose hair was white—it had become thus many years before, though no one knew the cause. No other individual with white or even partially white hair was encountered, and it was claimed by the Indians that the old man referred to was the only individual in the tribe who exhibited this peculiarity. The fact that the hair retains its color so well is probably due to the fact that the Cayapa practically never wear any form of head-covering.

Considerable variations are found in the form of the nose. In some it is wide and rather flat toward its tip, this appearance being due to a considerable distension of the nostrils, the openings of the nostrils being in many cases quite round. However, it escapes completely any approach to the true mongoloid type from the fact that in no case is there such a lack of bridge as is found in the real mongoloid nose. In fact, the contrary is quite the case, and in many instances the bridge is quite high, giving the nose the impression of slight aquilinity.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

One individual was observed whose bridge was quite high and aquiline, though this was a decided exception. In these high-bridged noses the actual width of the nose at the alæ is usually somewhat less than in the more monogoloid type above mentioned.

So far as noted, the eyes are invariably dark-brown, and the upper lids often show more or less of the mongoloid fold. In some instances this fold is so marked as to give the eyes a perceptible slant. In many other individuals, on the other hand, the fold is so slight as to be almost unnoticeable, and the eyes are wide and frank in consequence. In most cases the supraorbital ridges are not at all prominent; the forehead therefore appears full and is also fairly high. Now and then is found an individual, especially among the men, whose supraorbital ridges are fairly pronounced. The eyebrows are usually black, but are only moderately heavy.

In almost every case the malars are high and prominent, and the general appearance of the face as a whole is round, though now and then is seen a person whose face gives the appearance of much greater length than breadth.

In the majority of individuals the upper lip is fairly broad and heavy, though the lips are in no case unusually thick. In most instances the chin has moderate prominence, though it never shows any special degree of protrusion.

No opportunity was presented for actually weighing any individuals, but from their general appearance it may be said that as a rule they tend neither to obesity nor to thinness. Now and then slightly obese or slightly

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

• 142 spare individuals are found, but as a rule they are in that state which would be termed "in good flesh." It is noticeable, however, among the very young children that there is a marked protrusion of the abdomen. In most cases this may probably be ascribed to the fact that their diet consists very largely of green plantains and that they devour these in quantities at all times of day; however, it must be said that no illness seems to result from this practice. As the children advance in years this protrusion of the abdomen grows less, and during the greater part of their remaining years they are well proportioned in every respect. Now and then is encountered an old person who tends toward protrusion of the abdomen in declining years, but these instances are exceptional.

In color the Cayapa are a fairly light reddish-brown. They are, in fact, much lighter than the average of the North American Indians, and it seems probable that the climatic conditions under which they live have at least something to do with this particular feature. As was stated in speaking of the climatic conditions in the Cayapa country, the sky is almost continuously overcast, the sun rarely shining brightly for more than a few minutes at a time. Even these short intervals of sunshine are very infrequent, sometimes weeks and even months passing without full sunshine. Furthermore, the Cayapa region is almost windless. While rains are practically of daily occurrence, they are almost never accompanied with wind or other storm features. Tanning from sun or wind is therefore practically impossible so long as the Cayapa remain at home.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

142 484 An interesting example of the possible differences in skin color is shown, however, when any of the Indians journey to the coast, and especially if they voyage a considerable distance at sea, which they frequently do when some of them have occasion to visit Tumaco or Esmeraldas. On such occasions they take their canoes [505] out to sea and paddle, skirting the shore-line for a considerable number of miles. The trip from Limones to Esmeraldas necessitates a journey of about fifty miles on the open sea, and ordinarily requires at least a week. [292] For such trips the Cayapa usually dress specially, in that they put on extra necklaces, neckbands, and wristbands, and otherwise ornament themselves for the occasion. Their tight-fitting neckbands and wristbands are never taken off while they are away from home, consequently the portions of the skin covered by them are protected from the influence of the elements. When they return home, however, this finery is usually taken off. The 142 contrast between the covered portions of skin and the exposed parts is striking, even though the intervals of sunshine along the coast are practically as infrequent as along the river. The sea breeze has a marked tanning effect, consequently the traveler returns home almost as brown as many of our North American Indians who are subjected to sun and wind during much of the year. The covered portions of the skin, however, remain the same color as when the Cayapa leaves home, and it is therefore possible to contrast the natural color with the tan. No color charts were available for purposes of comparison and exact record, but the differences between these two tints are considerable and show the natural color of the Cayapa, as previously mentioned, to be

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6
Cholo

142 much lighter than that of the average North American Indians.

In a word, therefore, the Cayapa may be said to be a well proportioned, though somewhat undersized, light-brown people, with brachycephalic heads, black or dark-brown hair which varies from straight to wavy, to show considerable variation in the shape of the nose, to have very dark-brown eyes, wide upper lips, full and fairly high foreheads, high cheekbones and round faces, and to have supraorbital ridges and chins that are not at all prominent.

No opportunity was presented to measure the few Cholo who live on the Rio Cayapas. They are, however, of quite a different type from the Cayapa, being somewhat shorter and more thick-set than the latter, and as a rule more mongoloid in general appearance. In pls. CXL-CXLII are shown two boys, two girls, and one young man of about twenty-one years, all members of this tribe.

Measurements

In the accompanying tables the following abbreviations are used:

St, Stature.
Sie, Stretch of arms.
Sh, Height of shoulder (acromion).
Hmf, Height of middle finger from surface upon which heel rests.

of the current. Those going up-stream hug the bank as the pilot digs the tip of his oar blade into the bank, or if the channel is shallow enough, into the bed, and then, placing both hands about ten feet up the oar handle, he shoves back, sending the canoe ahead.

Farm land lies at varying distances back from the river. Each house is backed by a clearing which is used for garden crops or sugar cane. The main farm lands extend back from the river from one to three miles. Flat land is at a premium, and the cultivators work up and down the many hills.

Cayapa Physical Appearance. Although no systematic measurements were made, it was apparent from gross observations that Barrett's (1925:408-445) measurements are still valid. He described the Cayapas as short:

> . . . the men averaging only 155 cm. and the women only 146 cm. The range of individual variation among the men, as also among the women, is 14 cm. Among the men there are at least a few individuals who appeared to be somewhat taller than the maximum here given, but as a tribe the Cayapa must be considered somewhat below average in stature (Barrett 1925:409).

They appear to be mostly brachycephalic. The hair is thick, coarse, black and straight; their skin, light

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brown. A few of them are tatooed on the arms and the blue of the ink stands out very clearly. Mongoloid characteristics such as the epicanthric fold, the Mongoloid spot, and high cheekbones are very common, but in contrast to the Mongoloid nose, the Cayapa nose is often bridged. Occasionally one finds individuals with very high-bridged noses of aquiline shape. Their eyes are uniformly dark brown, and the whites are seldom clear but have a brownish tinge that would seem to indicate a high incidence of liver disorders. Most Cayapa, especially the women, seem to be somewhat round-faced. The men, while short, are very well-proportioned and have tremendous strength in their arms and shoulders which probably stems from their technique of canoe handling. As a rule, the women are thick-waisted, the result, perhaps partly at least, of their characteristic canoe handling. They generally paddle in a seated position, using a very short paddle, which requires many rapid short strokes for effective maneuvering, and they necessarily have to lean forward to make efficient use of the short paddle.

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Clothing and Adornment. Many men are quite

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

shown in pl. xx. Under ordinary circumstances most women wear their hair full-length in this way, but frequently a case (as in pl. xix) is found where the hair is comparatively short. This is due to the custom of cropping the hair on the death of a relative. An example of waviness of the hair is given in the case of the woman shown in the latter plate. The hair in this case is dark-brown. With advancing years the hair tends to become thinner, but no case of even partial baldness was observable either among the men or the women. Throughout life the hair retains its color in almost every instance, but rarely a person is seen who shows a sign of grayness, and one old man was found whose hair was white—it had become thus many years before, though no one knew the cause. No other individual with white or even partially white hair was encountered, and it was claimed by the Indians that the old man referred to was the only individual in the tribe who exhibited this peculiarity. The fact that the hair retains its color so well is probably due to the fact that the Cayapa practically never wear any form of head-covering.

Considerable variations are found in the form of the nose. In some it is wide and rather flat toward its tip, this appearance being due to a considerable distension of the nostrils, the openings of the nostrils being in many cases quite round. However, it escapes completely any approach to the true mongoloid type from the fact that in no case is there such a lack of bridge as is found in the real mongoloid nose. In fact, the contrary is quite the case, and in many instances the bridge is quite high, giving the nose the impression of slight aquilinity.

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Clothing and Adornment. Many men are quite

294 462

The Negroes, however, wean their children after one year, and some Cayapa women are beginning to imitate them. Weaning is accomplished by shaming or ridiculing the child, or frightening him with stories of cannibalistic ogres, or applying bitter tasting substances to the nipple.

The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that arise from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. This stems in major part from the fact that the child is generally kept within the confines of the home at these ages. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls; it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. Consequently his movements within the house are restricted and he is effectively blocked off from direct sunlight and on canoe trips he is usually placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is

4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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seldom brought home to the confined child: the adults eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors at the riverside. During his fifth year when he is permitted to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit, the incidence of skin disease decreases and his sickly appearance disappears.

Children are wanted and beloved. As an example of permissiveness, they are allowed to indulge in cookies, candies, sugar and soft drinks, but conversely an element of teasing often enters the picture. To illustrate, a small child will be offered a candy, which, when he reaches for it, will be snatched away. Reactions to this affront vary: some children cry; others just sit looking forlorn. The adults seem to enjoy this teasing. An impressive example of contrastive behavior presented itself one day as a group of Indian women and their children came to visit us. Everyone was seated on the floor in a circle, and the conversation was desultory. Finally, a woman took a piece of candy and handed it to my son who was sitting on his mother's lap. As he reached out eagerly for the titbit, the woman brought her hand back. At this everyone laughed, but the child

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until the child is about four years of age. The Cayuga child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, retard teeth and skin diseases that stem from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. Prior to this time the child may have been extremely healthy. During the period of confinement to the house he is effectively blocked off from sunlight within the house and on rare trips he is placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is seldom brought home to the confined child; the adults eat it as they pick it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors on the river side. The child is permitted, indeed encouraged to eat refined sugar by the first fall and to drink soda pop. During his fifth year when he is permitted to leave the confines of the house he is able to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit; then the incidence of skin diseases decreases and his rickety appearance disappears.

The low sexual drive of the white male Cayuga is best reflected in his replies to questions on the frequency of coitus. Revealing that sexual prowess is admired, married men in their late twenties and early

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Clothing and Adornment. Many men are quite

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Father's el. sn. da. /[illegible]/
Father's sn. br. son /[illegible]/ w.s., /[illegible]/ m.s.
Mother's br. son's wife /[illegible]/
Husband's fa. el. son /[illegible]/
Mother's br. son's son /[illegible]/ m.s.
Father's father's el. son /[illegible]/ m.s.
Mother's br. sn. daughter /[illegible]/

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<u>Pregnancy and Birth</u>. The Cayapa understand that there is a connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy but believe that repeated intercourse is necessary for conception. A woman is known to be pregnant when the menstrual period ceases and the areolae and nipples /[illegible]/ become enlarged and darker. There do not seem to be any abnormal food cravings nor are there any food taboos. There is some feeling of "shame" concerning pregnancy, and a woman never tells her husband or anyone else that she is pregnant. It will soon be obvious to everyone anyway.

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[262]

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The woman continues her normal routine until she is well advanced in her pregnancy, at which time she remains in the house where she eventually gives birth. Children have been born at <u>fiestas</u>, and I was a partial witness to such a birth at a <u>fiesta</u> at <u>Zorrillo Grande</u>. The party was an <u>afuenda</u> given by Marianito Araya in honor of his parents, who had died

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until the child is about four years of age. The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that stem from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. [Prior to this time the child may have been extremely healthy.] During the period of confinement to the house he is effectively blocked off from sunlight within the house and on canoe trips he is placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is seldom brought home to the confined child; the adults eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors at the river side. The child is permitted, indeed encouraged to eat refined sugar by the fist full and to drink soda pop. During his fifth year when he is permitted to leave the confines of the house he is able to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit; then the incidence of skin diseases decreases and his rickety appearance disappears.

The low sexual drive of the adult male Cayapa is best reflected in his replies to questions on the frequency of coitus. Recalling that sexual prowess is admired, married men in their late twenties and early

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thirties spoke of "maybe twice a week." It would appear that the Cayapa, even at his [illegible] best, operates sexually at a very low level. One Cayapa termed coitus "[illegible]—a little like work." Another informant, when asked if he enjoyed sex, replied, "[illegible]—sure I like it, but not much." It is my impression that there is a very large minority among the Cayapa who feel along with Lord Chesterfield that "the position is ridiculous, the pleasure is momentary, and the price is outrageous."

The woman's genital behavior is more forward, as attested by our legal material, so that it must be noted, "If female children receive the same kind and amount of toilet training as the male, and the same nursing and weaning, how can this come about, especially since I have postulated that the male sexual patterns arise out of oral fixation which is the result of the juxtaposition of harsh sphincter training and breast feeding and/or weaning?"

Both males and females strive for greatly intensified oral incorporation. Not only is sexual intercourse spoken of as the vagina eating the penis, but a man tells a woman with whom he enjoys sex "[illegible]—

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the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense interpersonal relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in three different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa:Cayapa, Cayapa:Negro, and Cayapa:White.

> . . . anxiety acquired in childhood might be generalized to other people . . . because of their similarity to the persons responsible for the frustration and punishment of the child--their similarity, above all, to the child's parents (Whiting and Child 1962:267).

Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa--much more so than Negroes and Whites.

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The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by avoidance or

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[P 216]

CHAPTER VI

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSION

The basic personality of the Cayapa is marked by anxiety, suspicion, and lack of confidence. Cooperation is minimal, and social cohesion is maintained through the use of alcohol. Cayapa culture is marked by extremely heavy permissive drinking patterns. The Cayapa drink to get drunk: they drink at weddings and funerals: they drink for joy and sorrow: they drink out of fear when an earthquake appears to threaten the end of the world: and they drink to screw up enough courage to bring litigation before the chief. While they are not at all addicted to alcohol, they are to some extent dependent upon it. The dependency arises out of a deep-rooted basic anxiety that is manifested by a generalized fear of others, an inability to maintain friendships, low male sex drive, female sexual forwardness and latent homosexuality. Following Kardiner (Kardiner et al. 1939; 1945), it will be posited that there is a connection between the primary institution of child rearing, the Basic Personality Structure, and

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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the system of law and government as their derivatives.

Dependency on alcohol is generally recognized as a means of reducing anxiety, although specific interpretations may differ as to the nature of the anxiety. My analysis of drinking in Cayapa culture is based on psychoanalytic theory as the data seem to fit best within that framework.

> Addictive alcoholism is classified as an oral perversion. This perversion results from traumas that occurred during the earliest stage of psychosexual development, at the time when the individual's means of achieving security and release from tension was through stimulation of the oral cavity (Chafetz and Demone, Jr. 1962: 31).

Cayapa infancy and childhood may be seen as classic examples of oral fixation derived from a traumatic blocking of normal psychosexual development. Drinking is also related to homosexuality. "Since the fixation at the oral stage is so early, in psychosexual development, the alcoholic has never achieved a genital level of differentiation and is so desirous of receiving love, he does not differentiate the sex of the provider" (Chafetz and Demone, Jr. 1962:41). Although no overt homosexuality is observed among the Cayapa, a great deal of

[P. 216]

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

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homoerotic play is evident during fiestas and, because of the low male sex drive, may be the substitute.

During Cayapa infancy and early childhood, children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training long before the anal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely. The coincidence of the harsh toilet training and the availability of the breast leads to an intensification of oral gratification and a positive psychosexual fixation at this stage. We have already described the toilet training of the Cayapa infant and child, and discussed the extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces on the part of adolescents. The fact that the child is often permitted almost immediately to suck the nipple after having gone through a truly frightening experience involving defecation as described above, structures the peculiarly poignant oral fixation of the Cayapa infant and gives a heightened intensity. The oral fixation derived from anal frustration at such a very early period, is the psychological equivalent of oral frustration and is later intensified by the weaning practices. Weaning is accomplished by

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shaming, ridicule, the application of bitter tasting substances, or frightening the child with stories of cannibalistic nurses.) Thus, within the psychoanalytic framework, the seeds of dependency drinking are sown and begin to develop.

> . . . oral frustrations in the infant result in cannibalistic fantasies toward the mother's breast and her total person. Because the child projects its feelings and fantasies, it also views the external world as cannibalistic and develops fears of objects in it. This results in an unconscious fear of being devoured by the love object. The vagina, which is unconsciously equated with the mouth, comes to represent the castrating, devouring organ. Such anticipations result in avoidance of the heterosexual object . . . (Bieber 1962:6-7).

For the Cayapa, the equation of vagina:mouth is not at all unconscious. The vagina dentata motif is clearly present, and sexual intercourse is spoken of as the vagina eating the penis. As for cannibalistic fantasies, they still exist in the stories that the Cayapa tell of the wild Indians who lived in the area before them: these Indians were cannibals and preyed on the Cayapa. The fantasies are also used to manipulate events. When I first explored the Cayapa area up to the Río Tigre, I decided to do my work among the Cayapa of the San

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Miguel section and, after reaching an agreement on the location of a house, I made a down payment for the purchase of roofing material. Two weeks later I returned with my family, but was told that we could not settle in the San Miguel section- the inhabitants were afraid of us, as they had heard we were cannibals. The rumor had been started by people of the Punta Venado section who wanted us to live with them. Earlier, a resident missionary had started a small dispensary among the San Miguel group, and another missionary was conducting a very large medical practice in the Espalla Grande section. Since the people of Punta Venado wanted a medical gringo, too, they started the rumors of our cannibalistic propensities to frighten the people of San Miguel into rejecting us so that we would move in with them. They told the stories with such gusto that for a brief period, even after we settled among them, they believed the fantasies were indeed true.

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It is not only the complex of sphincter training, nursing and weaning that convinces the young boy that the world and its objects are threatening and cannibalistic, but play behavior also. A common game that parents and older siblings play with young males is to

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hold the child high overhead, open the mouth and then close it over the child's genitals. The game is never played with female children. As far as gross observation can tell, the experience is not at all frightening to the child; it is, however, oral incorporation of no mean order and fits quite comfortably within the pattern that is beginning to unfold. Alternately rejected and over-indulged, the child is unable to develop a sense of security, personal worth, or control over his behavior.

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> What enduring qualities are rooted in this muscular and anal stage? From the sense of inner goodness emanates autonomy and pride; from the sense of badness, doubt and shame. To develop autonomy a firmly developed and convincingly continued state of early trust is necessary. The infant must come to feel that his basic faith in himself and in the world (which is the lasting treasure saved from the conflicts of the oral stage) will not be jeopardized by this sudden violent wish to have a choice, to appropriate demandingly and to eliminate stubbornly. . . His environment must both live up to his wish to "stand on his own feet" lest he be overcome by that sense . . . which we call shame, or that secondary mistrust . . . which we call doubt (Erickson 1950: 68-69).

"Autonomous motivation," for Dorothy Lee, is the ring and pin of the human condition (Lee 1961:103-121). But autonomy and pride or doubt and shame are derived from the resolution of the problems that beset the child

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through the various stages of his psychosexual development. For the Cayapa, autonomous motivation and independence is considerably reduced and heard only faintly in a very muted minor key. Even the penis is said to be able to think for itself, at least in terms of sex, for "when the penis wants to bother a woman it erects itself." This seeming lack of involvement or control of an erogenous body area has been amply demonstrated in terms of Erickson's psychosexual approach. This is paralleled to some extent by Robert W. White's discussion of effectance motivation, wherein the organism attempts to develop competence and mastery over his environment, and competence, states White, finds expression elsewhere, as well as in the erogenous bodily zones. As we shall see, this is most certainly not an either/or proposition, but more in the nature of a complimentary approach to Erickson's framework. White's position is very important for the light it throws on the Cayapa data, and requires an extended quotation.

> Clearly we are dealing with important problems of development, but is it correct to place the decisive struggle in the bathroom? Does the child in toilet training provide an adequate model, a sufficient interpretative nucleus, for all that is going on? Let us

4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD4 Cayapa SD4

155

introduce again the competence model and see whether or not it can help us with the problems of this stage. It is worth noticing at the outset that direct observation does not give the libido theory the kind of support it provided in the oral stage. To be sure, there is plenty of evidence, even in the pages of the clean-minded Gesell, that children are interested in anal functions, that they play with feces, and that they experience frustration and conflict over the process of training. But direct observation would never suggest that these happenings were the central preoccupations of the second and third years, nor would introspection convince us that retaining and eliminating could have anything like the intensity of oral pleasure. The evidence for a stage of predominantly anal libido thus rests heavily upon the reconstructions that occur in psychoanalytic treatment. On the other hand direct observation has long recognized a sharp and significant crisis in human relations, usually called two-year old negativism . . . We may be dealing here with a profound intrinsic crisis in the growth of social competence.

Let us ask what the child accomplishes during the second and third years in the way of competent interactions with his environment. As regards locomotion he starts as an awkward toddler, but by the middle of the second year he becomes a restless runabout . . . It is this picture of persistent, driven motor activity that led Mittelmann . . . to postulate a motility urge. The second and third years . . . show the most rapid growth of motility; he even asserts that at this stage the motor urge "dominated all other urges." Motility is seen by him as "one of the most important avenues for exercising such functions as mastery, integration, reality testing, and control of impulses--usually referred to in analysis as ego functions." There is an increasing emphasis now on motor accomplishment leading to self-esteem (White 1960: 115-116).

Given his peculiarly harsh, intense and very early training in sphincter control, the Cayapa's autonomous motivation, or competence, is derived in no small degree from the little drama that is enacted daily on the causeway behind the cooking area. This interpretation of the rigorous training, however, does not refute the importance of the motility urge, but enhances it. As a rule, the child undergoes the severe training in sphincter control and perhaps weaning, at the same time that he is frustrated in his exploratory forays outside the house, precisely when he is in the stage of heightened motility. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls; it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. As a result, he is not permitted to master, integrate and test the world outside his home. He is confined within the house except for family movements for work-visits with relations or to fiestas [where he is still confined within the limits of the house] This confinement lasts

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until the child is about four years of age. The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that stem from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. [Prior to this time the child may have been extremely healthy.] During the period of confinement to the house he is effectively blocked off from sunlight within the house and on cause trips he is placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is seldom brought home to the confined child; the adults eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors at the river side. The child is permitted, indeed encouraged to eat refined sugar by the fist full and to drink soda pop. During his fifth year when he is permitted to leave the confines of the house he is able to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit; then the incidence of skin diseases decreases and his rickety appearance disappears.

The low sexual drive of the adult male Cayapa is best reflected in his replies to questions on the frequency of coitus. Recalling that sexual prowess is admired, married men in their late twenties and early

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thirties spoke of "maybe twice a week." It would appear that the Cayapa, even at his [illegible] best, operates sexually at a very low level. One Cayapa termed coitus "[illegible]—a little like work." Another informant, when asked if he enjoyed sex, replied, "[illegible]—sure I like it, but not much." It is my impression that there is a very large minority among the Cayapa who feel along with Lord Chesterfield that "the position is ridiculous, the pleasure is momentary, and the price is outrageous."

The woman's genital behavior is more forward, as attested by our legal material, so that it must be asked, "If female children receive the same kind and amount of toilet training as the male, and the same nursing and weaning, how can this come about, especially since I have postulated that the male sexual patterns arise out of oral fixation which is the result of the juxtaposition of harsh sphincter training and breast feeding and/or weaning?"

Both males and females strive for greatly intensified oral incorporation. Not only is sexual intercourse spoken of as the vagina eating the penis, but a man tells a woman with whom he enjoys sex "/nʸú suámbu/—

4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD4 Cayapa SD4

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your vagina is delicious." but the matter is resolved differently for girls.

> . . . owing to the fact that a girl's 'grasginess' does not need to remain fixated in the mouth . . . it can normally shift to the vagina and pass for genital behavior (Erickson 1950:90).

The sexual forwardness of the women [forward only in comparison with the backwardness of the males], is not true genital behavior but rather an expression of incorporative fixation, and is psychologically equivalent to the heavy dependency drinking of the Cayapa male. Cayapa women also drink and get drunk, but their drinking is only the palest reflection of the drinking behavior of the men; the psychological needs of the women, it is quite clear, are satisfied more genitally.

[279

Affiliative Behavior. Affiliative behavior is characteristic of many animal orders, and especially of the primate. On the human level, affiliative needs are intensified by the peculiarly human process of socialization, and the general dyadic patterns of 'Me-You,' 'Them-Us,' as learned behavior, become formed in the cultural expectancies that mark an individual's psycho-

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sexual-social development. This leads to friendship relationships of one kind or another, and as we have been told, in bi-lateral societies, these relationships are especially marked by elaborate gift giving or other dyadic exchanges (Sahlins 1960:76-87). For the Cayapa, affiliative behavior, as expressed in these terms, can only be found in rudimentary form. One might almost say that the Cayapa practice a form of avoidance behavior that is extended to all non-kin. This avoidance is not pronounced with the Negroes and Whites. Commonly, one may see a Cayapa guiding his canoe downstream, coming abreast of another Indian poling his way upstream. They turn their heads away from each other and pass in silence, unless they are family or very well known to each other. When an Indian passes a Negro or a White, or passes in front of their houses, loud salutations are exchanged. From within a Cayapa house, when the sounds of a canoe on the river are heard, people rush to the edge of the house and peer intently; if it is a Cayapa canoe, excited whispers are heard "/ˈtɛ̃ɛ̃i/" which means 'people.' No word is exchanged, the "people" in the canoe glide past with averted glances.

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At the Negro village of Camerones, Indians wander about and visit casually the homes of many of the Negroes whom they know. Among themselves there are no casual visits to friends--there are really no friends, with the possible exception of some of the pupils at the Encanto Indian school. The language has no word for "friend" beyond the Spanish loan-word. There is family and not-family and, one does not visit family casually either. There must be a purpose beyond a desire just to visit. Dyadic relations are easily set up with the Negroes and are quasi-friendships that are quite clearly instrumental on both sides. I have no count but my decided impression is that prestation increases markedly between Indian and Negro. Negroes very often ask to become a god-parent for a minor ceremonial occasion when the child's nails are cut for the first time. The nail parings are placed in a cup of rum and drunk by the father and the Negro god-father. Small gifts are exchanged of little monetary value, and food is consumed along with the alcohol. Thenceforth at very irregular intervals, small presents will be exchanged. Gifting, while not especially generous on any level, showed an apparent increase with

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the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense interpersonal relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in three different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa:Cayapa, Cayapa:Negro, and Cayapa:White.

> . . . anxiety acquired in childhood might be generalized to other people . . . because of their similarity to the persons responsible for the frustration and punishment of the child--their similarity, above all, to the child's parents (Whiting and Child 1962:267).

Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa--much more so than Negroes and Whites.

The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by avoidance or

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highly restrictive interpersonal involvements. When in their canoes, which pass each other quickly, they can easily and effectively avoid each other. Where they cannot pass by rapidly, as at the weeklong fiestas at the ceremonial centers, heavy drinking is required to get the law-jobs done, arrange the marriages, and to maintain a minimum of social integration and interaction. With the increase in social integration and interaction brought about by liberal amounts of alcohol, a new factor can be noticed. For some, latent homosexuality comes close to the surface in the form of homoeroticism. Young boys may be seen on the floor wrapped in each other's arms, and young men may be seen seated in the same hammock, facing each other, holding hands. It must be emphasized that this is not homosexual per se, but erotic in the sense of a transfer of libininal affect to another male. I have only witnessed this behavior at the fiestas. If the Cayapa have strong latent homosexual tendencies where the generalized fear of others may be seen "as a defense against sexual anxieties . . . against homosexual tendencies" (Whiting and Child 1962:269), why then do we not find it in its sexual

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manifestations? The psychoanalytic frame of reference regarding homosexuality is directly relevant for the Cayapa.

> The wish to have a larger penis, in general reflects a feeling of unacceptability and inadequacy, in particular a feeling of sexual inadequacy: a belief, usually unconsciously held, that sexual functioning has been injured and is vulnerable to further injury; a wish to supersede other males who are feared and regarded as superior. The wish for a larger penis and excessive fearfulness is significantly associated . . . (Rieber 1962: 181).

The Cayapa tell a story of an ogre who is very ugly and black and looks like a Negro; he has a very long penis with which he kills women. Here we see all of the requisite feelings for a predisposition to homosexuality as well as an expression of underlying Cayapa-Negro attitudes, marked, from the point of view of the Cayapa, by fear, aggression, envy, and sexual inadequacy.

Manifest homosexualism would be a behavioral innovation, requiring of its innovator extraordinary determination, very much akin to the persistent and determined polygynous and incestuous behavior that has been noted in the legal material. It appears that one

of the main requirements for homosexuality is a profound feeling of fear and inadequacy, hardly the sort of person who would persistently and doggedly pursue this rather striking innovation. It should be noted that the Cayapa flatly deny the existence of homosexual practices. Just once did an informant admit that "maybe some boys" practiced mutual masturbation.

In the recently built Indian school at Encanto, boys and young men now maintain, for several months of the school year, a high frequency of interaction with non-related boys, and for some, very intense feelings of chumship are beginning to form that never existed before. Given the increase in duration and frequency of interaction, homoeroticism could very easily pass over into homosexualism.

Friendship is a most novel situation for the Cayapa and he cannot easily function within it. In his dealings with Negroes, rules of ritual kinship may obtain or a hail-fellow-well-met stance may be adopted. The anthropologist-Cayapa situation was completely new, especially in the informant relationship. This was the closest approach to friendship, in the western sense, that they had ever experienced.

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[123]

just as I was leaving, with my canoe dangerously overloaded with Indians. He asked to go along. It was pointed out that there was absolutely no room, whereupon he suggested that I eject someone to make room for him. When this was refused, he went into a fit of pouting. Reverend Glenn, the missionary in the Sapallo Grande area, reports that Cayapa whom he consider to be friends, will come to the dispensary long after hours, or when there is a long line and demand to be taken first. The demand is always refused and pouting always follows.

[177]

Friendship in the western sense does not really exist in Cayapa life and culture, except in embryonic form. The complex of friendship that is offered to them by the surrounding population, more often than not, leaves the Indian either in debt, defrauded, and/or, as he believes, bewitched. This, coupled with the tenuous diminishing of the fear of others, leads to a dyadic relationship that requires constant testing and probing, that is neurotically destructive of the relationship itself. The strong committment to alcohol alleviates the fears of other people, the self-doubts, the personal and sexual inadequacies, the basic anxiety of Cayapa life.

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182]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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anxiety of Cayapa life.

Given these features of Cayapa life and culture it may be seen that tribal cohesion can best be achieved by means of a chief who fulfills the requirements of dominance that goes hand in glove with attitudes of submission in a people who lack both confidence and competence. Political behavior as described in the body of the text may be viewed as a projective system, in Kardiner's terms, wherein an attempt is made to mold the present chief into an image of their ego ideal.

announced that he knew more of the law than did Gabriel. The Cayapa plainly do not know how to deal with Pindalenas. Some Cayapa say that he has absolutely no right to interfere in the legal disputes. Similarly, Gabriel points out that the Negro is merely his employee and nothing more, but a few Cayapa think that perhaps he can take part in the adjudicating of disputes. They are not very certain, but if Pindaleñas acts as if he can, then perhaps he can. On occasion he has asked Cayapa women to dance with him at the fiesta in the Cayapa manner, but he has always been refused. No other Negro has ever attempted to dance with a Cayapa woman. In the disputes witnessed by the writer at which Pindaleñas was present, he seemed to restrict himself to echoing the judgments reached by the Cayapa officials.

Such governmental activities as exist for the Cayapa will be amply illustrated in terms of their law. In point of fact, Cayapa law can be said to be the major part of Cayapa government. Political behavior for the Cayapa is intimately related to governmental instability which is largely the result of interregnum

4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

uncertainties. These uncertainties are carried over into the new period of chieftainship wherein there is a great difference between the people's perception of authority and their expectation of authority. Gabriel is not seen as a strong chief but, rather, as a man who drinks excessively and as a result, is unable to function as a chief should. At this point political behavior took two forms among the Cayapa. On one level, individuals were seen expressing dissatisfaction with Gabriel as the newly installed /únʸi/ and threatening to go to Quito, the national capitol, to have him replaced. The youngest son of the late /únʸi/ was voicing complaints that by rights he should have been the /únʸi/ because he speaks excellent Spanish in marked contrast to Gabriel. Most of the complaints seemed to emanate from the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas, more especially from the region of Pichiyaco, the home of the late /únʸi/. Complaints were voiced that Gabriel could not speak good Spanish, that he could not perform his duties, that he could not settle disputes, that he was /vinɨku/, "a drunkard." As the time drew near for the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado, many people

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began saying that they would attend the fiesta at one of the other tribal sections rather than attend one headed by an incompetent drunkard. Others said that if they attended, they would not ask Gabriel to settle their disputes; rather than this, they said, they would go to the national authorities. Gabriel was clearly not very secure in his position. The behavior of the people in these instances was political because there was a shifting of support from one authority to a contender. Furthermore, the shift of support was ideologically motivated in terms of values concerning the nature of the chieftainship (cf Easton 1958; Siverts 1960). Gabriel's reaction to this was to drink more. Often when I would be talking to one or more Indians, Gabriel would appear on the scene, quite drunk, and begin to electioneer in a loud voice. He would tell the Indian(s) that he was responsible for my being there and that they would all benefit by my knowledge of hypodermics and penicillin. Whenever I saw Gabriel, he was obviously drunk; these observations extended over many months.

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The personal crisis for Gabriel seems to have

been met during the Christmas fiesta. He took no overt steps to assert his authority beyond stating to a few Negro bystanders that he was the /unʸi/. He remained drunk a good deal of the time but so did most of the other fiesteros including women and, at times, children. Little by little, people became aware of the fact that there was indeed an /unʸi/ available, and a few began drifting over to where he lay drunk, sprawled in his hammock; despite his inebriation, /kavítu/ "complaints," were presented to him. It turned out that most of the disputes to be settled were from the area that had initially manifested greatest opposition to Gabriel. Gabriel, therefore, began to function as the /unʸi/ in fact, as well as in name; however, his performance was not at all satisfactory. For example, on one occasion when he was asked to cure a sick child because he had studied curing with a brujo from Sapallo Grande, he was ineffective in carrying out this ritual because of his drunkenness.

As the fiesta wore on day and night without dissolution for a full week, the second level of political

behavior began to develop. Individuals, all very drunk, and occasionally two or three holding each other up, would stand in front of Gabriel and lecture him on his drunkenness. This was not the way an /ún^{y}i/ should act, they would say; he must be sober; he must change his ways, or the people would not listen to him. From time to time his wife would place herself before his supine form which was sprawled occasionally on the floor, but most often in his hammock. She would loudly and clearly, in front of the assembled crowd, harangue him in the same vein, telling him to sober up and get out and behave as an /ún^{y}i/ should. Scenes like these were repeated throughout the year at various small parties and again at Punta Venado during the next Easter season. The attendance during Easter was markedly less than at the previous Christmas gathering. Political resistance had not died down. The situation described above has all of the elements of a comedy [drunks moralizing to a drunkard], but Gabriel was an element of poignant tragedy within the comedy. The previous year he had not been a drunkard, but that year he was not the /ún^{y}i/.

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After assuming office he merely continued his usual drinking behavior which apparently was the culturally normal pattern. A normally intoxicated Cayapa cannot settle disputes adequately nor can he maintain law and order effectively. An important point also is that the other Cayapa feels absolutely no guilt or shame for his behavior while drunk. His work routine has not been disrupted, his family is not neglected, no one points a scornful finger at him. For the Gabriel, the situation was quite different. The instant he became the /kuʔi/ he was expected to change a lifetime of habit formation. Political behavior involving the shift of support from one authority to another entered a phase of psychological warfare. A new authority was to be created and the old one destroyed psychologically. The new authority was to be created in the image of what the people felt an /kuʔi/ should be like. The lack of congruence between the people's expectation of authority and their actual perception of authority created a situation of intense ambiguity wherein Gabriel was being culturally defined as an alcoholic. The ambiguous nature of his position,

4 Altschuler E-9 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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the presence of very heavy, culturally-approved drinking, and the constant excoriating and expressions of political disaffection brought Gabriel to the inexorable cycle that began to isolate him as the only apparent alcoholic in a society of heavy drinkers. It may be that as Gabriel began to succumb to addictive alcoholism, the individual pressures exerted politically will begin to mold his personality in a new direction: as the gap between expected and observed authority progressively narrows, political behavior will progressively decrease, and the Cayapa governmental system will approach a measure of stability.

Not only was Gabriel's authority on probation within the Punta Venado group but it was completely rejected by the people of the other tribal sections. Gabriel felt that as the senior [illegible] he should be in charge of all Cayapa affairs. Barrett reported that during his stay, Gabriel's father was in effective control of all of the Cayapa sections, leaving to the other chiefs only minor matters (Barrett 1960: personal communication).

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Gabriel attempted to assert some measure of

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personal direction during a situation of crisis and was soundly rebuffed on all sides. During 1959-60 rumors were constantly in the air in Ecuador that the end of the world was going to take place soon. These rumors had reached the Cayapa and were vouched for by one of the priests at the town of Limones. This priest had been forecasting such an event for some time. According to Gabriel, Jesus carries the world in his arms and when the sins of the people pile up, the world gets heavier and heavier until at last the burden becomes insupportable, and Jesus lets the world fall. That, said Gabriel, will happen very soon unless the Cayapa can appease the wrath of God by holding a special fiesta on the tenth of August, a national holiday. Gabriel was so concerned that he sent a message to the chiefs of the other sections, inviting them to a meeting at his home to discuss the impending disaster and the means by which to avert it. He wanted each group to stage a fiesta at its own ceremonial center at the same time "to give added strength." To make doubly sure, he wanted four young children to be married "as they did in the

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4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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old days." Being young they would, of course, be without sin, and Jesus would find the sight touching and forgive the world. Gabriel also let it be known that any of the Punta Venado group who did not attend would be fined by a special commission composed of two Indians and two Negroes. The Negroes would be needed to speak harshly to the stay-at-homes because the Indians have too much shame to speak with the needed firmness. The chiefs of the other sections never came to the proposed meeting. Probably sensing his lack of control over the other groups as well as within his own group [several people had voiced opposition to going so far to Punta Venado], he about-faced and stated that a celebration would be held at his house, to be followed in a week by another to be held at the Cimarrón house in Encanto. According to informants, this would serve adequately because the statues of the saints are in Gabriel's house and would be brought to Encanto when needed.

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It is clear that at this time Gabriel had no control over the other sections and very little over his own. Resistance to him was on an individual basis

4:Allachuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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and never by way of organized groups. There were no political groups, just individuals who occasionally voiced dissatisfaction.

John Embree in his comparison between Thai and Japanese social systems wrote in terms of close and loose structures:

> Loosely integrated here signifying a culture in which considerable variation of individual behavior is sanctioned (Embree 1950:182) . . . Where social structure is "close"--that is, where the behavior of the people conforms closely to the formal social patterns of human relations . . . it is difficult for an individual to deviate, and reciprocal rights and duties are clearly marked and carried out (Embree 1950:185).

Cayapa social organization is, in these terms, loosely integrated, and Cayapa behavior is marked by individuality but not by individualism. That is, there is no ethic of individualism, rugged or otherwise, held as an ideal, but rather the sociological concomitants of a bi-laterally structured kinship system, lacking corporate kin groupings, coupled with the lack of permanent action groups of any kind, usually preclude social involvements on other than an individual basis. A possible exception to this may be

[572]

found in the household consisting of several related nuclear families, but even here, the group is contingent upon circumstances, variable in personnel and unstable in duration. Members of the household are in constant movement, tending their far flung farm plots, visiting kinfolk, traveling to the cities, and visiting curers.

The lack of corporate involvements for the Cayapa effectively restricts political behavior to periods of turbulence and uncertainty such as occurred after the death of the late /[illegible]/, Arcilio Pianchichi, and the installation of his nephew, Gabriel [illegible], as the new governor. It may be, that whenever the office passes out of the direct line from father to son, political disturbances develop which may be exacerbated by personality factors. This seems to have been the case with Gabriel whose involvement in political events will be discussed shortly.

In terms of being a loosely structured society, the Cayapa differ from the Thai as discussed by Embree in an important manner:

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> In Siamese society it is relatively easy to achieve a fait accompli by doing something not approved by other members of the group. But in so doing one does not necessarily achieve the acceptance of the others. The "accomplished fact" does not accomplish much (Embree 1950: 185).

It is precisely at this point that the Cayapa offer a dramatic contrast. The strong-minded deviant in Cayapa society can, by his determination, make his accomplished fact a model for emulation and ultimate acceptance by the members of his society. Cayapa society is structurally unable, in the normal course of events, to permit the development of concerted and protracted pressure on an individual deviant. The only approach to this occurred when Gabriel assumed his position as /ʌ̃ʸʟ/. Gabriel was not a man who commanded respect from either the Negroes or the Indians. He did not speak Spanish well, he drank to excess and was unable to perform his duties, he was not well versed in the law, and he was a poor man. For the Cayapa, the /ʌ̃ʸʟ/ should be a man of infinite wisdom, who is well spoken both in Cayapa and in Spanish, a man who can stand up to the Negroes for the Cayapa.

[622]
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4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

a man who can govern justly with a minimum of friction. People may be born in this mold and others may change aspects of their personality and perceptions through the performance of required role behavior in new status positions. This latter situation is being structured by the Cayapa in terms of a unique kind of political behavior.

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their case to the family, and if refused, they then point out that two Negroes are waiting in the canoe. This means that the commission will fight, if need be, to get the girl. [For the Cayapa, the Negro is a threatening figure, both in fact and in fancy.] At this point, agreement may be reached between the commission and the girl's family, or a fight may develop. In either event, so far as is known to the writer, a commission always gets its woman.

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Problems in Courtship and Marriage. Many men among the Cayapa are reluctant to take the initiative in romantic affairs, but from time to time one finds among them men like Chapiro of the Río Camerones, who seems to delight in amorous peccadillos and adventures. Chapiro has the reputation of preferring married women with whom it is said he would make love, while the husband slept only inches away on the same bedding. He pretended to be the husband and apparently deceived the wives with a large measure of success for a time.

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Chapiro caught in flagrant delicto. One night while pretending to be Pablo Añapa, Chapiro was caught

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by Pablo himself. Pablo was furious with rage and beat both his wife and Chapiro. After being thrashed, Chapiro ran away. Pablo's wife left for her father's house to advise him of the event. Her father, Lorenzo Martín is one of the officials or /čá tala/ of the community. As an official, he was empowered to settle disputes and to order. He went to Pablo's house to obtain more details. Pablo demanded punishment for Chapiro. About four days later, Lorenzo brought Chapiro to the house of Pablo's elder brother, and charged him with the crime. Chapiro said nothing in his defense thus tacitly admitting his guilt. Lorenzo ordered one hundred and twenty strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, but Heverico who is Chapiro's father's brother's son [~just cousin~] claimed that the punishment was too severe, whereupon the sentence was reduced to one hundred lashes to be applied by Lorenzo. Following the punishment, everyone got drunk except Chapiro, who left right after the whipping.

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In the Cayapa view, a conflict of interest in the person of Lorenzo, the father of the seduced woman, and Lorenzo, the official, does not exist. The facts

[692]

of the case were clear, and a witness was present. It is of interest that Pablo's wife seems to have convinced everyone of her innocence in the affair and that she had been truly hoodwinked. Chapiro's reputation was of course, well known, and guilt was held to be his alone. Even though justice prevailed, Chapiro was disgruntled and left without drinking. This in itself would be sufficient to mark him as a deviant, for Basurco's observations are still very much applicable.

> . . . leur seul vice est de rendre un culte trop fréquent à Bacchus, auquel ils font des libations d'ichcala, ou eau-de-vie de canne, qu'ils fabriquent eux-mêmes . . . (Basurco 1894:406).

In marked contrast to many Cayapa men, Chapiro has always been more interested in sexual pursuits than in drinking and the married men in the area were beginning to view him as a real threat. In instances like this it is felt that the best way to remove the threat is to marry him off, forcibly, if need be. In the case of Chapiro events came to a head after he had seduced Gabriel's daughter.

The Seduction of Gabriel's daughter. Chapiro was

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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in love with Gabriel's daughter, but she was in love with someone else. One dark night, Chapiro sneaked into the house and made love to the girl by pretending to be her lover. Later, they stole out of the house to go to his home. When the girl saw that the house was Chapiro's, she realized that she had been tricked, but she spent the night with him anyway. The next day, while he was doing some work outside, she returned to her home. Her father was very angry. Gabriel, together with his son and his /má,go ná.tala/, Camilio Pianchichi, and Domingo Cimarrón went to Chapiro's house. They told him to come to Gabriel's house, but he refused to do so. Camilio took Chapiro's pressure lantern for no reason except that it was valuable, and they all left. Chapiro finally went to Gabriel's house. Gabriel was drunk and he roughly ordered Chapiro into the house. Furious words passed between them, and Chapiro said that if he were punished, he would take Gabriel's daughter again. At this three men grabbed him and took him outside where he was given sixty lashes. After the punishment, everyone began drinking, but the still-angry Chapiro left early.

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The pressure lantern remained in Gabriel's house. About two weeks later when the lantern had not been returned to him, Chapiro went looking for it at night in Gabriel's house, but he couldn't find it. He kept asking for the lantern, and eventually, after two or three months, it was returned to him.

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The lack of interest on the part of the young woman, coupled with Chapiro's poor reputation, apparently led Gabriel to make it clear to Chapiro that he did not want him as a son-in-law. A year or two later, the /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio, died and Gabriel became the chief. Gabriel now began to consider Chapiro's threat to his daughter, who was now married. He ordered Lorenzo Añapa and Aurelio Añapa, two of the /cá$^{y/i}$tala/, to go up to Sapallo Grande during Christmas and to bring back a wife for Chapiro. They found a woman who was lame and not very eagerly sought after as a marriage partner, inasmuch as she could not work effectively in the monte. They brought her to Chapiro's house and presented her to him. He refused to take her, but Lorenzo said that if he did not take the girl, he would beat him. Chapiro then agreed to

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marry her. In 1960 he seemed happy with his wife, especially since she gave birth to a boy, and since his marriage he apparently has stayed close to home.

It may be that the choice of a crippled wife for Chapiro was deliberate and with malice aforethought. Chapiro's reputation, however, extended beyond the sexual sphere, and he was known to be lazy and a poor worker. Most women would have refused him as a husband anyway. What is important, however, is the fact that the solution worked, and that Chapiro was effectively removed from circulation. It should be mentioned for the record that when he was queried about Chapiro's wife, Lorenzo Añapa reported, with what appeared to the writer to be no small measure of satisfaction, "She can't work very well in the fields because of her bad leg."

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For the Cayapa, marriages are not all made in heaven, and many times legal difficulties both attend and follow a marriage. The parents of Chapiro's bride did not object to her marriage at all; however, as women are economically useful, some families that lack one or another of the parents attempt to keep the

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of authority, his individual personality and behavior, complicated by the cultural emphasis on heavy drinking, will effect the complementarity of expectations between the /ún^{y}i/ and the people. If there is a lack of conformity between the behavior of the /ún^{y}i/ and the expectancies of the people, there will be an effort on the part of individuals to effect conformity by engaging in moralizing, gossiping, nagging, and threats to shift allegiance to other authorities--all directed against one man, the /ún^{y}i/. The aim of all of these kinds of behavior is to return to the status quo ante, when the late /ún^{y}i/ was the image of true leadership. As the new /ún^{y}i/ is pressured into modifying his behavior in the direction of the cultural expectancies, the agitation and political behavior will diminish.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CHAPTER VI

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSION

The basic personality of the Cayapa is marked by anxiety, suspicion, and lack of confidence. Cooperation is minimal, and social cohesion is maintained through the use of alcohol. Cayapa culture is marked by extremely heavy permissive drinking patterns. The Cayapa drink to get drunk: they drink at weddings and funerals; they drink for joy and sorrow; they drink out of fear when an earthquake appears to threaten the end of the world; and they drink to screw up enough courage to bring litigation before the chief. While they are not at all addicted to alcohol, they are to some extent dependent upon it. The dependency arises out of a deep-rooted basic anxiety that is manifested by a generalized fear of others, an inability to maintain friendships, low male sex drive, female sexual forwardness and latent homosexuality. Following Kardiner (Kardiner et al. 1939; 1945), it will be posited that there is a connection between the primary institution of child rearing, the Basic Personality Structure, and the system of law and government as the projective

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THE CAYAPA INDIANS*

by
Max Heimann

101 In the far north west of the Ecuadorian Republic there is a river
131 named the Santiago. Near the village of Borbon it is joined by
133 one of its tributaries, the Cayapa River. The Cayapa Indians, a
●161 harmless tribe consisting of no more than 2500 persons, live on the upper reaches of the Cayapa River and around its sources.

000 I have never been able to understand why they are called "uncivilized" and "savage." Would it be because they dress more simply, more comfortably, more suitably and cheaply than we European fashion slaves? Or would it be because they speak their own language, unknown to us, and because they do not know how to read and write and do not stuff their heads with the dead weight taught in schools and called "education"? Or even, would it be because they have other customs and manners as well as different moral concepts?

181 One thing is certain—the Cayapa are happy people, because they are more satisfied with their lot than we Europeans, who are so demanding and feel so superior with our conceit in our sham civilization, in the clothes prescribed for us by the tyrants of "fashion" and in the "wisdom" acquired in schools.

[439 They frequently come to town in small groups of five to 20
484] persons. I have seen them many hundreds of times, but again and
142 again I am delighted when I meet these small, but well-built and sturdy [282] figures. The men are not taller than 150-160 cm. (Translator--5 ft. to 5ft. 4 in.), while the women are barely 140 cm. (Translator--4 ft. 8 in.). Their skin is copper brown in color.

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114 * The author a business man, lived in Tumaco (southwest Colombia) for 35 years (1895-1930) and was German Vice-Consul for the Departamento Nariño from 1907 to 1920. Although he never actually visited Cayapa villages, he did have occasions to see and question groups of them "many hundreds of times," on their frequent visits to Tumaco. Apart from this, several of his employees have been in Cayapa villages and have given him reports. (K. Th. Preuss).

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

THE CAYAPA AND COLORADO

By JOHN MURRA

INTRODUCTION

The *Cayapa* and the *Colorado* are the last surviving Indian groups in the lush western lowlands of Ecuador (maps 1 and 6). Once an area of extensive Indian occupation, western Ecuador is now inhabited by a Spanish-speaking population of mixed Indian, Negro, and white ancestry, known as montuvios. The *Cayapa* and *Colorado* have precariously managed to hang on to their jungle homes. Speaking closely related if mutually unintelligible languages of the *Barbacoan* division of the *Chibchan* family, they represent the southernmost extension of that major division. Comparative studies with other *Chibchan*-speaking groups in Highland and eastern Colombia, with *Quechua*-speaking Indians in Highland Ecuador, and with various Montaña groups should prove of considerable culture-historical interest.

THE CAYAPA

The *Cayapa* are a riverain people inhabiting the lowlands of northwestern Ecuador. Sprinkled through the jungles of Esmeraldas Province, an area of difficult colonization and control, they managed for centuries to avoid the enslavement suffered by their Highland neighbors or the ethnic annihilation of most Coast aborigines. Only in the past few decades have their settlements been pushed back into the hills by Spanish-speaking montuvio and Negro homesteaders. World War II requirements in balsa wood, rubber, and other tropical commodities have accelerated this process of displacement and acculturation.

The Cayapa River and its affluents, from the mouth of the Anzole to the foot of the Andes, are the main area of *Cayapa* settlement. Barrett (1925) found three concentration spots: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, corresponding to three political, tribal divisions, which might since have shifted or amalgamated. In addition, small groups of *Cayapa*, in various degrees of acculturation, are found in the Santiago Valley and along the coast into Colombia. Estimates of their numbers vary but hover around a mean of 2,000.

The chief source and authority on the *Cayapa* remains S. A. Barrett's monograph (1925). Barrett visited them in 1908–9, long enough to bring

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

THE CAYAPA INDIANS OF ECUADOR

By S. A. Barrett

TERRITORY

Geographical Situation

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THE people known as the Cayapa Indians live at present almost wholly on the main and tributary streams of the Rio Cayapas, one of the large rivers of the northwestern part of the Province of Esmeraldas, Ecuador, and about ninety miles in a direct line north of the equator. Their [484] territory is within comparatively easy reach of the ocean, which almost all visit at least once a year.

There are a few, perhaps an aggregate of one hundred individuals, who live in several other localities, namely, on the adjacent Rio Santiago, at Pueblo Viejo, and at points along the immediate coast from the Rio Dabele, a few miles south of the town of Esmeraldas, the capital of the province, northward to the Rio Rosario, about eight miles southeast of Tumaco, in the extreme southern- [161] western part of Colombia. However, practically all the Cayapa, approximating fifteen hundred to two thousand individuals, now live on or in the immediate vicinity of the river which bears their name.

133 The Rio Cayapas heads in the western slope of the coast range of the Andes at a point not far from Mt Cotacachi, which attains an altitude of 16,290 feet (4,966 meters). The western slope of this sierra is

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sold, insures that the infant will live. Following this procedure, the neonate is transferred to the care of a lactating woman. This mother surrogate is paid for her services by the child's father. Eventually, when the child can speak, he is returned to his father.

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Birth Control. Induced abortions are unknown, according to all informants, and this information is very likely reliable because bastards /ɨ̃ui-/ are first delivered, and then are usually killed. Similarly, there does not seem to be any knowledge of birth control devices nor of the practice of coitus interruptus. In marked contrast to the Negroes of the area whose children line up like stepping-stones, there is often a two- to four-year break between living children for the Cayapa. In some cases this difference is accounted for by the high infant mortality rate; in other cases, it is explained by lower fertility; in still other cases the lower sex drive may be the causative factor. We shall discuss the latter premise in the chapter dealing with personality factors. In any event, the Cayapa recognize their weakness in numbers

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and say that it is because Jesus said that if the world comes to an end while many Cayapa are living, it would be very sad for them; it is therefore necessary for many infants to die. The population figures do indeed indicate that the Cayapa are not reproducing. For the Río Camarones there is an average of 2.5 living children for each woman of childbearing age and almost 17 per cent sterility among the women.

163 ● 842 [775]

Adoption. Children will be adopted within the kindred, if the parents should die, but there is seldom adoption of non-related children or of illegitimate children. There are a few instances of an illegitimate child's being kept by the mother, but more often she will kill it at birth. The mother may offer the child for adoption, but the general feeling is that such a child having been conceived in sin is non-Christian, and few people want such a child. The Christian thing to do, they feel, is to kill it.

597 848 [612] [847] [789]

There is something in the nature of short-term "loans" of children. A child is sometimes sent to live with an "uncle" or other near relative for varying periods of time. In some cases the relatives are

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3-Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1923
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CRUSTACEA

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English	Spanish	Cayapa
crayfish	camaron	a'bĭcā, pī'cā
crayfish (another species)		karna da (?)
crab	cangrejo	nē'lā, nē'lō
crab (a particular species)		ṛpūī nē'lā
crab (a particular species)		knia nē'lā
crab (a particular species)		knia'pa nēlā
[illegible]	mapara	ma'para

INSECTS

Many species of insects abound in the Cayapa region, though few of them directly concern the Indians in an economic way. In view of the fact that many of these insects are not mentioned later in these pages, it seems appropriate to enter more into detail at this point respecting certain of them than was necessary in dealing with plants and animals. 136

Among the insects worthy of particular mention are certain malevolent ones, such as centipedes, scorpions, tarantulas, ticks, stinging gnats and, above all, the mosquito, of which there are a number of species. Contrary to the conditions in many parts of the tropics, however, there seems to be a total absence in the Cayapa region of the yellow-fever bearing species of mosquito, as there is also of the plague-bearing flea. Hence this particular section of the tropics to the present time has been entirely free from these two dreaded maladies, 136 106

SD6 Cayapa SD6

though both exist at various other points along the western coast. There appears to be no particular lack of hosts for either of these insects; and from the fact that the yellow-fever mosquito does exist at Tumaco, only a short distance north of the mouth of the Rio Cayapas, one is at a loss to account for its absence from a region so close as Esmeraldas province where climatic conditions are similar. In the case of the flea, however, at least one possible explanation appears, namely, the difference in climate between the Esmeraldas region and that of the vicinity of Guayaquil. At Guayaquil and southward the coast is comparatively arid, thus giving favorable dry breeding places for the flea, while from Esmeraldas northward the rainfall is very great, consequently the ground is thoroughly saturated and the breeding grounds of the flea are greatly diminished, if not altogether lacking.

Of the mosquitos which do exist here the most dangerous are those of the one or more species which are said to transmit malaria—the "tropical" or "jungle" fever as it is commonly called. Fortunately these pests appear not to be very numerous; at least the cases of "jungle" fever among the Indians, as also among the whites and negroes, are not numerous. Probably a certain degree of immunity is experienced by natives and old residents, for as a rule they have comparatively light attacks of the fever, though often a newcomer is violently infected and sometimes with fatal results.

Another annoying species of mosquito is a small one, the bite of which produces a local infection which slowly

3: Barrett E.5 (1908-1909)1925.
SD6 Cayapa SD6

spreads if not promptly checked. The remaining species, of which there are several, are also annoying, but their bites appear to produce no particularly evil effect. 136 164

The tick is found only about the mouth of the Rio Cayapas and elsewhere along the immediate coast. This annoying insect is said to be almost exclusively confined, in this region at least, to those sections where domestic animals, particularly cattle and horses, are kept. Thus the Indians, by virtue of their location, are little troubled by it, though much annoyance is experienced by others living where it occurs at all abundantly. 136

Centipedes, scorpions, and tarantulas are encountered only occasionally, but their bites and stings cause considerable trouble now and then. The centipedes are the most numerous and are of large size, reaching a length of fifteen inches or more. There are also certain other poisonous insects not known in temperate regions, but these appear to be rare.

Among the malevolent insects which do not injure man directly are the termites which destroy woodwork and even extend their tunnels into the dwellings. The damage they do, however, is never considerable.

There are many species of ants in this region, the most of which are quite harmless. One, however, the so-called army, or driver, ant is of importance, though it must be regarded quite as benovolent as it is malevolent. This species travels in great armies, as the name implies. It is strictly carnivorous, and will attack almost any living animal, whether large or small.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

they have no knowledge of mining and are not at all inclined to acquire such knowledge even though they realize that gold and platinum command good prices at the settlements. Furthermore, they are extremely distrustful of and even hostile to everyone connected with mining or prospecting enterprises.

Health Conditions

Associated with the natural resources of a region are its health conditions, which in the Province of Esmeraldas are very good in comparison with most parts of the South American tropics. In fact the Esmeraldas shore is reputed, on good grounds, to be the most salubrious territory of the entire western coast of South America. Indeed, during the entire time spent by the author in the region, there was not, so far as could be learned, a case of any of the ultra-serious contagious diseases, and certainly none was reported in those portions of the province in which he resided. During the same period, however, both bubonic plague and yellow fever broke out with marked violence at Guayaquil, about two hundred miles southward, and there was also an epidemic of yellow fever at Tumaco, not more than fifty miles to the north along the coast from the mouth of the Rio Santiago. As pointed out in speaking of the insects of this region, neither the plague-bearing flea nor the yellow-fever bearing mosquito are found in the Province of Esmeraldas, hence the absence of these two diseases.

The most serious, and in fact practically the only serious, contagious disease of frequent occurrence in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

this section is a form of malarial fever locally called paludismo; but this malady is so mild in comparison with the diseases above mentioned as to be almost negligible in a comparative consideration of the general health conditions of the region. The attacks of paludismo on newcomers are often severe, and now and then result fatally, but a native or an old resident of the region is usually fairly immune from it.

It is said that typhoid is entirely unknown; indeed no signs of it were observed during the author's stay in the region. Dysentery, which is such a serious malady in certain parts of the tropics, is little known here, though sporadic cases occur; in fact, two cases came under the author's observation, but only one of these was fatal, and this largely by reason of a complication of conditions combined with inadequate care.

It may be said, therefore, that the region inhabited by the Cayapa, and in fact the whole Province of Esmeraldas, is very healthful in comparison with other parts of the tropics.

Surrounding Peoples

The only people at present known to have close linguistic affinity with the Cayapa are the Colorados of the upper course of the Rio Esmeraldas. Dr D. G. Brinton[16] places the Cayapa in what he terms the Barbacoas linguistic stock, taking that name from a people formerly living on the upper Rio Patia in south-

[16] Brinton, The American Race, pp. 196–199, New York, 1891.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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753 their symptoms from fevers resulting from drinking water in a new region. This alludes to the fact that in [164] this region it almost invariably happens, even with people in perfect health, that if they travel from the coast into the interior mountains, or vice versa, they become ill for a short time with a fever of greater or lesser gravity. This is attributed directly to the change of drinking water, though in the Cayapa mind there is here also a direct connection with spirits.

754 775 A still greater danger to the soul as it travels about during sleep arises when a shaman sets a trap or a deadfall at any point he thinks a soul is likely to pass. If the soul gets into this trap or deadfall, it is killed, so to speak, and its owner never awakens. The soul itself, being immortal, later escapes from the trap or deadfall and passes on with its future existence, but once the life has left the body which it formerly inhabited, the soul is never able to return to it.

775 After death, souls travel about as they do in sleep, frequenting for a time special burial places and the homes which their bodies formerly inhabited. They would, if unmolested, continue indefinitely to go about their former haunts, but, owing to the danger to the living from their presence, means are taken to expel them. The expulsion of these souls, as also of malevolent spirits, by one or more shamans has been described in detail in speaking of medicine practices.

774 By many it is claimed that certain mammals, birds, reptiles, and other animate objects do not possess souls, but by others it is claimed that every animate object has a soul. Inanimate objects, such as waterworn

brown. A few of them are tatooed on the arms and the blue of the ink stands out very clearly. Mongoloid characteristics such as the epicanthric fold, the Mongoloid spot, and high cheekbones are very common, but in contrast to the Mongoloid nose, the Cayapa nose is often bridged. Occasionally one finds individuals with very high-bridged noses of aquiline shape. Their eyes are uniformly dark brown, and the whites are seldom clear but have a brownish tinge that would seem to indicate a high incidence of liver disorders. Most Cayapa, especially the women, seem to be somewhat round-faced. The men, while short, are very well-proportioned and have tremendous strength in their arms and shoulders which probably stems from their technique of canoe handling. As a rule, the women are thick-waisted, the result, perhaps partly at least, of their characteristic canoe handling. They generally paddle in a seated position, using a very short paddle, which requires many rapid short strokes for effective maneuvering, and they necessarily have to lean forward to make efficient use of the short paddle.

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Clothing and Adornment. Many men are quite

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by snakes and also by design. Women frequently die in childbirth; tuberculosis runs rampant, and periodically whooping cough and measles decimate the population. People die from spirit possession, soul loss, witchcraft, illness, and accidents; however, very old people "just die." People are afraid of death although it is maintained that no one dies because of his sins. Punishment takes place after death, and everyone must be purified of his sins by punishment after his demise. It is believed that when the Whites die their souls go to the white clouds while those of the Negroes go to the black clouds. Only the Cayapa may enter heaven.

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When death strikes, all relatives within a few hours' travel are notified. The immediate family clean the body, if necessary, and place it on a mat. Water is boiled and then poured over the area where the body lay last. Two or three men of the neighborhood are asked to prepare a coffin; this coffin which is made of bamboo is said to be the "canoe of the soul" and is called /úhkuŋgúle/. Its construction involves four or five hours' work, and when it is completed, the parent or spouse of the deceased offers

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succession of teachers with varying degrees of competence. In 1960 the school teacher, who was a native of Camerones, began giving the Indian pupils drama lessons. The plays offered always involved Cayapa going to Negroes for advice. Generally, the plots involved marital bickering within the Cayapa families which were then solved by the Negro official. These scenes are always greeted with laughter by the assembled Cayapa who come to watch their children perform. No one would even dream of taking a family quarrel to a Negro official. It is interesting to note however, that one Negro is making some progress toward involving himself in Cayapa affairs. This Negro's name is Pindaleñas, and he presents a rather grotesque appearance. His nose has been entirely destroyed by the ravages of yaws, and his hands are twisted into the shape of talons. This man has the distinction of being the only Negro who speaks Cayapa. Since he lives very near the ceremonial center of Punta Venado, he has been hired by the /ũn^{y}i/ to keep the church clean. Pindaleñas attends every fiesta and becomes actively interested in most of the legal cases. On several occasions he publically

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at work and that the land is spoiled. The Indian will then sell the land for the best price offered but will often take a lower price to avoid selling to the Negro held to be responsible for the witchcraft.

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Sometimes, boys and young men are given sections of land as advance inheritances which they work as they wish, and their work validates their claim to the inheritance. Generally, only those children who have consistently helped the parents work the land are entitled to inherit. Ill will between parents and children need not enter into consideration at all. Maximino Añapa, for example, a son of Marianito Añapa of the Río Camerones, as a very young child was sent to live with his mother's brother in Muisne on the coast, possibly to get him away from an influenza epidemic in the inland area. He stayed with his uncle for many years and helped him work the land; later he cut some out for himself. He used to return to his parents' home for visits of varying lengths of time, but the main attraction for him, however, seems to have been the school at Encanto. When needed, he helped his father work the land; however, he will not inherit any of the land because he said that it had all been promised to his brothers. Since he

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said, insures that the infant will live. Following this procedure, the neonate is transferred to the care of a lactating woman. This mother surrogate is paid for her services by the child's father. Eventually, when the child can speak, he is returned to his father.

Birth Control. Induced abortions are unknown, according to all informants, and this information is very likely reliable because bastards /isui-/ are first delivered, and then are usually killed. Similarly, there does not seem to be any knowledge of birth control devices nor of the practice of coitus interruptus. In marked contrast to the Negroes of the area whose children line up like stepping-stones, there is often a two- to four-year break between living children for the Cayapa. In some cases this difference is accounted for by the high infant mortality rate; in other cases, it is explained by lower fertility; in still other cases the lower sex drive may be the causative factor. We shall discuss the latter premise in the chapter dealing with personality factors. In any event, the Cayapa recognize their weakness in numbers

in childbirth, and the infant was born dead. No one discussed the condition of the infant's soul at all, until a group of Negroes came to express their condolences. They remarked among themselves that the infant was probably in purgatory because it had not been baptized. They spoke in this vein for about ten minutes until Doña Carolina, who is half Cayapa and married to the founder of the village of Camerones, noticed that the Indians were becoming disturbed at the trend that the conversation was taking, and she said that of course, since the child was only recently dead, it perhaps was not too late, and she took some water from a gourd and sprinkled it on the tiny body. There was a brief flurry of conversation among the Negroes, and the remark was made that "very likely the infant was in heaven now." At this, the Indians visibly relaxed.

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Funeral customs. Death is not a stranger to the Cayapa, and everyone can reasonably expect to attend at least two or three funerals during a year. The greatest number of deaths are of infants. In other age groups there are violent deaths such as men drowning, breaking their necks in falls, and being poisoned

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by snakes and also by design. Women frequently die in childbirth; tuberculosis runs rampant, and periodically whooping cough and measles decimate the population. People die from spirit possession, soul loss, witchcraft, illness, and accidents; however, very old people "just die." People are afraid of death although it is maintained that no one dies because of his sins. Punishment takes place after death, and everyone must be purified of his sins by punishment after his demise. It is believed that when the Whites die their souls go to the white clouds while those of the Negroes go to the black clouds. Only the Cayapa may enter heaven.

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2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent canefields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported.

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Capaya* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the priests visit the *Cayapa*.

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive.

In addition to permanent houses, small temporary ranchos are sometimes built when people are far from home. The houses in the "village" are standard structures, but the church follows Spanish ways: it rests on the ground and has walls.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Although *Cayapa* tradition records a period when the people wore blankets and even ponchos, today their clothes are scanty (pl. 59, *bottom*). The men wear a tight, small, white garment, made like bathing trunks, and a thin gaudy shirt of calico, with short and very tight sleeves. On festive occasions vests of European cut and manufacture are frequently donned over the shirt, and so are felt fedoras.

Women wear a long skirt of native cloth, girded with a narrow fringed belt. As in the Highlands, several skirts of different weights are sometimes worn. Head, shoulders, and chest are usually left bare.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

Death.—Death is not considered to be a natural phenomenon but is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body. A dead man's soul hovers around his house, which is usually abandoned, though it may be dismantled and sold. The corpse is buried in a coffin in a Catholic-style cemetery near the church. The dead man's possessions are usually given away, but it is not known who inherits his fields and clearings.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The great range of designs used by the *Cayapa* in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (fajas).

Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

Canoe paddles and wooden seats are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

Music and dancing.—Holidays, weddings, and other feasts are accompanied by much dancing and drinking. As elsewhere along the coast, the European marimba is widely used, as are panpipes, flutes, drums, and rattles. In recent years the Highland San Juan dance has been gaining in popularity. Also of immediate Highland provenience may be the small European wooden harp with palm-fiber strings.

Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. Guarapo, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

RELIGION

Native *Cayapa* religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are told for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

But the soul is believed to linger after death, and the methods used to encourage its departure are strictly aboriginal. A young couple's marriage may not be consummated until solemnized by the visiting padre, but the admonitions of the village chief to both bride and groom reinforce the authority of native jurisdiction. The annual Easter whipping of the whole community is also native.

Barrett could find no clear-cut creation story. The universe is believed to be made up of three superimposed worlds, with human life centered on the middle one. Men share this middle world with many spirits, some malevolent and other benevolent, all of whom are busy affecting human happiness and goals.

Sometimes the spirits must be exorcised, as when they cause illness. For this a shaman is called, and, with the cooperation of neighbors, he drives out the spirits amid much singing, smoking, and sprinkling. The shaman also may suck out the cause of illness.

Almost anyone can become a shaman by undergoing intensive training and acquiring a set of spirit helpers. There seems to be no "predestination" for this career, though Barrett was apparently unable to get enough information on this point. Like the chief, the shaman is not a full-time professional.

Because of his magic control of spirit powers, the shaman can be a force for evil as well as for good. It is he who causes illness and eventually death. There is a great deal of similarity between the behavior and the paraphernalia of the *Cayapa* shaman and that of the Highland medicine man.

THE COLORADO

The *Colorado*, or, as they prefer to call themselves, *Tsatchela* or *Tatchila* Indians, share with the *Cayapa* the distinction of being the last surviving aboriginal group in the Lowlands of western Ecuador. The two groups know about each other and even occasionally visit back and forth; but they speak mutually unintelligible languages, and their ways of life are quite distinct.

In contrast to the *Cayapa*, the *Colorado* are rapidly disappearing. Their territory and their numbers have been shrinking constantly, and one can easily foresee the time when the group will become extinct. They have not been able to withdraw before the pressure of "civilization," and they have been incorporated to a large degree into the Highland plantation system known as concertaje. The area they occupy on the upper reaches of several affluents of the Esmeraldas and Daule Rivers in the western part of Pichincha Province has been an area of heavy colonization in recent decades. During World War II an all-weather road was opened which increased the area's accessibility to colonization from the Highlands.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6
Colorado SD7

CA 101 197

close linguistic affinity with the Cayapa were the Colorados.

CA Co 171

The dialect of the Colorados, however, is so different from that of the Cayapa as to be almost unintelligible to the latter. Their customs, dress, and general culture are also quite distinct, and their territory is of a very different character from that of the Cayapa, being decidedly mountainous, though not far enough inland to be at a great altitude. There is no political or social affinity between the two peoples; in fact, although belonging to the same linguistic stock, the only knowledge one has of the other is that gained from an occasional visit by two or three Cayapa to the Colorado country, or vice versa. It is told as one of the important events of recent times that in returning, several years ago, from a visit to Quito, the chief of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa came by way of the Colorado country and spent several days there, and that he finally brought home with him a member of that tribe who visited on the Rio Cayapas for some days before returning to his own people.

CA Co 484

CA 197

That the Cayapa have wider linguistic affiliations has been recently shown by Drs Beuchat and Rivet,[12] who set forth the fact that there is considerable affinity between the Barbacoas, of which the Cayapa is a dialect, and the Coconuco and Paniquita groups, both of which are in Colombia. The interrelations of the latter two

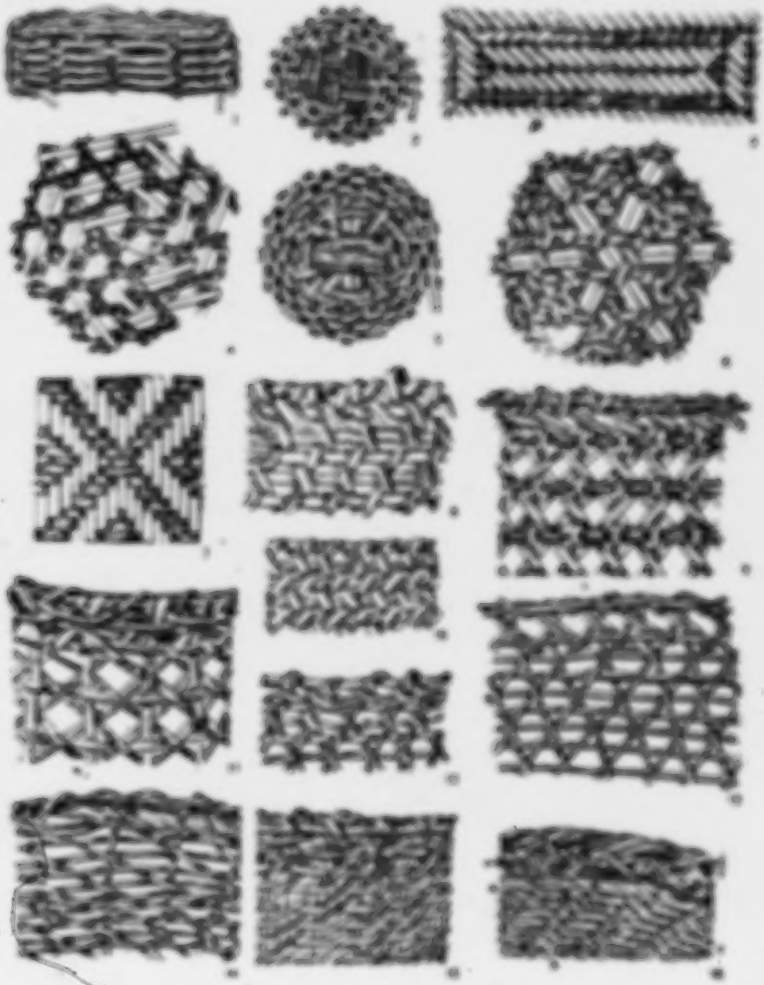
[12] Affinités des Langues du Sud de la Colombie et du Nord de l'Équateur (Groupes Paniquita, Coconuco et Barbacoa), par H. Beuchat et P. Rivet, extrait du *Muséon*, Louvain, 1910.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

352 In these three types of seats the upper surface is perfectly flat, but in the two types shown in pl. LXXXIII, 2, 3, this upper surface is more or less concave. Both have forms somewhat suggestive of the large stone seats which are such a unique feature of the archeology of the province of Manabi. This is especially true of the form shown in fig. 2. Here are two long supporting surfaces which rest upon the floor and support two upright pieces which in turn support the upper curved part of the seat. If this is compared with certain of the Manabi stone seats,[13] a striking resemblance is found. Instead of the under-part being cut away, as in the case of this wooden seat, the Manabi stone seat is solid. It has, however, a broad, flat footing comparable with the two long wooden strips upon which the Cayapa seat rests. Upon this broad footing is a very much narrower supporting column on the top of which rests the concave upper part of the seat. This narrow column is carved into an animal form, so that the resemblance of this seat to that of the Cayapa wooden seat is not so great when viewed from the front as it is if seen from the rear. There is now, of course, no means of determining whether there is any connection between these two forms of seat, but the fact that these two similar types exist, the one being part of the remains of an ancient culture and the other a type of seat made and used at present by the Cayapa, is very interesting.

[13] See Saville, M. H., The Antiquities of Manabi, Ecuador, *Contributions to South American Archeology, The George G. Heye Expedition*, vol. II, pl. XXXV, figs. 1–3, New York, 1910.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6



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285

BASKETRY TECHNICS

[p.192 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

[5 2]
285

numbers of elements required to change the direction of the line are one and three instead of one, three, and five.

The details of twilled basketry making are well exemplified in the case of the hamper-shape basket which is such a characteristic form among the Cayapo.

In beginning a basket of this hamper form the two sets of elements are laid down at a right angle one to the other upon a level surface, usually a piece of bark cloth spread upon the floor or upon the lap of the weaver. They are first laid with their dark sides uppermost and are crossed in the regular manner as later on in the weaving. Along this initial line the weaver may cause any given element to pass over three of the elements running at right angles to it, and this is frequently done. As frequently, however, such an element passes over one only of the elements that pass in the opposite direction, and the element thus passed over emerges from beneath and in its turn passes over the next element which is laid parallel to the one above mentioned. Thus along the middle line, that is, the starting line, of one of these baskets, there may be a single row in which the elements passing in one direction go over only one of the elements passing in the opposite direction. Beyond this point they pass in the prescribed manner over three and under three, or, in the rare instances in which this is used, over two and under two.

These methods of beginning the base of such a basket are also invariably employed in those baskets in which the sides are made in the more elaborate over-seven and under-one technic above referred to. No instance was observed where this more elaborate technic had been

285
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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

employed upon the bottom of a basket, not even among the Choke.

Having first laid down the elements to be used in forming the bottom of this basket, and having manipulated and crossed them properly for perhaps a couple of rows on each side of the middle line, the whole is carefully inspected and the desired design decided on. If it is determined to make a basket in which one set of the elements shall have its dark surface uppermost while the other has its light surface turned up, the elements already laid down are pulled far enough apart to permit the turning over of the one set in order to bring the light surface into view. Frequently baskets are made in which all the elements used have the same surface exposed, for it is feasible to work out a design in case both sets have the same surface uppermost. In such case the design is given purely by the technic itself; and by changing the direction of the twilling, effective results are obtained.

Having, then, determined on the pattern, and the elements having been properly arranged, the twilling proceeds with the adding of more elements as required according as the size of the bottom increases, until the proper dimensions are reached. This results finally in a quadrangular twilled area of the size needed for the bottom or for the top of the hamper, and with a great number of ends of elements, approximately equal in length, projecting from the sides. From this point on no more elements are added, the elements having been properly selected with respect to length, so that these ends are quite sufficient to complete the sides of the basket. Or-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

diagonal element which passes upward toward the left is almost always the one which passes between a horizontal element and the other diagonal element which passes up toward the right at the points where the three cross one another. This condition is quite different from that in the tcl'nde technic, for here what has been called the third horizontal element passes between the two diagonal ones. No comparison can be made with the ka'pū technic, since there is no point in this where three elements are crossed. 285

In finishing the borders of baskets of this technic the pairs of diagonal elements are usually bent inward and toward the right over a rod of pitigua, the ends of each pair being made to pass out in front of the pair next adjacent and toward the right, and finally down behind the second pair toward the right. To this simple binding, which in principle is the same as that most commonly used in baskets of the ka'pū and the tcl'nde technics, there is frequently added a wrapping of pitigua such as is shown in pl. xcrv, 9. Even more elaborate bindings, such as that exhibited in pl. xcv, 15, are sometimes used by the Cayapa, while among the Cholo a very elaborate one, shown in fig. 16 of the same plate, was found. In its essentials the first is the same as that above described, and it differs only in the number of elements (from three to five) bent over in each group, in having an extra horizontal splint bound along the outside, and in having three courses of wicker run into the relatively large openings just below the bound rim. 285 171

The second mentioned binding is essentially the same as that just described except that the ends of the pairs

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 of elements when they reappear upon the inner surface
171 of the basket are made to pass down under the similar pair next to the right, as is shown in pl. xcv, 16, which exhibits an inside view of this border. Thus there is produced a technic somewhat resembling what is commonly called herring-bone. The extreme edge appears to be very elaborately wrapped; this, however, is due to the manner in which two broad, flat wrapping elements are brought around it. So far as observed, this particular type of border finish does not occur among the Cayapa, although it is frequently employed by their Cholo neighbors, with whom this particular technic itself is more commonly used. In fact it is rather rarely used by the Cayapa.

BANDILAS TECHNIC

285 The technic called ba'ndilas by the Cayapa is the only one of the six technics employed by these Indians which has elements passing in four different directions. A horizontal, a vertical, and two opposite diagonal elements are required in this technic. Unlike the several above described, no special method is required in commencing a basket of this technic, its bottom being woven in exactly the same manner as are its sides. The horizontal elements on the bottom turn up, as do the diagonal and vertical ones, to form the elements of the sides. Obviously these elements, which are horizontal upon the bottom of the basket, become vertical when turned up to form the sides, and there is then the necessity of introducing other horizontal elements. This is ac-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

designed for their own use. In every instance these old-type designs are geometric, but the newer ones are usually realistic, depicting mammals, human beings, and other realistic objects.

In carving, the dolls are entirely realistic, as is shown in pl. LXXXIV, and depicting, the dog, alligator, bird, and especially the human form. In the last instance care is usually taken to indicate the sex. In paddle handles, on the other hand, the forms are usually simple and are always geometric, as is shown in pl. LXXVI. They have no special names. Even in the case of the elaborately carved handle shown in fig. 9 of the plate, no name was given for any of the designs. The same holds true of the designs in the face-painting sticks depicted in pl. CXXI–CXXII.

Closely related to ornamental carving are the wooden seats shown in pl. LXXXIII, some of which receive ornamental treatment certainly not demanded by utilitarian considerations. From comparison with similar objects of South and Central America it seems probable that in these seats, especially the forms shown in figs. 2 and 3, there lies a striking connection of the Cayapa culture with that of a number of other tribes in these regions. As has been shown by Professor Saville,[13] the archeological range of these objects is extensive, the most elaborate among them being the large stone seats from Manabi, carved to represent jaguars.

On the surfaces of calabash utensils are found the only incised designs in use among the Cayapa. These are

[13] See page 156, note.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

were flat and very wide. After about ten minutes of this castigation, the sindico returned from the vestry with the candle, the paddles were dropped, and all the men and boys scurried off to the side and rear walls of the church.

This self-inflicted punishment is in this particular region confined to the Indians alone. Although there is a large negro population, and many negroes attend this ceremony, none participate in this part of it. The negroes in certain other sections, namely, to the south of Esmeraldas, are said to inflict similar punishment on themselves, while those of some other parts are quite unacquainted with the custom. This, together with certain other observances, such as whipping with a cat-o'-nine-tails on Easter Sunday, may be due to the influence exerted over the Cayapa by early Catholic priests. That the same customs do not prevail among the negroes is due seemingly to the fact that at the time of the later influx of negro slaves, other orders and other church customs had superseded those which may have given these particular ideas to the Cayapa. It is possible also that in certain of these customs there is a vestige of some aboriginal ceremonial observances, but if so it is not now possible to segregate them.

On the return of the single light to the altar, several other candles were lighted and the service was concluded by further responsive chanting.

Next was formed a procession, in which practically everyone appeared, headed by bearers of a cross and images of saints, followed by bearers of the candle torches and the banners, and by a large number of other fiesteros. Each person, whether carrying anything else or not, bore

Other wooden articles

still made by the Cayapa include the /táči wimáso/ 'bark cloth beater,' /mačúka/ 'plantain masher,' and food stirrers of various types. A full listing and description can be had by consulting Barrett (Barrett 1925: 159-161). Elliptical wooden bowls called batea in Spanish, are cut from a single piece of wood, and they serve as trays for the preparation of some foods.

322 [412] [252] [415]

Musical instruments, which are played by the men, include the marimba or /máⁱmba/, a large drum called by the Spanish word bombo, and a small free-standing drum that tapers at the base called conunu. The Negroes use the same instruments, but they also use various gourd rattles and bamboo shakers. Guitars are occasionally found among the Negroes but only seldom among the Cayapa.

534 [462] [171]

Pottery. This art is scarcely practiced anymore. In fact I was completely unaware that earthenware pots were in the household inventory at all until I was asked one day if I wished to purchase a small Cayapa-made one for five sucres (.30 U.S.). This was the only pot I ever saw, except for the large cantaras made by the people of the San Miguel section, for the storage of /wápo/, the fermented sugar-cane juice called guarapo in Spanish.

323 [178] [126] [273]

juice called guarapo in Spanish. 000

Basketry. Fans, baskets, and pouches, are made in the same style and technique as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:183-230). There is a market for the fans which are used for fanning the embers in the fire-box when preparing a meal. They are often sold in the coastal towns of San Lorenzo and Esmeraldas as well as in the highland town of Ibarra. The money received for these fans is the property of the woman who made the fans, even though they were sold by her husband. 285 439 [372] [434] [562]

Weapons. The blowgun has disappeared from general use. Only a few specimens are left. All hunting today is done with the escopeta or muzzle-loading shotgun. Serving both as a tool and as a weapon is the machete or /mučte/, and both men and women are quite adept in its use. 411 [224] [412]

Housing. 342 171

Probably the cultural feature of the Pacific lowlands which most quickly attracts the eye of the outsider is the type of house used by the rural Negroid population. This is the square or rectangular pile dwelling with four-shed hipped roof of thatch, a peculiar roof crown, and pole-lath floor

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342
171

> and walls. Building materials consist entirely of wood and leaves gathered from the adjacent forest. This type of pile dwelling is one of the diagnostic traits of the Pacific lowland culture area; its distribution extends from western Darien southward to the Santiago River system in Esmeraldas, where it has been introduced by Colombian immigrants. Like most of the present material traits of the lowland Negroid people, their houses appear to be a modified form of an Indian prototype (West 1957:114).

Such structures are a major feature of the cultural landscape of the Cayapas River system as well, but the Indian houses are in marked contrast to the Negro domiciles. The Cayapa houses are nearly always rectangular in ground plan and always larger. Cayapa houses range from approximately ninety feet in length by forty feet in width to perhaps somewhat more than half this size. The piles which are adzed into a square shape are always made of Guayacan, a heavy, black hardwood that is said to resist the inroads of termites for about twenty years. Eight to ten of these posts are placed on the posts six to ten feet above the ground. Bamboo stringers are laid through notches but in the Guayacan posts, and they serve as a foundation for the plankwood flooring that is laid down at right angles to the bamboo stringers. Sometimes a split level construction

342
[171]
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is favored. In these cases, it is always the rear of the house that is raised about four or five inches. The rear of the house is the cooking area, and it is here that the firebox is located. A common size for the firebox is four feet by five feet and it is packed with earth to a depth of four to six inches. Three rocks form a pot holder within which a fire is contained. There will generally be one such rock hearth for each related family resident in the house. Behind the kitchen area a bamboo ramp about three feet wide and twenty feet long serves the boys and men as a urinal; a hole about three feet out from the house serves the girls, women and infants.

[592]
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The gabled roof is pitched at about a forty-five degree angle and is framed by long single lengths of bamboo. The thatch consists of the long leaves of the Tagua palm which may reach a length of fourteen to sixteen feet. From the midrib of the leaf, a series of leaflets extend out for approximately three feet. Two or three months before roofing, the leaves are cut down and collected in the Tagua patch and placed on a low bamboo rack for drying. Sometimes the Tagua patch is a considerable distance behind the house, in which

[824]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

case the leaves are brought to the site by hand. Many times the leaves have to be freighted on the river; for these occasions two canoes are joined by heavy bamboo poles, thus forming a raft, and the leaves are piled on top to a height of four to five feet. Two men then pilot the raft, one from the rear and one from the front. When the site is reached, the raft is tied to a paddle which is thrust into the bank, and the leaves are handed up a human chain composed of five to ten people extending from the raft to the actual house site.

342
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In contrast to the Negro houses Cayapa houses mostly lack walls. Because of this, Cayapa home life is much more open to Negro inspection than is the reverse. In regard to construction, the Cayapa never use wood planking. Negroes, on the other hand, regard wooden planking for the floors and walls as a sign of wealth and try to have at least some planking. The underside of the house for both Negroes and Indians serves as a storage area for the canoes.

[504]

When they are off in the bush for several days hunting, or when roughing out a canoe, the Cayapa build

342

small temporary shelters called by the Spanish term ranchos. In general construction these ranchos are similar to the permanent houses, but they may be only a foot or two off the ground. As the property holdings of most Cayapa are scattered, many build second permanent houses at other convenient sites and alternate residences as the farming situation dictates. If relatives have a house in the area already, then a new house need not be built, and shelter is taken with the kin. It is possible for a family to have no permanent abode of its own but rather to shift back and forth between relatives who happen to live near their property. This, however, is a very rare occurrence, and in the few cases recorded, I suspect that it is transitory. A "complete"person "un hombre completo" to be fully adult should be master of his own house. Pedrito Añapa, for example, was living with relatives, but he was bewitched and suffered from many illnesses, and in addition his land was "spoiled" by witchcraft. Despite this, he still felt that the best thing for him to do was to get some land elsewhere, and set up an independent household.

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Subsistence Activities. Farming is the main occupation

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of the Cayapa and the Negroes of the area. The extreme humidity of the region, coupled with the saturated, heavy clay soil that predominates, precludes slash and burn cultivation. The Cayapa region is just on the very southern edge of the area marked by a peculiar diagnostic trait:

> . . . slash-mulch cultivation, of probable Indian origin, has evolved. Seeds are broadcast and rhizomes and cuttings are planted in an uncleared plot; then the bush is cut; decay of cut vegetable matter is rapid, forming a thick mulch through which the sprouts from the seeds and cuttings appear within a week or ten days (West 1957: 129).

The main food crops are maize /pí$\breve{s}$u/, plantain /pánda/, sugar cane /éla/, sweet manioc /kú?$\breve{c}$u/, Rascadera (Xanthosoma sagittifolium), a taro-like aroid tuber called /túa/, squash /ú/, pineapple /$\breve{c}$íl^{y}a/, beans /múlu/, and bananas /seda/. The latter were universally considered to be starvation food, and prior to the recent world market demand for them, were fed to the pigs. There are many fruits such as papaya /papá^{i}ya/, oranges /lánsa/, lemons /lémo/, zapote /sapúte/, guabo /$\breve{s}$íl^{y}u/, chirimoya (A. cherimola). Some sweet potatoes are grown, but they are scarce due to the depredations of

241
[262]
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pigs who find them especially delectable. The Cayapa seldom plant coconuts, but the Negroes do so whenever possible. Important palms are the Taqua and the Chontaduro. The taqua nut was formerly an extremely important economic product; its hard seed was in constant demand on the world market for the manufacture of shirt buttons. With the rapid development of the plastics industry some thirty years ago, the market for taqua seeds completely collapsed. The Cayapa still talk nostalgically of the days when money did apparently grow on trees. Though its export value has declined, the taqua palm, nevertheless, is still important to the internal economy: the leaves are used extensively for roof thatching, the nut is a minor item in the diet, and when the tree dies, the /múšu/, a delectable and very oily grub can be dug out of the trunk. Both men and women may work in the gardens. Generally speaking, however, the men clear the garden and the women plant the seeds or roots. Men and women may harvest the crops.

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The staff of life for the inhabitants of the Pacific Lowland Culture Area is the plantain which is found in many varieties. It may be eaten green or

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

most of these have been or will be discussed in other sections of this paper. Among these objects are hooks for suspending various commodities and for use as a fish-pole rack; spinning and weaving implements; mesh sticks used in the manufacture of cordage and netting; mauls for beating out bark cloth; the condensing board or "worm" employed in distilling, and stamps for body decoration and for canoe painting.

Stone Implements

The stone implements used by the Cayapa are confined almost entirely to the mealing stone and the muller. The former is usually a flat stone from eight inches to a foot in width, from a foot to two feet in length, and five or six inches in thickness. The upper side is slightly hollowed by means of pecking with an old ax or other heavy iron implement. Very few of these mealing stones are made at the present time; indeed few modern mealing stones are now in use. A similar type of stone was used by the former mound-building inhabitants of this region, and from these mounds and old village-sites the Cayapa now obtain practically all the mealing stones needed for their use. In pl. LXII, 2, is shown one of these stones of the typical, modern, Cayapa form, in which the depth of the hollowed upper surface is comparatively slight, but usually the mealing stones obtained from ancient sites are hollowed to a somewhat greater depth. The hollowed portion extends over almost the entire upper surface. Along the sides and generally at one end there is left a ridge to

maintain that the best witches are not Cayapa at all but rather the Cholo of Colombia and the Colorado of Ecuador. Next in order of preference are the highland Indians around Ibarra, and, finally, those Cayapa who have been instructed from the masters listed in descending order of preference. Those Cayapa who have been instructed by other Cayapa enjoy very little esteem. There is said to be a good deal of jealousy between witches, and in popular belief they are said to seek opportunities to kill off their rivals.

The Cayapa theory of spirit possession is that if one is wandering in the monte, a spirit may spy one and fall in love with one. The spirit then embraces the victim and enters his body. Spirits or inimical objects may be implanted in the body by witchcraft as well. When someone falls ill and lingers in illness for a time, the charge is made that an enemy is at work. The task of the brujo is simply to rid the body of the object or spirit that is causing the illness.

The witches' paraphernalia consists of archaeological artifacts that were made by the people resident in the area prior to the Cayapa occupation. A

spirit is said to reside in each piece. Black stone axes are especially potent, as are pieces of crystal that have been purchased in town. Tobacco is part of every curing; the smoke wafts the illness away from the body. A considerable amount of alcohol is used as well. The witch takes a mouthful of /ĭakala/, 'rum,' and sprays it out of his mouth with a loud "whoosh" at the patient's back; a considerable amount of rum fails to compress as spray, and the witch finishes the curing in an advanced state of inebriation! In general, the manner of effecting a cure is as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:344-352). However, I participated in one that differed considerably. I was told one day that a curing session was in progress at a point not too distant from my house. When I arrived, the cure had apparently been going on for some time. A middle-aged man lay on a reed mat that had been placed on the ground. Alejandro of Encanto sat off to one side leaning back against two parallel sticks that had been thrust into the ground to serve as a backrest. From time to time he alternately whistled short stretches of staccato sounds, that had a decided "blues" quality.

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and chanted a curious mixture of Spanish and what may have been unintelligible magical Quechua words. The Spanish element predominated, but not as connected discourse. The manner of chanting made comprehension extremely difficult for me, but the sequence may be described as stretches of humming, interspersed with unintelligibility, peaked by the words "negro . . . indio bravo . . . enfermidad . . . brujo . . . ." that is, "Negro . . . wild Indian . . . sickness . . . witch . . . ." From time to time there were straight Spanish incantations: "This man is sick, I know, I know, cure, cure, Negro." The Negro is included in the list of powerful words because it is felt that Negroes often practice black magic against the Indians; similarly, the Indio Bravos were a powerful people whose very stone and pottery artifacts retain their ancient power. The witch is included for obvious reasons, and Spanish is used probably because it connotes power. A man who controls Spanish controls the outside forces to a degree impossible for a monolingual Cayapa.

On occasion, Alejandro would take a mouthful of rum and blow it out in the direction of the patient.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

133 very abrupt; it soon gives place to the broad coastal plain which stretches thence to the ocean and which is broken only by low foot-hills in its eastern part near the higher mountains, and by short, isolated, low ranges of hills and individual hills in its western part nearer
131 the coast. The portion of this coastal plain now occupied by the Cayapa is that along the lower course of the Rio Cayapas and its tributaries. There are very few, if any, who reside as far as the lowest of the foot-hills of the coast range.

133 The lower course of the Rio Cayapas is wide, very deep, and sluggish; but immediately above tidewater it is a swift, more or less shallow stream, with numerous rapids, and in its upper course its current is so rapid that it may be ascended by canoe only with difficulty, even when not in flood. At time of very high water, on the other hand, the river is quite impassable at certain rapids, especially that known as Corriente Grande. The nature of the coastal plain is such as to produce numerous rapids, some of them of considerable extent, but, so far as it was possible to ascertain, there are no cataracts along the lower course of the river.

To the east of the coast range of the Andes, and separating it from the much higher sierra, spreads an extensive valley, at a lofty altitude, in which are situated the chief interior cities of Ecuador, including Quito (9,350 feet, or 2,850 meters), Ibarra (7,380 feet or 2,250 meters), and others. It was here, according to
• [173] their traditions, that the Cayapa formerly lived. Beyond this great main range of the Andes lies the vast Amazon basin.

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

135 in considerable deposits along this portion of the coast of Ecuador. In fact this region, like a large part of the western coast of South America, is rich in precious metals, those present in this particular locality being chiefly gold and platinum, although silver and copper are also found. It is an interesting fact that platinum first became known to the civilized world through its introduction from the Province of Esmeraldas; it had, however, been discovered and employed to a considerable extent in the making of ornaments by the aboriginal inhabitants of the region about the mouth of the Rio Santiago before its introduction into the modern arts, in fact long before the coming of Columbus. The high development reached in the art of metal-working by the ancient inhabitants of this section is shown particularly by the elaborate and delicately wrought ornaments of gold and platinum, and occasionally also of silver and copper, found so abundantly at La Tolita near the mouth of the Rio Santiago and at certain other points in that vicinity.

325 The Cayapa Indians of the present day are quite differently disposed toward metal-working, for they have no knowledge of the art, now using no metal [439] objects other than those obtained by trade, such as [173] axes, adzes, and machetes. They assert that they never came into contact with the ancient metal-workers of this region, for the reason that they were long ago driven out or exterminated by another tribe which the Cayapa in turn banished in comparatively recent times. Not 31 only do the Cayapa do no metal-work themselves, but

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

slaves of this western coast, especially of Colombia. 177
These negroes live adjacent to and mingle very much [595]
with the Cayapa, and have exerted a strong influence
on some features of their culture, especially their music.

HISTORY

According to Cayapa tradition, the original home of 173
the people was in the mountains near Ibarra. At a
time probably very near that of the arrival of the first
Spaniards, the Cayapa as a body moved to what is now
known as Pueblo Viejo de Cayapas, in the mountains
drained by the upper course of the Rio Santiago. Var-
ious reasons are given for this migration, some affirming
that it was because of their fear of the invaders (and,
as one informant said, especially the fear of their horses),
while others say that it was due to the general alteration
in their mode of life as a result of the conquest. Still
others claim that the migration occurred some time
prior to the conquest, and that it was due to their love
of peace and their distaste for the hostilities forced on
them by the invading Quichua, or Incas as they are
so often called, who, only a comparatively short time
prior to the arrival of the Spanish explorers, had invaded
Ecuador and subjugated its various peoples in the
interior, even as far north as what is now the northern
boundary of the republic. One informant related a tra-
ditionary tale to the effect that the Cayapa migrated by
the advice and under the leadership of a certain shaman
who, dissatisfied with conditions as they were at Ibarra,
called through his magic a jaguar which he entrusted
with the duty of finding a more suitable abode. After

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

•173 about a month's wandering, the jaguar returned and reported to the shaman that the most suitable place was the then uninhabited region about Pueblo Viejo. Acting on this advice he assembled his people and all departed for the new locality. Here the Cayapa lived for a considerable length of time in much the same manner as before—typical mountaineers, knowing very little of river life, and with maize as their staple food.

At that same time the rivers Cayapas and Santiago, and the coast adjacent, were occupied by another people, very vicious and always enemies of the Cayapa. By some they are said to have been cannibals. They preyed constantly on the Cayapa, killing them whenever and wherever encountered. The Cayapa, on the other hand, were then, as they are now, a very peaceable people; but after many years of these outrages they organized war-parties which descended the rivers and exterminated the enemy. These people are always referred to by the Spanish term *Indios Bravos* ("wild Indians"), and are described by some informants in fanciful, mythical terms. By most, however, they are declared to have been like ordinary people, except that both men and women wore skirts of bark cloth and otherwise dressed differently from the Cayapa, and that they were very ferocious. Some claim that in this war of extermination all these Indios Bravos were killed; others claim that a few escaped to the mountains about the extreme headwaters of the Rio Esmeraldas, where their descendants still live and are much feared even at the present time.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

It is said that these people whom the Cayapa are reputed to have conquered are not the people who formerly lived at La Tolita and built the mounds and made the pottery and metal objects so abundant there. That was a still different tribe which occupied the region prior to the time of the people whom the Cayapa exterminated. And they are likewise quite a different people from those formerly living along the lower course of the Rio Esmeraldas. It is said that at a point on this river a short distance above the present town of Esmeraldas, there lived, before the coming of the whites and negroes to the region, a tribe of Indians called Wásũ. They were like the Cayapa in appearance, but had a language entirely different from that of the Cayapa or of any people now known to them. It is said that there were a few of these Indians in the vicinity of Esmeraldas up to within a generation or two past, but that they are now extinct. No words of their language were recalled by any of the Cayapa informants.

Accounts of the migration of the Cayapa from Pueblo Viejo to their present abode vary somewhat. One informant gave the following account which attributes the success of the Cayapa to magic.

After the Cayapa had been subjected to the depredations of the Indios Bravos for many years, it was determined that some action must be taken to insure their safety. Accordingly three men were sent out to reconnoiter. They came down the river on a small raft, using the greatest care to make no sound and traveling entirely at night. They reported that there were

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

173 great numbers of the Indios Bravos living in villages along the river.

Next, two young women were sent down, who at last discovered a house containing two Indio Bravo men asleep. Approaching cautiously, they discovered that these men held clasped very tightly under their arms short lance-shape wands which, by working with the utmost caution, the women were able to remove. They took these objects back to Pueblo Viejo and gave them to their husbands, who set about at once to learn from the wands the various magic, death-dealing powers which they possessed. At first the wands refused absolutely to divulge anything, but after being frightened with threats of burning, they consented to teach the men during the night.

When night came, therefore, the wands flew about the house and exhibited their magic power. They taught the men what parts of the body were vulnerable to them, and how, on the other hand, they might be caught in the arm-pit, by the side of the head, on the shoulder, in the inner angle of the elbow, in the angle of the knee, and by various other parts of the body. The wands also taught these men how to dodge their own attacks, and also how they might be used in killing the uninitiated. These men, in turn, taught others, until a considerable company of magicians had been thoroughly trained.

At last an expedition of ten of these magicians, each with his wand, which had been thoroughly tried, started down the river to attack the Indios Bravos. One

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

magician, who was especially powerful, remained in his house at Pueblo Viejo to chant the proper incantations to pacify the souls of those who were to be killed, in order that they might not harm any of the attacking party of magicians. The members of the party approached in succession and with great caution the various points inhabited by the Indios Bravos. At each place they made a sudden attack, using their wands with deadly effect. These attacks were met by a stout defense on the part of the Indios Bravos, but the wands of the Cayapa had been so thoroughly trained and proved that they were able to fly against those sent by the enemy and break them, and later to kill everyone in the village attacked. 173

The Cayapa first attacked the Indios Bravos living along the Rio Sapayo Grande; next those along the Rio San Miguel; next those along the Rio Camarones; then those along La Herradura de Cayapas, and so on down the Rio Cayapas, up the Rio Onzole, and again down the Rio Cayapas to its confluence with the Rio Santiago. They also visited destruction on the inhabitants along the Rio Santiago, and finally made their way down to the coast. Here the magicians divided part going along the coast as far as Tumaco on the north the remainder going as far as Esmeraldas on the south Thus by these magic means they were able to destroy all the former inhabitants of the region and to render it habitable to themselves.

On the return of the shamans to Pueblo Viejo, all the Cayapa moved down to the Rio Cayapas, which region

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

173 in large measure they found to be the same as it is now; but the Cayapa did not take possession of the former territory of the Indios Bravos until conditions had first been more or less changed. For instance, while the Indios Bravos had fields of plantains and bananas as do the Cayapa at present, they were not utilized directly by the conquerors, but the roots were dug up and replanted. Similarly all other products of the labor of the Indios Bravos were changed, thus removing any danger to the Cayapa from using them.

[262] In those days also, the sabalo, the fish most prized by the Cayapa, existed only in the main streams of the rivers: it never came into the small esteros as it does now. On going into the country of the Indios Bravos the Cayapa placed near the mouth of each estero a row of palm-wood posts which had the magic power of rising from the ground to their full height during full moon and of sinking into the mud out of sight during the dark of the moon. These posts are said to have had a direct effect on this particular species of fish and on their passing up and down the estero. Some of these posts are said to be found even now at the mouths of certain esteros.

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Whatever the reasons for their move, and whatever

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the means employed to accomplish it, the advantages in this new location over their former mountain habitat resulted in greater ease of agriculture, improved conditions for growing plantains, facility of travel on the river, and proximity to the sea. The change from their former life, which was that of a village community of mountaineers with maize as the staple food, was very considerable. They at present live scattered along the banks of the rivers, each family keeping to itself in large measure, but they still preserve a semblance of their former village life in the three pueblos, Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, each of which is a common meeting place for its particular division of the people.

The provincial and national governments recognize, in a way, the rights of the Indians to full and peaceable possession of their territory, and have endeavored to protect them by enacting laws prohibiting the settlement of other peoples along the Rio Cayapas and its tributaries. The enforcement of these laws, however, has been quite another matter, for the negroes, descendants of former slaves of Colombia and Ecuador, in later years have gradually worked their way up the streams until now their houses extend as far as Corriente Grande. Formerly Cayapa houses were found as far down-stream as Borbon, at the confluence of the Cayapas and Santiago rivers, but at present the house farthest down-stream is only a short distance below the confluence of the Rio Onaole with the Rio Cayapas.

As for the white population of the entire Province of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

declare the Cayapa absolutely honest. It is claimed also 674
that murder and other major crimes are entirely unknown among them.

On the other hand, there are strict rules with respect 684
to marital relations, any infringement of which meets with severe punishment. The details of this phase of Cayapa life will be discussed in dealing with the subject of marriage. The Cayapa themselves claim that in [177]
aboriginal times the same regulations in respect to these matters were in vogue, but presumably they may have been at least strengthened, if not considerably influenced, by the rigid church laws introduced by missionaries.

It is said that formerly, when the Cayapa were a 173
united mountain people residing in a village community, there was but one chief and one government for all, but that soon after they settled along the banks of the river they became segregated into the three divisions as above mentioned. There then arose the three separate villages for fiestas and other gatherings, and the three separate and independent governments. No special reason for this separation is given by the Cayapa, other than that it was more convenient than to have a single central government; and no explanation could be obtained as to how the officials of the three separate governments were first appointed or elected.

It is said that in aboriginal times the inauguration of a new official was attended by no special ceremony, but that he automatically assumed the duties of his office on the death of his predecessor. At present, however, such a 622
person enters on these duties only after having been 624
duly inducted by the priest during his annual visit to the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

ceptions, if indeed it is not entirely a distortion of the biblical account of the genesis. According to this, God (Dios apa) fashioned out of clay five pairs of individuals in the form of human beings, at a point far in the mountains east of Quito; he then spat in their mouths and they sprang up in the full vigor of life. They went immediately to the region of Ibarra and became the first Cayapa. No details are given of their further existence up to the coming of the Spaniards. It is said that at that time they had so far increased as to fill the country completely. This account further states that, owing to their fear of the Spaniards, and especially of horses, they migrated to Pueblo Viejo in the lower mountains between Ibarra and the coast at a time shortly after the arrival of the first Spaniards. According to other accounts it would appear that this migration was probably prior to the conquest and may have been due to the encroachment of other tribes. It seems not improbable that the active conquest by the Quichua of Peru, which extended throughout the interior mountain region of Ecuador at a time immediately prior to the Spanish conquest, may have been the cause of this migration. Other than this meager account, the aboriginality of which is doubtful, it was impossible to obtain a trace of a creation myth accounting for the presence of human beings on the earth.

As for the universe itself, it seems to be accepted by the Cayapa as having always existed and as having required no act of special creation.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the spirits themselves never eat any of the material part of the great quantities of food which they appropriate and cook; consequently this food is fed to their pets. The food is thrown to them upon the floor, as we might feed an animal, but all food offered to human beings who are guests in the cave is served upon coiled serpents. 116

While the bū'tcûlya live primarily on the earth, they are able to ascend into the upper world by means of the rainbow (bū'tcûlya ciñgûtiñatû) to visit Thunder. The object of this visit is purely a friendly one, since the bū''tcûlya are not servants of Thunder and neither do favors for nor receive favors from him. [82]

INDIOS BRAVOS

A class of beings which seems to be partly mythical and partly to have a basis in fact are the Indios Bravos, or he ûya'la. As was mentioned in speaking of the history of the Cayapa, it is claimed by them that their occupancy of the country adjacent to the Rio Cayapas dates only from comparatively recent historic times, and that formerly there lived upon the river the Indios Bravos, a people who subsisted, partly at least, on raw human flesh. In other respects these people were much like the Cayapa themselves. They lived in isolated family groups and had no villages; they were a little taller than the Cayapa, but of the same general appearance and color; their clothing, however, consisted of a short skirt of black cloth, which was the dress of both men and women; they used no paint on their faces or bodies; their most striking physical feature was their very large eye 776 173.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

77% teeth, similar to the fangs of the jaguar. After the Indios
●173 Bravos had preyed on the Cayapa for many years, the latter arose against them and descended upon their territory with a strong force armed with magic weapons, almost annihilating the cannibals and taking possession of their country. A detailed account of this trouble between the Cayapa and the Indios Bravos is given on pages 32–36.

It is said that a few Indios Bravos still exist far back in the mountains near the headwaters of the Rio Guayabamba, where, contrary to their ancient custom while on the Rio Cayapas, they have a village. They are never visited by any surrounding peoples, and are much feared by all. In recent years the only definite report of them which has reached the Cayapa is that, while a party of negro rubber gatherers was on the headwaters of the Guayabamba, they came upon three Indio Bravo boys whom they captured after a desperate struggle. Being on their way to Quito, the negroes endeavored to take the boys along. En route two of them died, but the third reached the city and was placed in the care of some priests. One of the Fathers later had a finger bitten off by the boy, thus showing the innate viciousness of the Indio Bravo tribe.

It is said that the Cayapa fought the Indios Bravos with a short palm-wood spear. These weapons are still found occasionally, partly embedded in the sand of the river where they have drifted from ancient times. These implements are said to be so dangerous that if a person attempts to pick one up or touches it in any way, illness is sure to follow. It is probable that this short

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

palm-wood spear is in reality the magic wand which was used by the Cayapa against the Indios Bravos when they were driven from the Rio Cayapas, as before mentioned. The Cayapa were able to do this by virtue of their superior magic and the superior magic of their wands, and not by means of ordinary conflict, hence it is the magic of these wands or spears which still clings to them that renders them so dangerous even at the present time.

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THE GIANT ASLAÛ'HMÛ

A class of male giants said to have been very numerous in former times in the foot-hills bordering the Rio Cayapas is the aslaû'hmû. It is said that these giants became frightened at the first firearms possessed by the Cayapa and that they gradually disappeared into the mountains farther back from the river. Here they still reside, and even yet capture people who venture too far into the jungle. These giants are from eight to twelve feet in height, have skin of the same color as the Cayapa, and have very long fingers without nails. Their noses are very large also, being about three inches in length; their eyes are very large, and the mouth is irregular in shape; they have no teeth, and are unable to talk; the upper part of the abdomen appears normal, but the back from the ribs down is lacking, and within the abdominal cavity the liver is the only organ present. They wear a kind of skirt of bluish cloth, somewhat similar in texture to that woven by the Cayapa, and a bluish shirt reaching to the umbilicus and with sleeves which come to a point just above the elbows; they also wear a tall blue cap

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

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situated about thirty yards from the river side" (Stevenson 1829:409). Unfortunately, Stevenson's description of Cayapa life was meager, for he was much more interested in the Malába, a group of reputedly wild Indians who lived along the Río San Miguel, a tributary of the Río Cayapas. The Cayapa were as loathe to visit the Malába as Stevenson was eager to do so. After some hesitation, the alcalde, having been promised various gifts, ordered two men to take Stevenson up river. It is of considerable interest to note that the Cayapa chief had sufficient authority to order two of his people to accompany Stevenson into the land of the "savage" Malába. Stevenson reported that the Malába were quite gentle and that they spoke a variant of Quechua, a language spoken throughout the Andes from Ecuador to Peru and Bolivia. The Malába no longer exist as an ethnic group; however, this is the term used by the present day Cayapa to designate a group of evil spirits that dwell somewhere in the monte or bush.

It would appear, given the position of the Cayapa near the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas and the Malába at its upper reaches, that the migration of the Cayapa from their ancient Andean homeland as stated in

their traditional tales probably took place by way of the Río Santiago until the confluence with the Río Cayapas was reached; thence, movement was up the Río Cayapas. 174

In 1879 Wolf marked on his map of Esmeraldas province a "town"--that is, a center of habitation named San Miguel de Cayapas and in 1894 Basurco recorded Cayapa living up the Río Sapallo Grande and the Río San Miguel. The latter group is reported to have an alcalde (Basurco 1894:414). Between 1809 and 1879 the Malaba had apparently been replaced by the Cayapa. By 1908 Barrett reported definitely that the Cayapa were divided into three tribal groups: Punta Venado, Sapallo Grande, and San Miguel. Each group was reported as having its own ceremonial center and being led by an /ʌnʸL/ or gobernador. During my 1959-1960 field trip, I was told by Gabriel Anapa, the /ʌnʸL/ of the Punta Venado group, that some twenty-five years earlier a group of people had left the Sapallo Grande section and had formed a new tribal unit with its own /ʌnʸL/. They left after a dispute with the /ʌnʸL/ of Sapallo grande concerning the re-establishment of Pueblo Viejo, the ancient center in the mountainous upper reaches of the Río

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THE CAYAPA AND COLORADO

By John Murra

INTRODUCTION

The *Cayapa* and the *Colorado* are the last surviving Indian groups in the lush western lowlands of Ecuador (maps 1 and 6). Once an area of extensive Indian occupation, western Ecuador is now inhabited by a Spanish-speaking population of mixed Indian, Negro, and white ancestry, known as montuvios. The *Cayapa* and *Colorado* have precariously managed to hang on to their jungle homes. Speaking closely related if mutually unintelligible languages of the *Barbacoan* division of the *Chibchan* family, they represent the southernmost extension of that major division. Comparative studies with other *Chibchan*-speaking groups in Highland and eastern Colombia, with *Quechua*-speaking Indians in Highland Ecuador, and with various Montaña groups should prove of considerable culture-historical interest.

THE CAYAPA

The *Cayapa* are a riverain people inhabiting the lowlands of northwestern Ecuador. Sprinkled through the jungles of Esmeraldas Province, an area of difficult colonization and control, they managed for centuries to avoid the enslavement suffered by their Highland neighbors or the ethnic annihilation of most Coast aborigines. Only in the past few decades have their settlements been pushed back into the hills by Spanish-speaking montuvio and Negro homesteaders. World War II requirements in balsa wood, rubber, and other tropical commodities have accelerated this process of displacement and acculturation.

The Cayapa River and its affluents, from the mouth of the Ancuje to the foot of the Andes, are the main area of *Cayapa* settlement. Barrett (1925) found three concentration spots: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, corresponding to three political, tribal divisions, which might since have shifted or amalgamated. In addition, small groups of *Cayapa*, in various degrees of acculturation, are found in the Santiago Valley and along the coast into Colombia. Estimates of their numbers vary but hover around a mean of 2,000.

The chief source and authority on the *Cayapa* remains S. A. Barrett's monograph (1925). Barrett visited them in 1908–9, long enough to bring

Cayapa and Colorado and thereby systematically proved the relationship that had always been assumed on purely impertinent grounds (Moore 1962). The most recent classification proposed by Greenberg places Cayapa-Colorado within the sub family called Paezan, which together with Chibchan proper belongs to the Macro-Chibchan family (Greenberg 1956). This classification is similar to that proposed by Mason (Mason 1950:180). A claim that Cayapa is closely related to Mayan is proposed by Professor Aquiles R. Perez T; however, the documentation is not convincing at present (Perez 1960: 491-494).

History. The first actually reliable information on the Cayapa comes from the pen of W. B. Stevenson, who visited them briefly in 1809. At that time, there was but one group of Cayapa (those who lived in the vicinity of Punta Tuncabi). The chief, or alcalde, as Stevenson called him, carried a "baston, insignia of authority" which he presented to Stevenson. He then ordered the Indians to obey Stevenson ". . . and they advanced one after another to kiss the head of the baston, and accompanied us to the house of the alcalde, which was

situated about thirty yards from the river side" (Stevenson 1829:420). Unfortunately, Stevenson's description of Cayapa life was meager, for he was much more interested in the Malâba, a group of reputedly wild Indians who lived along the Río San Miguel, a tributary of the Río Cayapas. The Cayapa were as loathe to visit the Malâba as Stevenson was eager to do so. After some hesitation, the cicalde, having been promised various gifts, ordered two men to take Stevenson up river. It is of considerable interest to note that the Cayapa chief had sufficient authority to order two of his people to accompany Stevenson into the land of the "savage" Malâba. Stevenson reported that the Malâba were quite gentle and that they spoke a variant of Quechua, a language spoken throughout the Andes from Ecuador to Peru and Bolivia. The Malâba no longer exist as an ethnic group; however, this is the term used by the present day Cayapa to designate a group of evil spirits that dwell somewhere in the monte or bush.

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A SYSTEM OF MNEMONIC WRITING

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As has already been noted, the Cayapa have no written language and express nothing in writing of any kind. An interesting example of the power of adaptation, however, was given by one individual along this line. The incident, while it has no direct bearing on the general life and culture of the tribe as a whole, may perhaps be significant and of interest when the general subject of mnemonics and hieroglyphic writing is considered, for it shows how readily a single individual of a tribe may borrow a principle which is entirely foreign to the culture of his own people and, with this as a basis, may invent a new system which might give rise to an entirely new order of things if it were carried to its full possibilities. Furthermore, this system is of considerable interest from a phonetic point of view, since it shows that it is founded on strictly phonetic considerations and thus shows what may be termed the natural tendency of the mind of man to correlate and arrange at least some linguistic ideas along logical, phonetic lines.

On the arrival of the author in the Cayapa country he took up his residence with a prominent official of the tribe known, according to the present-day Spanish terminology, as "El Secretario del Gobernacion." When the author expressed a desire to learn the Cayapa language, his host manifested an equal desire to learn English. It was therefore mutually agreed that each should instruct the other. A beginning was made with the numeral system, the author being given the names of the Cayapa numerals. As the terms were pronounced,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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careful record of them was made in writing. However, when the Secretario was told the English numerals, he was entirely dependent on his memory, since no system of writing was known to him. On the following day, when each endeavored to recite his lesson to the other, the Secretario was greatly surprised to hear the author read from his notes and correctly pronounce the Cayapa numerals told him the day before, whereas he, on the other hand, had much difficulty in getting his pronunciation correct and in remembering certain of the English numerals. He asked the author how it was possible to remember these numbers and the pronunciation of them; and upon being told about the aid to the memory given by the writing, he was immediately desirous of trying such a plan himself. Being provided with pencil and paper, he thereupon carefully recorded the first ten of the accompanying set of mnemonic characters (fig. 29). With this paper before him he was able, on the following day, to the author's surprise, to recount with almost perfect exactness these first ten English numerals. A day or two more added another set, and in the course of about a week he had worked out a complete system of mnemonic characters for the numerals from one to one hundred. Furthermore, an interesting feature of this set of mnemonic characters is the fact that they are strictly decimal in their composition, whereas the Cayapa numerals form a much more complex system, it being quinary-decimal-centenary.

The units themselves appear to be entirely unrelated one to another, and as the author watched the Indian making these characters it was evident that a pure proc-

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

ess of invention was evolving in his mind, his chief desire being in each instance to get some character that

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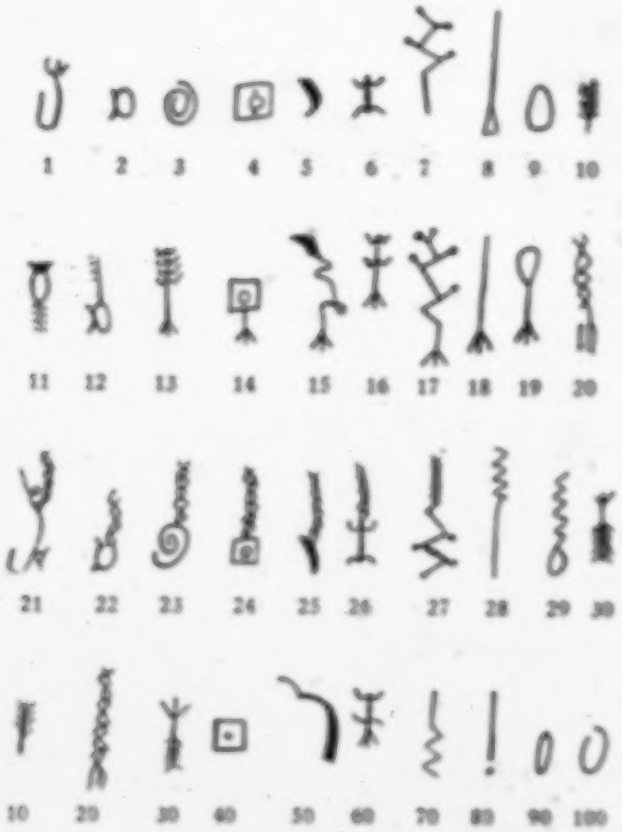

FIG. 29.—Mnemonic characters

should represent the particular number and which should be different from all the others.

In forming most of the characters to represent the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

802
176
211

numbers from eleven to nineteen he took carefully into account those representing the units one to nine. In fact, he always referred to these and in most cases reproduced them entirely, or in part, as portions of the characters representing the 'teens. Indeed the characters representing fourteen to nineteen are clearly and obviously these same unit characters with the addition of the crowfoot beneath, which represented to his mind the idea of 'teen—not that it was related to ten, but the crowfoot actually represented to him the sounds comprising 'teen. It is even more evident in thirteen, where the crowfoot first appears but where the unit character for three is not present, that the various parts of these characters actually represented to his mind sounds, rather than precisely correlated ideas of the numeral system. This became clear whenever he used this table of characters, for when he first repeated these numbers he did so very slowly and pointed to the particular part of the character which represented the sound which he was speaking. For instance, in the case of fourteen he would point to the square enclosing the circle and say "four;" then his pencil would go down to the crowfoot and he would say "teen." Likewise in nineteen the oval was nine and the crowfoot 'teen. As still further evidence of the phonetic nature of these mnemonic characters, eleven and twelve are excellent examples. To our minds eleven and twelve belong logically to the set of 'teens, though "'teen" does not appear in them. To the Cayapa's mind, however, the vertical line with the four dots on each side in the sign for eleven represented "e," and the oval with its heavy crescent above

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

302
176
211

represented "leven." Likewise, in the case of twelve, the oval with the crescent on the side represented "two," and the vertical line with the four dots on the left represented "helve." Furthermore, he learned this number not as twelve but as "two-helve," and no amount of correction at any later time could change his pronunciation. In both of these instances we have a composition of the character along strictly phonetic lines. In the higher numbers a similar condition prevailed, though in many instances the same sound or set of sounds was represented by different characters. For instance, the "ty" in the higher tens was variously represented. In fifty it was the long heavy curved line, in sixty the crowfoot, and eighty the dot. In each instance this character forms the lower part of these respective characters. In seventy it was the vertical line, and in thirty the crowfoot, which form in these instances the upper part of the character. Forty and ninety are simply four and nine somewhat altered.

As above mentioned, the idea of the addition of ten to the unit in the numbers eleven to nineteen is indicated by joining directly to the characters one to nine certain other characters representing the sounds, not the idea, expressed in "teen." Likewise also in the numbers twenty-one to twenty-nine. The upper part of the character twenty is joined directly to the unit character and forms an integral part of it. From thirty onward, however, a different method was used. Here the unit character was placed directly after the character representing the particular ten which was being used, thus requiring two independent characters instead of one

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

302
176
2.11

composite character to represent any particular number. This arrangement of the characters may have been more or less due to the fact that the inventor had seen the English numbers and had had these explained to him. His arrangement of these may possibly have been influenced by the arrangement of the English, and the fact that the lower numbers were not arranged in a similar manner may be because when he invented them he did not thoroughly comprehend this arrangement of the English.

In the accompanying set of these characters it will be observed that in large measure the tens are formed on the units as bases. There are, however, certain exceptions to this rule. For instance, ten, twenty, and thirty are evidently formed independently without taking the numbers one, two, and three into consideration. The remainder of the tens, however, from forty to ninety inclusive, are palpably formed directly from the units four to nine inclusive by the simple addition of some extra stroke or by the alteration of the unit character.

In view of the above-mentioned phonetic nature of this whole system it appears natural that these three numbers, ten, twenty, and thirty, should be different from their corresponding units, since the sounds involved in these three are very different from the sounds involved in the same units. Attention should be called also to the fact that the character thirty strongly resembles thirteen and that to the informant's mind the upper branching portion of the character thirteen represented the portion of this numeral which we pronounce 'thir," while the crowfoot below represented "teen," and that likewise

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

802
176
211

the very similar lower portion of the character thirty represented the same sound "thir" while the crowfoot above it represented "ty."

It is therefore evident that, while this set of characters is strictly mnemonic in its use, it is formed on a phonetic basis. It is, as first stated, the original invention of a single individual and in no way represents a tribal characteristic, but with it at hand this individual appeared to be greatly assisted in his difficult task of learning to count in English, and so assiduously did he study his system that in the course of a short time he was able to count fluently from one to one hundred. For a considerable length of time he was unable to do this without the aid of his set of numeral characters, but ultimately, of course, he became so familiar with this that he repeated them easily from memory.

142 Their bodies are clean, and I have never seen a Cayapa who had a
[515] rash or boils, and only few who had scars. Their hair is thick, bristly
[302] and dull black in color; the beardless men wear it semi-long to the
nape of the neck, while the women let it hang loose and open so that
it not only covers their backs and ears, but in part even their fore-
291 heads and cheeks. Their clothes are extremely modest. The men
wear a sleeveless, shirt-like, loose gown, which usually reaches to
the hips only, but is sometimes longer, reaching to the knees, in
which case it seems to be the holiday attire, and it looks richer hav-
ing a border of differently colored cloth. These clothes are made of
thin, very bright and cheap cotton materials. On special occasions
292 they even dress in gala clothes, which differ from their every-day
531 clothes in that they are decorated with straight lines or zig-zag de-
301 signs of shells. In addition they may deck themselves out in their
177 most precious ornaments consisting of two to ten long necklaces made
of multi-colored glass beads as well as (at least from their point of
view) especially beautiful neck and arm ornaments consisting of the
cardboards 6 cm. wide so well known to all of us, with a whole gross
of ordinary porcelain shirt-buttons on each just as they were delivered
by the European manufacturers. But even among them there are
292 177 dandies and fashion hounds, who manage to pick up a useless old
black waistcoat somewhere, which they then decorate with a lot of
white shells and buttons, wearing it as a sort of open vest over their
red or blue shirts. But imagine the happiness of the young man who
in addition to this splendor, has managed to acquire a stiff round felt
hat. No matter how shabby, battered, greasy and much too small it
may be on his fat pate with the thick mop of hair, he is proud of his
elegance and would not change places even with the governor. The
622 Gobernador de los Cayapas (Governor of the Cayapas) is one of their
177 chiefs, of which each village or district has one—yes of course—he
292 is a great gentleman—he can afford it—he not only wears a shell
301 bedecked waistcoat over his red cotton shirt, but over it still another
long, black morning-coat, which he has bought from or been given
by Don So-and-so, because it had become too tight, unfashionable
or shabby for the latter. And around his neck and wrists he wears
especially wide cardboards with buttons in proportion to his dignity.
Naturally it would be considered unseemly for a governor to come to
town without suitable head-gear, even if it be only a self-made straw
panama hat for lack of a black felt hat. But even he does not wear
[293] trousers or shoes, which are considered superfluous and burdensome;
instead he carries in his right hand a wooden stick five feet long with
a silver knob as a symbol of his position and power.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

291 Children wear no clothes at all until they are 6 or 8.

301 The hair is worn loose, long, and flowing by the women but is clipped
302 above the ears by the men. Both sexes wear necklaces and wristbands of glass and porcelain beads, coins, seeds, and beetle wings. Only women wear earrings.

303 The traditional *Chibcha* custom of frequently painting body and face is found among the *Cayapa*. Red, yellow, and black are used, and the designs are very numerous. Barrett reproduces many of the motifs and insists that there is no special significance attached to any of them, nor is there any age, sex, or property correlation.

TRANSPORTATION

501 **Watercraft.**—A large part of every *Cayapa's* life is spent on the water
[499] fishing and traveling. Canoes are built with great skill and care. They can withstand not only fluvial but also maritime travel and are routinely sold in the "civilized" coast towns. They are dugouts, usually 10 to 12 yards long but sometimes much larger. Balsa-wood logs are sometimes used as outriggers.

MANUFACTURES

[illegible] Details of *Cayapa* manufactures are contained in Barrett's work, which describes and illustrates finished products and minutely discusses the techniques of preparation.

322 **Woodworking.**—Woodworking includes house building, making deadfall traps, and carving seats and children's dolls.

285 **Weaving and basketry.**—The women weave cotton cloth on a narrow
284 native loom, and the men do the sewing. The men also weave the fishing
462 nets and hammocks. Barrett's discussion of *Cayapa* basketry is outstanding. The *Cayapa* make many kinds of baskets, mats, and hats of bark and of various roots.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery is crude and undecorated. It is used particularly for
177 storage. Tradition claims that in their old Highland habitat the *Cayapa* made better pottery but that cabinashes have since largely replaced ceramics.

324 **Stonework and metalwork.**—Stonework is limited to the metates
325 used in grinding corn and plantains. Although in aboriginal times Lowland Ecuador was a famous area of metallurgy, there is no evidence that the contemporary *Cayapa* practiced it.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapon most widely used today is the muzzle-loading
177 shotgun. The blowgun was important in the past, but today its use is restricted to boys, who shoot poison darts while playing at hunting. Hardwood bows are being given up, and the bow and arrow is said not to be mentioned in *Cayapa* tradition. The steel machete is ubiquitous.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

ECONOMICS

The *Cayapa* economic unit is the virtually self-sufficient, one-family household. Land is owned and worked familially, and there is as much land to be had as the family can clear. If any special rules govern distribution and inheritance they are not reported by our sources. Also, there seem to be very few provisions for interhousehold cooperation: men will help a neighbor bring down a tree trunk from the hills, but all other activities are evidently left to individual enterprise.

This self-sufficiency does not apply to all spheres of activity. Machetes and rifles are essential in jungle life, and most families make at least one trip a year to the coast for trading and social purposes. In the small Ecuadorean and Colombian towns they find a ready market for rubber, tagua nuts, and other forest products. Cocoa is grown specifically for this trade. There is also a limited market for some of their manufactures: canoes, mats, fans, and other basketry. In exchange, the *Cayapa* want metal goods: axes, machetes, shotguns, fishhooks, fish spears, and copper tubing for their distilleries. But they also like beads and mirrors, pearls, vests, and old derby hats. In recent years machine-made muslins and calicoes have been edging out native-made cloth.

The *Cayapa* are not yet incorporated in Ecuadorean economy. Their need for metal goods and trinkets has not yet forced them to work on plantations or in placer gold mines. Their own supply of rum has helped them avoid debts contracted for alcohol, and they have usually retreated into the forest when their self-sufficiency has been menaced. It is improbable that this selective acculturation can last very long.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The basic *Cayapa* social unit is the household. Though there is no definite indication as to size and composition, it appears to be an extended family including normally no more than 10 to 12 people. Chief Antonio Napa's house at Punta Venado could seat some 40-odd people at a feast, but it was unique in size, and the Napa household according to Basurco (1894) had only 8 to 10 members.

Barrett (1925) presents a detailed chart of kinship terms used by the *Cayapa*. We unfortunately know nothing about the behavior that goes with the terms or about marriage rules. On the face of it the system is a "lineal" one—collateral relatives are separated from lineal ones but are not differentiated among themselves. Thus, the term for uncle applies to both paternal and maternal ones. All terms are highly descriptive. There is no evidence of reciprocal use of terms, but Barrett's chart is not really complete. The system is quite unique and interesting.

The lineal and descriptive nature of the kinship system emphasizes the bilateral character of the *Cayapa* family. There is no clan organization. The extended family household is the truly basic social unit. There is

There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente politico, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WELFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

Death.—Death is not considered to be a natural phenomenon but is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body. A dead man's soul hovers around his house, which is usually abandoned, though it may be dismantled and sold. The corpse is buried in a coffin in a Catholic-style cemetery near the church. The dead man's possessions are usually given away, but it is not known who inherits his fields and clearings.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The great range of designs used by the *Cayapa* in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (fajas).

Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

Canoe paddles and wooden seats are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

Music and dancing.—Holidays, weddings, and other feasts are accompanied by much dancing and drinking. As elsewhere along the coast, the European marimba is widely used, as are panpipes, flutes, drums, and rattles. In recent years the Highland San Juan dance has been gaining in popularity. Also of immediate Highland provenience may be the small European wooden harp with palm-fiber strings.

Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. Guarapo, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

RELIGION

Native *Cayapa* religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are said for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

137
192
824

English	Spanish	Cayapa
lemon	limon	lē'mō (lēmō'-tcī = the tree)
	chocolatillo	tcōkōla'ie, tcōkōlaā'a
sandpaper tree		lya'pic-hakī
plantain	platano	pa'nda
banana	seda	sē'da, sēda-kīnī'a
	hoja blanca	lī'ba-hakī[5]
	hoja negra	e'lūñ-hakī
sugar-cane	caña dulce	e'lla
wild cane	caña brava	nya'nyī
corn	maiz	pi'cū
tobacco	tabaco	ta'kō
	yuca	kū'tcū, kū'ctcū
	rascadera	sū'a
pineapple	piña	tcī'lya
pepper	aji	tyū
	yerba buena	ēvī vē'nō[6]
pumpkin	sapayo	ū
	kuna-kuna	wa'-tcī
	matamba	bī'ta
		nintcū'a[7]
	tangarea	ōlō'n-tcī

[177]

Palms

ivory nut	palma tagua	tī'mō būlō (tī'n-tcī = the palm)[8]
	palma real	ūya'-tcī

[5] This term, like the Spanish *hoja blanca*, signifies "white leaf."

[6] The name of this introduced plant is obviously a corruption of the Spanish.

[7] A porous vine used as a smoking material by children.

[8] In the majority of cases the names given by informants for these palms are combinations of the simple names of the palms with the word *tcī*, signifying "tree." The five cases in which the simple name was obtainable are here noted, the compound terms following them in parentheses.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6
Cholo

groups are much closer than are those of either with the Barbacoa, but there seem to be a sufficient number of features in common between these two Colombian stocks on the one hand, and the Cayapa and Colorado dialects on the other, to warrant the inclusion of all these in a larger group or linguistic family.

On the north the nearest Indian neighbors of the Cayapa are those commonly called by the ambiguous term "Chokó," and who live along the Río Santiago, a small stream which empties into the ocean at about 2° 50' N., at a point nearly opposite the island of Gorgona. These people are entirely different from the Cayapa in language and culture; but there is a certain amount of intermingling between the two, and a marked influence is exerted by the Chokó on some features of Cayapa culture, especially medicine practices.

The only other Indian neighbors of the Cayapa are the Quichua, or Kechua, descendants of the historic Inca peoples, who live in the interior valleys, the nearest being those about Ibarra and Cotacachi. Although they are of an entirely different linguistic stock, there is here also a certain amount of intermingling, small parties of Quichua making occasional trips down to the coast, and small parties of Cayapa making occasional trips into the mountains. At the present time, however, the trails are much neglected and are extremely difficult to travel, so that the intercourse is very slight.

The only other peoples with whom the Cayapa come into contact are the few European or North American whites, and the many negroes, descendants of former

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

slaves of this western coast, especially of Colombia. These negroes live adjacent to and mingle very much with the Cayapa, and have exerted a strong influence on some features of their culture, especially their music. 177 [533]

HISTORY

According to Cayapa tradition, the original home of the people was in the mountains near Ibarra. At a time probably very near that of the advent of the first Spaniards, the Cayapa as a body moved to what is now known as Pueblo Viejo de Cayapas, in the mountains drained by the upper course of the Rio Santiago. Various reasons are given for this migration, some affirming that it was because of their fear of the invaders (and, as one informant said, especially the fear of their horses), while others say that it was due to the general alteration in their mode of life as a result of the conquest. Still others claim that the migration occurred some time prior to the conquest, and that it was due to their love of peace and their distaste for the hostilities forced on them by the invading Quichua, or Incas as they are so often called, who, only a comparatively short time prior to the arrival of the Spanish explorers, had invaded Ecuador and subjugated its various peoples in the interior, even as far north as what is now the northern boundary of the republic. One informant related a traditionary tale to the effect that the Cayapa migrated by the advice and under the leadership of a certain shaman who, dissatisfied with conditions as they were at Ibarra, called through his magic a jaguar which he entrusted with the duty of finding a more suitable abode. After 173

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

motion is desired, a string with a grip is used. Occasionally a girl may be seen spinning a top, but it is primarily an amusement of the boys.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Buildings

The buildings of the Cayapa may be divided into four classes: the dwelling or regular abode, the rancho or temporary structure, the cane-mill and distillery, and the church, this last, of course, being of modern introduction. All these buildings, except the church, which is at ground level, are pile structures and are constructed according to a single general plan.

In pls. I-IV are shown typical dwellings. They are always rectangular in ground-plan (pl. XI), and vary in size according to the number of occupants, some reaching large dimensions. The dwelling of which the above-mentioned ground-plan is presented is 87 feet in extreme length and 41 feet in width. Dwellings are almost invariably situated along the river bank, and each is flanked by fields of sugar-cane, plantains, bananas, cacao, pineapples, and other crops. The dwellings are raised four to twelve feet from the ground, and access is gained by means of ladders such as those illustrated in fig. 1, especially those of the types shown in *a* and *d*.

The houses are fairly simple in construction. The framework consists of a number of heavy squared posts of a hard black wood called by the local Spanish name

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 A platform of bamboo is next constructed at an
[349] elevation of two or three feet from the ground. The
314 split green leaves, prepared as above, are then placed on this platform and a thatch built over and around them so as to protect them completely from the weather. This is done usually at the place where the leaves are cut, probably more as a matter of convenience than for any other reason, since the leaves when green are very heavy but on drying become very light. They are allowed to season here for at least two months, after which they are transported to the point where they are to be used. In some cases, however, the freshly cut leaves are transported at once to the house for which they are intended and there cured.

This seasoning in a dry place is absolutely necessary, since if the leaves were placed on the roof while still green, the constant rains of this region would soon rot
[325] them. It is further claimed that if used when green they are soon attacked by insects, especially cockroaches, which, as before mentioned, are very numerous and troublesome.

342 The negroes also use the tagua-leaf to a large extent
177 for thatch, and in its preparation they are very strict in their observance of certain rules concerning the phases of the moon. No timber may be felled and no thatch leaves cut in the light of the moon. In the case of timber, it is claimed that it is both subject to the attacks of insects and is rendered much more likely to break or split in working if cut in the light of the moon than if cut in the dark of the moon. Likewise thatch

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

cut in the light of the moon is practically worthless. The Indians, however, while they have adopted certain of the negro customs, and while they recognize this one to a limited extent, are usually much more governed by necessity and convenience in the cutting of the thatch or the felling of timber than by the phases of the moon. The bundles, or sets, of four half-leaves are applied directly to the bamboo rafters, the midribs of the leaves being quite sufficient to serve as horizontal supports for the thatch. Beginning at the eaves, the bundles are laid in courses in the same manner as are shingles. The natural underside of the leaf is placed uppermost, and the courses are laid with only about six to eight inches of the tips of the leaflets exposed to the weather. Each bundle is securely bound with pitigua, in from two to four places, to the rafters it crosses. By this overlapping process a thick and watertight roof is secured. The leaflets run directly down the slant of the roof, thus naturally tending to conduct the water from one tier of thatch to the next. Further, as above mentioned, the natural undersides of the leaflets are placed uppermost, and each of these leaflets forms a small shallow trough which readily conducts water. The thatch of the large house above referred to and illustrated (pl. xi) is no less than three inches, and in places probably four inches, in thickness. In this structure the northern gable of the section *a* consists of ten rafters covered with fifty-seven courses of thatch. The sides of this section consist of seventeen rafters covered with sixty courses of thatch.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

near the permanent dwelling, and is almost always surrounded by cane-fields. The cane-mill is equipped with what may be termed the mill proper, consisting of a pair of large and very heavy rollers with a large hand-wheel used in turning them, the large storage pots for fermenting the cane juice, and the fireplace and pottery still used in distilling the rum made from the fermented juice. The similarity which such a mill bears to an ordinary dwelling is shown in pls. x, xi, in each of which the structure to the right is the mill, and that to the left the dwelling. These two illustrations show also how close together the mill and the dwelling are sometimes built. In pl. vi is shown an isolated mill, with a field of young cane in the background. The dwelling of the owner of this cane-mill, illustrated in pl. v, is situated directly opposite on the bank of the river.

The three classes of buildings described are generally isolated from others. The continuously inhabited dwellings are never assembled into villages, but are scattered at intervals along the banks of the streams. There are, however, within the Cayapa territory, three villages, each consisting of a church and a number of houses. These villages are used by the people only when they come together for religious feasts and on other festival occasions. The houses in these villages are never occupied regularly except at such times, though they are constructed in every way like the dwellings occupied permanently by the people as homes.

The church, which of course is a modern institution, having existed only since the time of the Spanish con-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

quest, differs from the other buildings in that it is not raised above the ground and in that it is always enclosed nowadays with lumber obtained from the mills near the mouth of the river. Within the church there is a rude, high altar, with several images of saints; otherwise the building is entirely unfurnished. The front of the church at Pueblo Sapuyo Grande is shown in pl. IV, and the fundamental differences in construction between a church and a dwelling are well shown by the contrast between the two buildings in this illustration. The building in the left foreground is the convento, or house of the priest, and is a typical Cayapa dwelling in every respect. The most characteristic features of a church—its lack of piles, its completely enclosed sides, and its roof, the central portion of which is raised some feet above the remainder—are well shown in the illustrations of the church at Punta Venado. This structure, which is the largest of the three churches of the Cayapa, is shown in the background of pl. XXIV and in pls. CXXXII, CXXXIII, CXXXV, and CXXXVII. It is about 80 feet long, 35 feet wide, and about 25 feet high at the ridge of the building. The eaves are about 10 feet above the ground. This building is nearly twice the size of the church at either Pueblo Sapuyo Grande or Pueblo San Miguel. Of these two churches the latter is somewhat larger than the former. The church at Punta Venado differs from the other two also in that it has a wooden floor, which, like its sides, is made of sawed lumber. The framework of the church is in all essentials the same as that of a dwelling, except for the fact that the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

greater size of the structure calls for correspondingly larger and stronger timbers and pillars. Furthermore, the fact that the floor is at ground level makes unnecessary the timbers which in the dwelling are required to support the floor.

Dress

At the present time the everyday dress of the men consists chiefly of two pieces: a very small, tight-fitting clout (pl. CXVI, 1–3), similar in appearance to short bathing trunks, and an improvised shirt made of calico or of gaudily figured bandana handkerchiefs. On special occasions, such as at feasts and other gatherings, a man adds to this a hat of European or of American manufacture; necklaces of beads, buttons, and silver coins; wrist-bands and neck-bands of small white buttons; and decorations upon the face and exposed parts of the body in red, yellow, or black paint. These ornaments are used to some extent also in the everyday life of the people. In pls. LIII-LVI are shown various types of necklaces and neck- and wrist-bands, and in pls. XXXIX-LII are illustrated typical paintings of the face, arms, and legs. Some of the men paint very little, others very elaborately; some wear no necklaces or similar decorations, others wear many such ornaments; and still others bedeck themselves in both manners very profusely.

The small trunk is ordinarily made of the same kind of native cloth as is used by the women in their dress. It is cut from a piece woven specially for the purpose

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

291 294 [462] and containing a sufficient amount of cloth to make two clouts. Each clout consists of two pieces sewed along a seam running up the front and back. The cloth itself is woven by the women, as is the woman's dress or manta: but the sewing of the clout is done by the men, for the women almost never do any sewing for themselves or for others. The fact that the woman's dress requires no sewing may account for her lack of 291 knowledge in this direction. The clouts are made to fit very tightly, so tightly in fact that they make deep impressions in the muscles of the legs. On account of this tightness no gathering-string or other method of fastening is ordinarily required. Occasionally a man is found who makes his clout a trifle looser than customarily, and provides it, on the right-hand side, with a button [177] to hold it in place. This is said by the Indians to have been formerly the universal custom. In recent times, however, the very tight clout has almost entirely supplanted the other form.

291 177 The influence on the life of the Cayapa exerted at the present time by modern commerce and its manufactured articles is here again shown by the use of white muslin in the making of the clouts. In fact, at present the muslin clout is almost, if not quite, as common as is that made of the native cloth.

291 It is said that formerly, when the Cayapa were mountaineers, they used the poncho which at present is so common among the Indians of the interior Andean region. On migrating into the warmer and more humid coastal region, however, the poncho was found un-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

comfortable and gave place to the lighter shirt which at present is made of bandana handkerchiefs or of calico. Such garments are worn by the men and boys shown in pl. XXV-XXXVIII. This shirt is made by sewing the cloth into the form of a bag, with an opening just large enough to admit the head, and with two openings at the corners for the arms. At the arm-holes the garment fits very tightly; otherwise it is a very light, loose-fitting shirt which protects to a certain extent the upper part of the body from the strong though diffused sunlight, and, to a much greater extent, from the attacks of insects. Often, when about the house or elsewhere under conditions which make it superfluous, the shirt is not worn.

Both men and women wear necklaces to a considerable extent as a part of their daily attire, and on festal occasions. These ornaments are at present made largely of glass and porcelain beads of various kinds, of small buttons, and of silver coins. In primitive times necklaces probably were as much used as at present, but they were made largely of the seeds of certain plants of the region and from the iridescent wing-covers of a large beetle, *Euchroma goliath*. Necklaces of some of these materials are sometimes still found, but they have been largely supplanted by those made of the intrusive materials described.

In pls. LIII-LVI are shown various neck and wrist ornaments. Those shown in pls. LIII, 2-6, and LIV are made of seeds of various kinds, selected for their sweet scent or for their color. The one presented in pl. LIII, 1,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

is of beads and coins; in pl. LV, 1, is shown a necklace consisting of four strands of glass beads, while in pl. LVI, 2, is represented a necklace of beads, coins, and sweet-scented leaves, with two pan-pipes attached to it. A unique type of neck-band is shown in pl. LV, 2, 3; these consist of a woven band to which are attached pendants of haliotis shell. In pls. LV, 4, and LVI, 1, are illustrated a neck-band and a pair of wrist-bands made of buttons, to the former of which are attached a number of coins.

Perforation of either the nose or the ears appears to have been an unknown custom among Cayapa men, hence no nose or ear ornaments worn by men are found. Some of the women at present perforate their ears and suspend from them, as ornaments, small strings of beads or other bright manufactured objects. Neither men nor women ever use native shoes or sandals of any description, nor in former times were hats worn by the men. Subsequent to the Spanish conquest, however, a hat, resembling in form that of the conquistadores, was made from pitigua and used to a limited extent by the men. At present the men use, especially at times of fiestas, the white-man's hat and other wearing apparel obtained from the settlements down the river. Vests and derby hats are highly prized, the former being decorated with buttons, bright-colored yarn, and especially with rows of small silver coins. Those who do not possess vests of the kind made by the whites often improvise a vest-like garment from ordinary cloth. Such a garment is in use by the larger individual seen

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

PL. XXVI

292
177
142
302

FIESTA COSTUME WITH FOREIGN HAT

[p. 66(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

242
301
142
302
•177

FIESTA COSTUMES

[p. 66(8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

142
292
302
177
301

FIESTA COSTUMES

[p. 66(E)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

in pl. xxv. These improvised vests are often decorated with small holes in lines or in crosses or other patterns.

The everyday dress of the women consists of a manta, or skirt (pls. cxii-cxv), girded about the waist usually with a narrow tasseled belt (pl. cvii, 1, 2). In addition, necklaces are almost always worn, and ear pendants are sometimes used. This simple attire is also the one worn at feasts and other gatherings, except on certain special occasions, such as dances and church ceremonies. At such times the head and upper part of the body are completely covered with bright-colored calico or with gaudy bandana handkerchiefs; also in canoeing on a hot day a similar covering for head and shoulders is made of black or bright-colored calico, or of handkerchiefs. With this head-covering for canoeing is usually worn a ma'te, or hemispherical calabash cap, as a further protection from the sun. The manta, or skirt, above mentioned, is almost always of native fabric, and consists simply of a rectangular piece of cloth sufficiently wide to reach from the waist to slightly above the ankles, and of such length as to pass once and a third round the body. The two vertical edges of the garment are made to overlap at the back, and by pulling from time to time upon the upper corners, the garment is held in place under the narrow woven belt or the pita cord which is sometimes used in its stead. Frequently also over this tightly woven and fairly heavy garment is worn another of lighter material, which passes in the opposite direction about the body, so that the edges overlap in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

With these pigments, especially with the black, are made a great variety of designs ranging from broad bands to very fine dots and narrow lines. As is shown in pl. XXXIX-121, the designs employed in these face and body paintings are of almost limitless variety and combination; however, while the Cayapa have developed this phase of personal adornment to such a degree, they never recognize any special signification in the designs employed. The designs, as those on mantas, canoes, calabashes, and other decorated articles, are sometimes named, but in few cases was it found that any of them were intended to be graphic, and in no instance was any symbolic meaning attached to them: they are regarded as merely decorative and have no other special purpose. Furthermore, none of the designs is the particular property of any individual or group of individuals, hence the greatest liberty is exercised in their use; in fact, it is not uncommon to see the same person change the designs on his face or body from day to day during a fiesta, and there is no sequence or other rule governing their use. Both men and women thus decorate themselves, using a small mirror in painting the face. In large measure, of course, the designs employed have been handed down from ancient times, but now and then a person depicts upon his face or body some new device taken from an article of modern manufacture. Such a case is shown in pl. LII, 11, where a modern three-pronged iron fish-spear is shown painted on a man's leg.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

to the river to lay their eggs. The large eggs of the alligator are also much in favor, and it is said by some that alligator flesh is edible. The eggs and flesh of another and slightly different species of amphibian, called tulicio in the local Spanish, are likewise used for food. In addition to these foods there are certain insects which, either full-grown or in the larval state, are much esteemed.

Various methods are employed in the preparation of these foods. The plantain, the most important food product of the Cayapa, is prepared in a variety of ways. It is almost invariably gathered while green, and is regularly eaten in that condition, though ripe plantain is frequently used for making a kind of gruel, and occasionally it is roasted. The usual method of preparing the green plantains is by boiling, the outer covering of the fruit having first been removed. They are then cooked for from a half to three-quarters of an hour in a pottery vessel, or nowadays more frequently in an iron or a granite-iron kettle, closely covered with a green leaf called ñ'tya bakí, which is very tough and is used in many ways in the preparation of food. It is impossible to cook green plantain so that it is tender, hence the usual mode of preparing it is to beat the hard, cooked fruit with a stone muller upon a mealing stone (pl. xxx, f. 2), mixing and kneading it meanwhile with the hand. Usually this beaten plantain, which is called bolo, is eaten without seasoning, although a little salt may be added, or it may be mixed with dried meat during the pounding. The boiled green plantain is also frequently eaten without

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

ears each. These bunches are then hung from the roof to prevent attacks by rodents. Whenever possible the corn is hung where the heat from the fire will keep it from molding.

The foregoing are the chief agricultural food products of the Cayapa. Excepting the maize and the potato, all were introduced since the Spanish conquest and are now systematically cultivated. In this connection should be mentioned certain palms which provide food of one kind or other, and which, while they cannot be strictly classed under the head of agriculture, since they are not planted and tended as are the other plants mentioned, are of considerable economic importance.

One of these palms is that commonly known by the Spanish name chonta dura and called kanō'tcī by the Cayapa. One variety of this produces a cluster of red fruits, another a cluster of yellow fruits. The Cayapa name for the fruit of this palm is ka'imbi. Both ripen in the late summer months and are much esteemed as food. By means of a long hooked bamboo pole, these clusters are torn from just below the crown of the palm, which is usually quite tall.[1] The fruits are boiled in a cooking-pot or kettle; the tough skin is then easily peeled off, leaving the yellowish mealy meat ready to eat. In the center of this, in turn, is a very hard nut which, when cracked, yields a toothsome white meat with a flavor resembling that of ripe coconut. The mealy yellow meat is usually eaten with a little salt, but is especially good when eaten with a thick syrup made from cane juice. It is also frequently boiled in this syrup, the result being a kind of conserved fruit.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

as above mentioned, interlace with the fibers of adjoining leaves in such manner as to make it necessary to pry the leaves apart with wooden bars, are strong and pliable, and are woven into burden-bands by which heavy loads are carried. These fibers often attain a length of about four feet and are possessed of tensile strength sufficient to enable their use as strings on the wooden harp which is now made to a very limited extent by the Cayapa. This instrument was borrowed by them from the Indians of the interior, who in turn copied it from the Spanish conquerors.

Another palm, found to a limited extent along the river, is the coconut, called after the Spanish, kō'kō-tci. It does not, however, thrive at any considerable distance from the ocean, consequently few palms are found even at so short a distance up the Rio Cayapas as the mouth of the Onzole. Pl. CXXXI presents a view looking up-stream at the confluence of the Rio Onzole with the Rio Cayapas, and, upon the projection of land between them, the hacienda of one of the more prosperous of the negroes of the region. Several coconut palms appear in front of the house. Coconuts grow well along the immediate coast, and there are here large groves, the nuts being shipped to nearby villages and to points even as far away as Esmeraldas. They are purchased to a certain extent by the Indians, by whom they are used in very limited quantities as food, more especially for the so-called coconut-milk which is made from the ripe nuts.

In addition to the foregoing food-producing plants,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

27% to excess as among some other peoples. It is almost
[49] never grown by them, their supply coming from their
• [77] negro neighbors or through trade. The Indians claim that tobacco was not known to this region in aboriginal times, but that it was introduced considerably later than the Spanish conquest. This statement is borne out by the fact that the name for tobacco is ta'kō, which is evidently an adaptation of the Spanish term tabaco. They use neither pipes nor cigarettes, but confine their smoking entirely to cigars made by themselves. They procure the half leaves of tobacco in bundles, which are stored away until a smoke is actually wanted, when each person rolls his own cigar. The habit of chewing tobacco appears to be unknown.

27% 77% 789 In addition to smoking for pleasure, tobacco is used ceremonially. When it is desired to drive out malevolent spirits from a certain spot, a medicine-man is called in, and, assisted by the ordinary people present and perhaps by another medicine-man or two, he performs a ceremony which makes the place untenable for the spirits. Each participant provides himself with a cigar and a small calabash of a decoction made from the leaves of a certain herb, and all make a systematic tour of the infested place. As they go slowly along they wet everything about them with the decoction, blowing it from the mouth in a fine spray. Interspersed with this spraying is the blowing of tobacco smoke into the air and on any objects with which they come in contact. The head medicine-man sings or whistles certain songs and waves a special banner from time to time as the party proceeds, and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

imprint of the maul (fig. 6) with which it was beaten as numerous sets of short parallel lines, all at an angle of about forty-five degrees with the perpendicular. Bark cloth is never decorated in any way and is strictly utilitarian. It serves almost exclusively as a sleeping mat, and constitutes, together with a mosquito canopy and a thin cotton sheet used as a cover, all that is considered necessary for a bed. It is used occasionally for wrapping a dismantled loom or for some other special purpose.

The beating of the cloth must be done very carefully in order not to cut or tear apart the fibers, thus making holes in the cloth which render it practically worthless. The fibers naturally criss-cross and interlace in such a manner that when the beating is carefully done the result is a cloth which, while very thin, is at the same time very firm. If for any reason, however, a hole does appear in the cloth during the process of beating, it may be mended by simply placing over it a piece of bark of sufficient size to somewhat more than cover it and beating this in. The beating mixes the fibers of the patch with those of the main fabric in such manner as to make the patch almost as firm as the cloth itself.

At the present time some of the most characteristic utensils of the Cayapa are made from calabashes. They claim that in their former life in the mountains these utensils were of pottery and that the calabash came into use among them only after their arrival on the Río Cayapas. It is said also that there was originally a calabash tree native to this region, but that the two

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

species now used, the one producing a globular fruit called wa'lyā, and the other an ellipsoidal fruit called cā'lya, were introduced here from Colombia. Every house is provided with one or more of these trees, and usually at least one of each of the two species. These large gourd-like fruits are produced in considerable numbers by such a tree and find a variety of uses. They are gathered when just ready to turn from green to ripe and are immediately hollowed out into utensils of several kinds. The details of manufacture and the uses of these utensils are treated on pages 166–173.

Another fruit, some species of which are said to be indigenous and some introduced, which is found abundantly in this region, is what is called by the local Spanish name guabo or guaba. This requires no cultivation, but the trees are carefully guarded against destruction. It is rarely if ever purposely planted, but grows from the accidental dropping of seeds. In the vicinity of almost every house there are several trees of one or more of these species. The fruits, which grow in long pods, are much esteemed and are almost invariably eaten raw. Each variety has its own special name, as follows:

Cayapa	*Spanish*
macté'pa cīlyā,	guabo de macheton (machete guabo, so named on account of the shape of the pod).
ni'ñga cīlyā,	guabo de tacoano.
pí' cīlyā,	guabo dulce (sweet guabo). The Cayapa name signifies "water guabo."
sa' cīlyā,	guabo agria (sour guabo). The Cayapa name also signifies "sour guabo."
pā' cīlyā,	guabo.

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

planting. They are, however, all eaten raw and to a limited extent by the Cayapa whenever obtainable. 245 262

Hunting

In the Cayapa region, where game of various sorts is so abundant, hunting is a practice of considerable importance. This is now done almost entirely with old-fashioned muzzle-loading shotguns, which have supplanted blow-guns almost entirely. In aboriginal times the blow-gun was the chief weapon employed in hunting, and a few of them are still in use, especially by the boys in hunting small birds. In addition to the blow-gun the Cayapa say that they formerly had lances made entirely of the wood of certain hard palms, and that more recently they used the bow and arrow. They maintain that they originally did not know the use of the bow and arrow, but that they became acquainted with these only after coming down from the high mountains to the vicinity of their present abode, which was then occupied by another people. The bow and arrow appear to have been comparatively little used at any time by the Cayapa, but formerly the lance was much used in hunting wild hogs and one or two other species of game. In fact it is still used by some in hunting the guanta, a species of large rodent which lives in burrows. 224 411 [177] [177]

The blow-gun, called by the Cayapa pitc2'a, is a slender tube varying from about six to nine feet in length, made of palm-wood wrapped with pitigua and the whole covered with brea, the black waterproof wax used especially for calking canoes. The blow-gun tapers [237]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

made more effective, in case the single log above mentioned is not sufficiently heavy, by superimposing upon it another which not only adds weight and enables the trap to kill larger animals, but accelerates its action and diminishes the possibility of the game escaping after the trap is sprung but before the log can fall. Such a second log is usually a foot or so shorter than the other.

Fishing

The numerous streams of the Cayapa region are well stocked with various kinds of fish, many of which are used as food by the Indians. They are at present caught by six different methods. There are three types of nets, the "re," or large set-net, the atarraya or conical casting-net, and the small dip-net, used incidentally in connection with the set-net. These are all used to a considerable extent, especially the set-net; but the "corral," or impounding trap, the pole and line, and the "gig," or fish-spear, are much more generally used. Of these six devices, four only, the set-net, the dip-net, the corral, and the gig, appear to be of aboriginal origin.

The re, called in Cayapa wa'kû, is, like the other two nets used by the Cayapa, made of pita fiber string and is used especially in catching a very excellent species of shad (Spanish, sabalo), called by the Cayapa awi'li. For this purpose it is made with a mesh of about three inches, and varies in length from about twenty to sixty feet according to the width of the particular estero in which it is to be used. Usually near a house there are one or more esteros where shad are fairly abundant,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

226 fish are allowed to fall into the bottom of the canoe or into a basket, and the net is then ready for a second cast. This net serves only for taking small fish, and is not very much used by the Cayapa. Apparently their [177] knowledge concerning this form of net was acquired from the negroes. At any rate their knowledge of its use is comparatively recent.

226 227 284 The dip-net, called by the Cayapa cī'a, above referred to, is a small-meshed conical net and is used not only for fishing, as above described, but especially is it employed for catching the small lobster, or crayfish, called by the Cayapa pī'cū or a'bīcū, which is so abundant along the banks of the river and especially along the banks of the esteros tributary to the river. The opening of this dip-net is held in shape by a hoop made of a pliable vine simply bent around and its two ends tied firmly together. Thus one end of the hoop is rounding and the opposite end, the one used as a handle, is fairly sharp-pointed. The dimensions of this opening are perhaps fifteen to twenty inches by thirty to thirty-six inches, and the distance from the rim to the point of the cone of the net itself is from twenty-four to thirty inches.

All nets are made from pita-fiber string, the details of the making of which, as also of net-weaving, are treated in the discussion of cordage and netting.

226 A corral, or impounding trap, such as that shown in pl. LXVII, is used by almost everyone living along the tidewater portion of this river system; and, owing to the level character of this coastal plain, the tidal rise

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

it is then that the shad travel near the bank in search of food. Furthermore, the opening of the trap is ordinarily somewhat above water at low tide, as is shown in the illustration above mentioned, the photograph for which was taken at very low tide and when the whole corral was entirely above the water line. The greatest of care must be exercised in watching one of these corrals, since the fish are easily alarmed and any noise or unusual movement about the corral is likely to frighten them away. Frequently, in order to render the surroundings more realistic and natural, some palm-leaves or some branches of trees are placed in or along the bank about a corral. The trap being sprung, the fish are impounded until the tide ebbs, when they are left in very shallow water, or even in the mud itself, and may be easily taken from the corral. The catch in one of these corrals is, of course, very uncertain, but frequently several fish are taken at one time, and while shad are especially sought, various other fish are impounded as well. 226

Fish-spears or gigs are of two kinds. That at present in use for large fish is of the ordinary trident form, called s'ata in Cayapa, and is strictly an introduction of civilization. Its head nowadays is made by blacksmiths at the coast. The pole on which this head fits is from ten to fifteen feet in length. One end of the pole is split and the flat tang of the spearhead is inserted, the joint being securely wrapped with pita string, which is water-proofed and protected by means of beeswax. As an additional precaution against loss, 227 [illegible]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

227 several stout strands of pita cord are fastened securely to the head at the point where the prongs branch off from the tang, and these are attached to the pole at a point a few inches up from the head. Thus in case the head should pull out of its socket it is still securely fastened to the pole and cannot be lost.

The other form of fish-spear, called in Cayapa pūtyū'lya, is made usually with a long, slender, palm-wood pole not more than half an inch in diameter, the prongs being made from heavy fish-hooks which have been straightened out. The point of the pole is fairly flat and about an inch in width. From two to four straightened fish-hooks are bound to this flat point by means of pita cord, which is then thoroughly covered with brea to make it impervious. This form of gig is
226 suitable only for catching very small fish. While the
227 gigs of the present time are thus made of iron, the
[77] aboriginal spears were similarly shaped but were provided with points of hard palm-wood.

227 Another gig, made in the same manner as the last,
225 but usually with a heavier pole and heavier points, is used for spearing water-turtles, which are fairly abundant here. This gig is called pūtyū'lya, as well as hwe'ska or hi'ska, and the only marked difference between it and the fish-gig just described is that its points have no barbs. It is said by the Indians that it is impossible to pierce the shell of a turtle with a barbed gig, but that the barbless point passes through the shell easily. The sarapine, or land turtles, having harder shells, are always caught by hand.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

At the present time the hook-and-line is very much used in fishing, though this was introduced by the whites. Strong, slender, fish-poles, called watgū-tca'll, seven to ten feet in length, are made from the upper branches of the large bamboo. They are gathered when thoroughly matured but while still green, and are hardened and straightened by heating. The lines, called watgū-tcū'a, or sadū'a, are made of native pita string and are usually quite fine. The strength of the pita fibers makes it possible to use a very fine line for comparatively large fish. Such a fish-line, provided with a special pottery sinker and an ordinary steel fish-hook, is shown in fig. 9; it is wound in this case on a cylindrical piece of balsa. This line is called tcūndyē'pū and is used in the hand after the fashion of a troll. In case it should be dropped or pulled overboard, it is saved by means of the balsa float. Ordinarily all lines are provided with lead sinkers, but the pottery cylinder especially made as a sinker is an old type and was formerly very much used. Hooks, called watgū'la, are now obtained from traders at the coast, although it is

FIG. 9.—Fish-line with pottery sinker

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

said that when this method of fishing was first introduced through contact with the early Spaniards, crude hooks were fashioned by hammering out pieces of iron.

At the present time this method of hook-and-line fishing is so much in vogue that almost every man has his special little canoe and a special short paddle which are used almost exclusively for fishing. It is customary to paddle for some distance against the tide or current and then to fish back down with the current along the bank. In this way little effort is required in paddling, and a sculling motion of the paddle with the left hand is sufficient to keep the canoe in its desired course. With a pole and line go a small, hemispherical, calabash dish of angle-worms, a small bottle-shape basket (pl. XCIII, 3) of grasshoppers, or a calabash of a certain small reddish fruit, all of which are used as bait, each according to the kind of fish sought.

On rare occasions the trot-line, called weñgûtcû'a (?), such as that shown in pl. CXIX, 1, is used. The main line, called señgi'ri, is made usually of the coarser string fiber called by the Spanish term cosadera, while the small "leaders," called simply sañdõ'a, to which each separate hook is attached, are made of pita string.

War

The Cayapa maintain that in ancient times they rarely went to war, and then only on the greatest provocation, as, for instance, when they were harrassed by the former inhabitants of their present domain until forbearance was no longer possible and they descended from their

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

adzed first. The inner sides are adzed first across the grain and then diagonally to it, and finally the bottom is adzed in a similar manner. This work is done with a hand-adz such as that shown in fig. 10.

This tool is of modern introduction, as indeed are the canoes themselves, as well as the method of their manufacture. The blade of the adz is of steel and is made by local blacksmiths down the river. The wooden handle, shown in fig. 11, is made by the Cayapa, and is so constructed, with the large projection above and with the notches below, that the blade may be securely bound to it, as is shown in fig. 10, by means of pita-fiber string. The blade is concave, and its edge is usually quite regular and curved, so that, while its full width may be

FIG. 10.—Modern adz used in making canoes

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

as great as four inches, generally not more than an inch of the edge is in actual play when a blow is struck. The particular adz here shown has a very uneven edge, due to chipping.

[77] The adz is called aswē'la and kū'le mūcte, both of which terms are derived from the Spanish, the second term signifying "canoe machete." The adz handle is called aswē'la tyapi.

FIG. 11.—Handle of adz

With this hand-adz repeated light blows are struck along one line after another, the lines being parallel, and perpendicular or diagonal to the grain of the wood. By this means the wood is reduced to uniform thickness and the surfaces are rendered comparatively smooth. The final smoothing of the inside of the canoe is done with the adz, but upon the outer surface and along both the inner and outer edges of the gunwales the adzing is followed usually by more or less smoothing with planes, called sepi'ō or sepi'lyū, made after the fashion of the ordinary carpenter's plane. The sides of a large canoe are thus usually reduced to about three-quarters of an inch in thickness, the bottom having a thickness of between two and three inches. The prow and stern of the canoe are carefully cut to the exact form desired and finished with the adz, no plane being needed at these points.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

of small ridges may now serve, however, it seems to have had its origin in a desire to ornament the stirrers, since most of them are plain at that point (as in the one shown in fig. 7), and because various stirrers of this form have carvings at that point which are similar though much smaller and are obviously purely ornamental.

A second form of stirring implement is the food paddle, called kŭwi'ñgi, two specimens of which are shown in pl. LXI, 8, 9. These are used for stirring all kinds of foods while cooking, but especially ripe plantain gruel and a kind of gruel or mush made from green corn. In many cases these paddles are perfectly plain, as is the one shown in fig. 9, but now and then they are embellished with notches or incised ornaments as is the case with the one shown in fig. 8.

A utensil in common domestic use is an elliptical wooden bowl, copied after a type made by the whites and negroes of the region and bearing only the Spanish name batea. They vary more or less in their elliptical form, but a typical specimen is shown in pl. LXII, 4. They are always provided with a projection at each end to serve as handles. They are hollowed out from a single piece of wood, and range from a foot to three feet in length. Bateas serve a variety of purposes, but they are used especially for the preparation of certain foods, such as ripe plantain gruel, corn gruel or mush, and the like. They are used also as trays for washing meats or other foods, and frequently are employed in mixing and working clay during the process of pottery-making.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Calabash Implements and Utensils

415 177 265 A class of implements which appear to have come into use since the Cayapa moved to the river valley are made from calabashes, the gourd-like fruit of a tree grown quite commonly along the river. It is said by the Cayapa that in former times pottery was used largely for the many purposes which the various utensils made from the calabash now serve, for the reason that this tree does not grow in their former mountain home. They say that the particular species of calabash which they now grow and use so extensively is an importation from Colombia, but that there is indigenous to this section another and smaller species. The Cayapa maintain that the Indios Bravos, who formerly inhabited this region, used this indigenous calabash and made receptacles similar to those which they themselves now make.

415 265 As before described, there are now grown two different forms of calabash, the one globose (called wa'lyū), the other ellipsoidal (known as ca'lya). These fruits grow to about the size of a man's head, though sometimes they are considerably larger, and a tree produces a large number in the course of a year.

415 The calabash, for whatever purpose it is intended, is always gathered while green, but it is not at its best until it commences to ripen. On the other hand, if allowed to ripen completely it becomes too hard for use. The globose form is much more used than is the ellipsoidal, since the latter yields usually but one type of utensil: the spoon, of which six or eight are obtained from a single

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

The mate[1] has still another special use—that of a woman's cap. With it is worn a piece of light-weight black cloth or a double bandana handkerchief, which passes over the head and shoulders and hangs down the back as a protection from the sun. Usually this cap is decorated with incised lines and figures, and occasionally it is used as a drinking-cup in traveling, but it is never put to any of the ordinary uses in which common mates are employed. On long canoe journeys the women usually carry special mates for use as urinals.

By means of two small perforations at each of two opposite points, a hemispherical mate is bound to a long handle to serve as a dipper, especially in the distillation of rum. Such dippers, called sûmbû and ûñkala pi chînûnt-sû'mî, are shown in pls. LXIII and LXV.

Further, the bottom of a mate may be perforated to adapt it as a sieve or strainer, called cî'cslya, in making green-corn mush and ripe plantain gruel. Attached to a long handle, such a strainer is employed for skimming the froth which rises in boiling cane juice preparatory to fermentation.

The third form of calabash implement is the spoon, called ci'ñ kûtcada, from Spanish cuchara. This implement is always made by cutting narrow sections from the side of an ellipsoidal calabash with the saw-like machete above mentioned. One of these fruits ordinarily provides material for six to eight spoons, varying in length from three or four to as much as fifteen inches. The large spoons are commonly used for stirring food while cooking, and both the large and the small

[1] [i.e, a hemispherical gourd container.---Analyst]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ones are used to a certain extent in eating, although for this purpose they have been largely superseded by iron spoons. Calabash spoons, like the mates, are often ornamented with incised lines.

Pottery

The Cayapa make a rather crude, heavy pottery vessel, entirely undecorated except in a few forms in which incised lines and dots are impressed in the rim or the shoulder; but no painting, slipping, or glazing is used. The generic name for pottery is pia'ma, or bla'ma.

There are in all ten forms of pots, eight of which are in general use among the Cayapa. All are shown in outline in pl. LXXXVII. These types are: 1, A shallow plate form (fig. 4), called specifically tō' palatō. 2, A somewhat deeper cooking-pot (figs. 1–3), the sides of which, under ordinary circumstances, are comparatively straight, while the rim is without a lip. 3, Another cooking-pot (fig. 6), with a more or less hemispherical base, a pronounced shoulder around the side, and a prominent outcurving lip. 4, A small, flat-bottomed pot (fig. 5), somewhat of the form of an inverted truncated cone and with a more or less outcurving lip. 5, A somewhat globose form (fig. 8), with wide neck and outcurving rim. 6, A large storage olla (fig. 11), called specifically bū'lūm blama, with slightly oval bottom, more or less conical sides, and narrow neck with outcurving rim. 7, A large pottery caldron (fig. 7), which forms part of the still. 8, The condensing chamber (fig. 10), without bottom, used in distilling rum. Pots of the

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

[415] 285 [352] baskets (pl. XCIII, 8), used as receptacles for spindles; mats (pl. CVI, 1, 2); fans (pl. CIV); and rings used as rests for calabashes (fig. 13). In all of these the material used is the bark of the fan-leaf palm, locally called paenbil. But one type of basket has been encountered in which this technic is found in combination with another material: this is a square-bottomed, cylindrical basket similar in form to that shown in pl. XCII, 3, and is made of pitigua. A section of the side and border of this basket is shown in pl. XCIV, 6.

285 The manipulation of the elements in twilling varies considerably in Cayapa basketry. There are three fundamental methods of handling these elements, as follows: (1) A method by which one element passes over two and under two of the elements which run in the opposite direction (pl. XCIV, 3); (2) a method by which it passes in a similar manner over three and under three (pl. XCIII, 6, 10); (3) a method in which an element passes over seven and under one (pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 8, 11; and pl. XCIV, 5). [177] The last form is said to have been introduced among the Cayapa by the Indians of Colombia, and in substantiation of this it may be noted that the few Cholo who now live on the Rio Cayapas use this form of twilling extensively. The two simpler forms of twilling, so far as could be ascertained, have been long in use among the Cayapa.

In case no design is attempted, as in the basket shown in pl. XCIII, 11, or a simple design be desired, as in the baskets shown in the same plate, 6, 10, and pl. XCIV, 2, 3, these fundamental methods of handling the elements are not varied throughout the basket. If, on the other

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

246 The cotton ordinarily grown in this section is of a brownish color, and it is claimed by the Cayapa that this is indigenous. It must be said, however, that brown cotton rarely grows wild along the river or in the mountains, but is seen almost exclusively about inhabited places or the sites of recently abandoned habitations.

The second variety of cotton is pure white and is also grown by the Cayapa to a limited extent. It is maintained that this is not a native plant, but is a direct importation from the mountain region or from the Rio Esmeraldas territory. In fact, this white cotton is now sometimes purchased by the Cayapa in their trips to the Rio Esmeraldas, because so little of it is grown along their own river.

When the cotton bolls open and the seeds with their covering of fine fibers are almost ready to drop, they are gathered and, if necessary, dried. The contents of two of these fully opened bolls are shown in pl. CVII, 11. It is frequently desirable to store the cotton away in this form for some time, in which event a considerable number of the bolls are made up into a package which is wrapped with a leaf or two of hoja blanca. Such a bundle is usually tied with a piece of pitigua and in this form may be stored for an indefinite period. In the bundle shown in pl. CVII, 12, a section of the wrapping has been torn away in order to show the contents. When it is desired to prepare the cotton for use, the bolls are cleaned of the seeds and of any foreign matter that may have become mixed with the fibers, since the presence of any foreign substance interferes materially with spinning. In this

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Starting with a series of five knots and meshes at the point, this net is widened, as in the case of that above described, by adding an extra mesh at each end of each course. In addition, an extra mesh is added at the middle of each course, thus producing a double line down the middle of the net, as shown in fig. 27. To complete the net it is necessary only to join the open edges. This produces a conical net about two feet deep from the point to the opening, which is itself about thirty-six by eighteen inches.

The principle of the conical casting net, shown in pl. cxx, 1, is presumably adopted from the negroes, being made in exactly the same way as the nets manufactured by them. Furthermore, it bears the name ata'ia, clearly derived from the local Spanish term atarraya.

In general technic this net is similar to the set-net above described, although its point is started quite differently. First a considerable number of fine pita cords (in one instance forty were counted) are braided tightly together to form a strong loop about two inches long, into which is fastened the line by which the net is drawn in after a cast is made from the canoe. The loop must be very strong, and in order to add to its strength it is tightly wound for a space of three-quarters of an inch along its lower part. Out of this binding emerge therefore, in the above-mentioned instance, the forty pairs of strands which are immediately tied to form the first course of forty knots and meshes. The second course has the same number, but thenceforth the number increases. Into every alternate mesh of this second course is looped another cord, thus producing in the third course

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

[551] In the matter of the forms also, the designs fall practically into these general groups, though in certain instances the same design is found in more than one group. Taken as a whole Cayapa designs are largely geometric, the only exceptions being in the carved wooden dolls, in a few calabash designs, and in a considerable number [77] of the designs on soft textiles. Now and then a realistic modern design is found also upon a canoe and in rare instances in a painting upon the human body. This entire statement applies to the frequency of occurrence of the different types of design. If considered, however, from the standpoint of the number of various elemental designs of the realistic class as compared with elemental designs of the strictly geometric class, the former are fully equal to the latter, though the geometric designs are subject to greater variation.

[552] It is remarkable that few names are given designs except in the case of those on soft textiles. In the case of the face, arm, and leg paintings, for instance, no names were obtainable, and they have no symbolic significance. This fact is noteworthy when so large a series of designs is found (pl. XXXIX–LII) and when they are so universally and extensively used. The only exception to this rule is that of the trident-shape design shown in pl. LII, 11. This, however, is strictly modern and was copied directly from the fish-spear.

[553] Also in the considerable series of canoe designs shown in pl. LXXII–LXXV, no specific names were given by informants. These are all old-type designs and much preferred by the Cayapa to the modern designs which some paint on canoes made for sale, but never upon those

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

266
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXV	22	sutsû dĕ'tcû (an untranslatable form of zigzag)
	23	zigzag (dĕ'tcû). See fig. 15 above eye (kapû'ka) and little eye (ka' kapûka) refer to the diamond-shape figures in the angles formed by the zigzag
	24, 25, 26	zigzag (dĕ'tcû). See fig. 15 above.
	27	big zigzag (e' dĕtcû) eye (kapû'ka and small eye (ka kapû'ka) refer to the diamond-shape figures in the angles of the zigzag
	28, 29, 30	zigzag (dĕ'tcû). See fig. 15 above
	31	zigzag (dĕ'tcû). See fig. 15 above pĭlya dĕ'we (pi'lya signifies design, and it appears that dĕ'we may possibly be related to dĕ'tcû, meaning zigzag. This design consists in part of a zigzag)
	32	big zigzag (e' dĕtcû) hû'rûlara, hû''la (untranslatable) eye (kapû'ka). This term applies to the diamond-shape portions of the design
	33	zigzag (dĕ'tcû). See fig. 15 above
	34	zigzag (dĕ'tcû). See fig. 15 above tongue of sting-ray (tyû'wi nĭ'ka)
	35	zigzag (dĕ'tcû). See fig. 15 above hû'rûlara, hu''la (untranslatable)
	36	bimbû'ka (piande, a small species of lizard) e pala'tcû (e signifies big; pala'tcû is untranslatable)
	37	zigzag (dĕ'tcû). See fig. 15 above
	38	pala'ra (untranslatable) pala'tcû (untranslatable) hû'rûlara, hû''la (untranslatable)
	39	No interpretation was given for this design, since it appears to be of modern origin. Such a modern design is usually called te'mbû pĭlya, which signifies handkerchief design from the fact that they are derived largely from handkerchiefs of modern manufacture
	40	big zigzag (e' dĕtcû)
	41, 42, 43	zigzag (dĕ'tcû). See fig. 15 above

[177]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Glossary of Maya Design Names

286
531
582
177
104

bait, kama'da. Also said to be the name of a certain crustacean, called in Spanish camaron brava. CXXIV, 35.

balya'lyas (untranslatable). CXXIII, 11; CXXVI, 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 23, 29, 32, 34, 35, 41, 43; CXXVII, 38.

basket. See pû'te.

belt or girdle, tcû'mbî, a term that may be used as part of the name of any design on a belt. CXXV, 44; CXXVI, 16, 17, 21, 28, 42; CXXVII, 21, 38.

bird, pî'tcû. CXXIV, 20, 23, 24, 29, 31, 43; CXXV, 6, 10, 13, 14.

la'pî'tcû. A small black and yellow bird, a good singer, much kept as a pet by the Cayapa. Spanish, pichicha. CXXIV, 44.

tû'mbîtcîlît. A small black bird with red beak. CXXIV, 39.

frigate bird, nyamîtwa'tû. CXXIV, 34.

boa constrictor, we'sû. CXXVII, 1.

burro, bû'rû. CXXIV, 11.

buzzard, kû'ndûrûrû, petyû'tyû; Spanish, gallinazo. CXXIV 36, 44.

canoe design, kûm lû'lya: kûm, from kû'lu, canoe. CXXVI, 46.

centipede's hand, te'ûnde tyapa; hand (not leg) = tyapa'pa. CXXIV, 57; CXXVI, 49.

chicken, walya'pa. CXXIV, 26, 37.

color. Frequently an informant gave as the name of a particular design the name of the color of the material from which it was made. Such names, of course, have no significance in the interpretation of designs, but are of interest in that often they were the only ones obtainable. The names particularly used in this connection were:

te'nda, green thread, from a small shrub called te'nda tci, the leaves of which provide the pigment used in coloring this thread. [386]

ka'kû, lavender thread, this color being obtained from a small periwinkle-like mollusk.

The names for other colors were almost never used in this manner.

cow, waga'ra, from Spanish vaca. CXXIII, 35; CXXIV, 10, 15.

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

crab, se'lī, the small red land-crab. CXXIII, 30; CXXIV, 35, 36, 38.

tepul se'lī, a certain species from the coast region. CXXIV, 35.

crab eye, se'kapūka, se'lī kapūka. This refers to the eye of the small red land-crab called se'lī. CXXVII, 32, 36.

crab design, se' pilya: se from se'lī, crab; pi'lya, design. CXXVII, 12, 24, 25, 27, 30, 32, 34, 37.

se' pilya tyūndyā tū lara: se' pilya, crab design, the remainder is untranslatable. CXXVII, 24, 25.

crab design tenhuis (literally), se' pilya denhua. CXXVII, 37.

crab design white cotton (literally), se' pilya tlhat thuka. CXXVII, 37.

cross, kasī'sa, from Spanish cruz. CXXVII, 20.

deer, na'ya. CXXIII, 40, 41; CXXIV, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13.

delam ba"la (untranslatable). CXXVII, 29.

design. In many cases informants simply gave the term pi'lya, or hi'lya, which signifies design or pattern. It would appear that it was employed in cases where the design was of unknown signification, or where it was newly introduced. Such a general term is, of course, applicable to all patterns.

belt design, tcū'mhā pilya. This term applies to any pattern on a belt or girdle, regardless of its form. CXXII, 10; CXXVII, 38. See belt.

horizontal design, dē'pat hilya. CXXVI, 13.

dog, kū'tca. CXXIII, 45; CXXIV, 7, 19; CXXV, 12.

kū'tca petl: pe'lī is untranslatable. The rectangular figures of this pattern are referred to by this name. CXXVII, 42.

dove, Spanish, paloma. CXXIV, 29, 31.

partū'kū. A reddish species as large as a chicken. CXXIV, 25.

wa'pū'pū. A small reddish species. CXXIV, 24, 42.

duck, Spanish, pato. CXXIV, 36.

dū'lalara kapūka (dū'lalara is untranslatable; kapū'ka, eye). CXXVII, 36.

ear, pū'dar. CXXII, 49.

egret, white, ka'tcū; Spanish, garza. CXXIV, 45, 29.

e hō"la (e, hic; hō"la, untranslatable). CXXII, 5; CXXVII, 7, 10.

J: Barrett E-S (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

284
531
552
177
84

e bū'rūlara (e, big; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 2.

e pala'bū (e, big; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXV, 36; CXXVII, 1.

eye, kapū'ka. CXXV, 17, 23, 27, 32; CXXVII, 5, 23, 27, 39.

kapūka dalalale'tā (kapū'ka, eye; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 39.

ka'kapūka, "little eye." The small diamond-shaped designs on mantas, etc. CXXV, 23, 27.

ka'pūka ya dūtā (kapū'ka, eye; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 5.

ka'pū tū'lara, to turn the eyes in an upward direction, i.e., to look decidedly upward. CXXVII, 28.

finger-tables, pa'lāgi, a contraction of palūa lāki. CXXV, 28.

fruit, all classes, pū'ka. CXXVI, 61.

girdle. See belt.

goat, tū'bū; Spanish, chiva. CXXVII, 26, 27; CXXIV, 9, 26.

guinea pig, e'ne. CXXIV, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11.

handkerchief, tū'mbū balya'lya (tū'mbū, a contraction of tumbū'pū, handkerchief; balya'lya, untranslatable. CXXIV, 21; CXXVI, 47.

handkerchief design, tū'mbū pūlya (tumbū'pū, handkerchief. CXXIV, 21; CXXV, 39; CXXVI, 6, 9, 14, 30, 31, 36, 43, 44, 46, 47.

hawk, bāya'lyā; Spanish, gabilan. CXXIII, 42.

hū'lara (untranslatable). CXXIII, 26, 43; CXXVII, 10.

horse, kava'lyū; Spanish, caballo. CXXIII, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37; CXXIV, 7, 14, 21, 28, 36; CXXV, 8, 14.

hū'la (untranslatable). CXXIII, 17, 21; CXXV, 32, 33, 36; CXXVI, 2, 3, 4, 6, 22; CXXVII, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17.

hū'lara (untranslatable). CXXVI, 9.

human being, tca'hū. CXXIII, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 24, 29, 30, 43; CXXIV, 5, 6, 17; CXXV, 1, 2, 10.

hū'rūla (untranslatable). CXXVII, 5.

hū'rūlara (untranslatable). CXXIII, 17; CXXV, 32, 33, 36; CXXVI, 2, 3, 4, 6, 22; CXXVII, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 15, 17.

kde'bū (untranslatable). CXXIV, 22.

kū'ira pe'ū (kū'ira, dog; pe'ū, untranslatable). The rectangular figures of this pattern are thus referred to. CXXVII, 42.

ladder, lya'pū; Spanish, escalera. CXXVI, 23; CXXVII, 24, 25, lya'lena, i.e. palm-wood steps of a house-ladder. CXXV, 17, 44; CXXVI, 10; CXXVII, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30.

J: Barrett E-S (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

264
531
552
177
154

lizard, CXXIV, 18.
lámbú'ka, a large species; Spanish, piande. CXXIV, 58; CXXV, 36.
lá'mbú nagtpá, i.e., egg of a lizard called lámbú'ka. CXXVI, 1, 3, 6, 22.
lá'mbú nyagu, liver of a lizard called lámbú'ka. CXXVI, 5.
monkey, cu'tí, a small species; Spanish, machin and mico. CXXIII, 22, 23, 29, 33, 39; CXXIV, 16; CXXV, 3, 4, 5, 6.
wa'cú, wa'cú; a species larger than the machin but smaller than the large black monkey called mongon; Spanish, mono. CXXIII, 22, 39, 43.
oo'lá nagtáa. See crab eye.
olim bi'lpa (untranslatable). This design is one of those most frequently employed. CXXVII, 12, 27, 32, 37.
pain ela (untranslatable). CXXVI, 42; CXXVII, 21.
pain e lare (untranslatable). CXXII, 11.
pain la (untranslatable). CXXIII, 9, 10; CXXVII, 14, 42.
pain lae (untranslatable). CXXVII, 8.
pain lare (untranslatable). CXXVI, 30; CXXVII, 14.
pain re (untranslatable). CXXV, 38.
pain tetá (untranslatable; the only definition obtainable was the Spanish term garrapata). CXXIII, 21; CXXV, 38; CXXVI, 48, 49; CXXVII, 14, 19, 20.
paiá e lare (untranslatable). CXXVI, 48.
pelican, nana'ka; Spanish alcatraz. CXXIII, 38, 42; CXXV, 21, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41.
petyú'tyá. See buzzard.
pilya dá'we; pí'lya, design; dá'we, possibly related to de'tcú, signal. CXXV, 31.
pinigua, cuúm lá'á; probably related to te'tcúmb flya, from te'trán, pinigua, and lá'lya, design. CXXV, 21.
pú'ka án (untranslatable). CXXVI, 3, 4.
pú'te wuá'cla; pú'te, hamper-shape basket; wflú'cla, untranslatable. CXXVI, 22.
ray, tongue of sting-ray, tyú'wú ní''ka. CXXV, 34.
scorpion, alagu'ra; Spanish, alacrán. CXXIV, 49, 50.
se'ná dá'tetá (untranslatable). CXXV, 22.
sheep, börrí'gó, usually called börrí'gó by the Cayapa, but called also ó'ca from Spanish oveja. CXXIV, 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 16.
snake, pítel. CXXV, 21.
spider, mú'tele; Spanish, araña. CXXIII, 12; CXXIV, 46, 47, 49.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

steel, ī'clabō'ē, i.e., iron used with flint in striking fire. CXXVII, 22, 40, 41, 42, 43. 266

stick, with which achote face-paint is applied, mō'pītcīpapa, mōpī ke'nū tcīpapa, mū'pī kenū tcīpapa. CXXVI, 29; CXXVII, 31. 531 552

tapū'lyū (untranslatable) CXXVII, 19. 177

tcū'mbi delam ba''ta (tcū'mbi, belt or girdle; delam ba''ta, untranslatable). CXXVII, 25. 104

technic, ba'ndilas, a certain basketry technic. CXXVII, 3, 4, 9, 12, 13.

te'pu balya'lya (untranslatable). CXXVI, 11, 41.

toad, sa'pū, from Spanish sapo. CXXIII, 4, 17, 18, 19, 20, 59.

top, tombē'ta, from Spanish trompo. CXXVII, 20.

turkey, domestic, kaste'lya walyapa, literally Spanish or Castilian chicken. CXXIV, 22.

turtle, pītcī'lī; Spanish, tortuga. CXXIV, 53, 54, 59; CXXVII, 15.

tyūlya'lya (untranslatable). CXXVI, 22, 28, 29, 30, 31, 38, 40, 44, 45.

tyūm bī'lya (tyūm, probably from te'tcūa, pitigua; bī'lya, design). CXXV, 20; CXXVI, 29, 32; CXXVII, 2.

tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable). CXXIV, 17; CXXVI, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 45; CXXVII, 24.

zigzag (generic), dē'tcū. This term is usually preceded by an adjectival term which indicates the particular kind of zigzag; viz., ē'dētcū, se'rañ dētcū, ūyū'mī dētcū, de''pañmī dētcū. CXXV, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 41, 42, 43; CXXVI, 21, 41; CXXVII, 4, 11, 12, 31, 33, 40, 42.

dē'tcū serañ tsūa; (dē'tcū, zigzag; no definite translation for the remainder of the term could be obtained). CXXV, 29.

ē' dētcū; literally, big zigzag; given also as crossed zigzag, though this meaning is doubtful. CXXV, 18, 27, 32, 40; CXXVI, 3, 10; CXXVII, 1, 22.

de''pamī dētcū, de''pañmī dētcū; horizontal zigzag. CXXV, 34.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

GOVERNMENT

622
624
[177
634]

In large measure the mode of government now in vogue among the Cayapa is based on the Spanish system at present employed in Ecuador; consequently we find in each of the three divisions of the Cayapa the following officials: Gobernador, secretario de la gobernacion, teniente politico, alcalde, comisario, capitan, sargento. The office of each of these officials is hereditary and on the death of the incumbent passes to his eldest living son or, if he has no sons, to his eldest living brother. In case he has neither son nor brother, the office passes to the eldest son of his eldest deceased brother, and should no such son be living, it passes to the eldest of his nearest male relatives, thus keeping the office always within the family. This system of succession is obviously an aboriginal one and was naturally retained when the new form of government was engrafted upon the old.

It sometimes happens that the hereditary candidate for an office does not wish to assume it. In such event it passes to the next in line in the order mentioned, or, by common consent of the heads of the related families concerned, it may pass out of this order. Ordinarily such a condition does not arise, but instances have been known where an hereditary candidate declined to accept an office to which he was legally entitled, and which it was not only his privilege but also his duty to accept.

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The Spanish form of government has existed for many years, so that it is now difficult to determine exactly what the aboriginal Cayapa government was. It would appear, however, that there were but three classes of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

In the Cayapa country the stocks is strictly
681 a Spanish institution, so far as can be learned, and has
177 no Cayapa name, but is always called by the Spanish term cepo, or, as it is rendered locally, se'pō. So far as known it was introduced among the Cayapa by early missionaries.

622 In speaking of ceremonies (page 392), detailed descriptions are given of the methods of punishment, which theoretically is meted out only by the chief and the sub-
[624] chief. The remaining officers of the government, however, take a hand in the actual punishment when asked to do so by the chief, though their special duty is to apprehend and bring the offenders to justice, to keep order at fiestas and other gatherings, and generally to execute the laws devised by the chief, whose authority is supreme and whose word in all matters is absolutely binding. His attitude, however, is in no way oppressive; on the contrary, he displays great deference to public opinion and conducts the affairs of government in a harmonious and satisfactory manner. Perhaps the operations of the Cayapa governmental machinery are shown to best advantage in the settlement of what may be termed civil difficulties, for, as has been previously pointed out,
[674] there are few fixed laws among the Cayapa, largely for the reason that few crimes are committed. The laws are
577 more in the nature of canons of ethics than statutory en-
671 actments, and they may be varied to a certain extent by public opinion concerning the particular case in hand.
674 The Cayapa maintain that they have no punishment for theft, because theft does not exist either among themselves or against their neighbors. This reputation is borne out by the whites and negroes of the region, who

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

declare the Cayapa absolutely honest. It is claimed also that murder and other major crimes are entirely unknown among them.

On the other hand, there are strict rules with respect to marital relations, any infringement of which meets with severe punishment. The details of this phase of Cayapa life will be discussed in dealing with the subject of marriage. The Cayapa themselves claim that in aboriginal times the same regulations in respect to these matters were in vogue, but presumably they may have been at least strengthened, if not considerably influenced, by the rigid church laws introduced by missionaries.

It is said that formerly, when the Cayapa were a united mountain people residing in a village community, there was but one chief and one government for all, but that soon after they settled along the banks of the river they became segregated into the three divisions as above mentioned. There then arose the three separate villages for fiestas and other gatherings, and the three separate and independent governments. No special reason for this separation is given by the Cayapa, other than that it was more convenient than to have a single central government; and no explanation could be obtained as to how the officials of the three separate governments were first appointed or elected.

It is said that in aboriginal times the inauguration of a new official was attended by no special ceremony, but that he automatically assumed the duties of his office on the death of his predecessor. At present, however, such a person enters on these duties only after having been duly inducted by the priest during his annual visit to the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

583 knowledge of his family. These visits are repeated for
584 some time, when the young couple announce their desire to marry and obtain the consent of their respective parents. After this, conditions very largely govern their procedure. By some it is said that at present they go immediately to the house of the bride's or the groom's father, or to a new house of their own as soon as one can be built, and there live as man and wife without any
585 special ceremony; indeed the only ceremony celebrated is that of the church on the next annual visit of the Catholic priest. Others maintain that, having obtained the consent of all parties concerned, some time elapses before what may be called the preliminary wedding feast and ceremony. In this interval the young man and his friends must hunt and procure game, which is dried for the feast, and must provide presents for the parents and other relatives of the bride. The bride, on the other hand, provides certain of the other foods, such as plantains and corn, and she and her family make gifts to the family of the groom. There is no exchange of presents between the bride and the groom, however, and there is nothing which can in any way be construed as a purchase of the bride. Finally the relatives and friends of the contracting couple assemble, and a feast of from one to two or three days is held. At this feast the young couple are brought in and are given each ten lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails by the chief. This whipping is considered as a consummation and legalization of their marriage, so far as civil procedure is concerned. It
585 seems probable that this custom is a survival of aboriginal
177 times and that the marriage ceremony has not been so

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

greatly modified by intrusive religious ideas as have many other features of Cayapa culture. With the coming of the priest, on the occasion of his annual visit, the regular church marriage rite is performed. At this ceremony there is further chastising of the contracting parties by the chief or by some one delegated by him.

On the occasion of the annual visit of the priest to one of the Cayapa pueblos, usually in August or September, a fiesta of from one to three weeks is held, during which it is customary for couples who have been married between the time of the priest's last visit and the present occasion to celebrate a marriage feast. Should it be inconvenient to celebrate the marriage feast at this particular time, it may be held at any other gathering of the people at the village, or it may even be deferred until the next annual visit of the priest. These marriage feasts are the occasion of much merrymaking. Quantities of food, rum, and tobacco are provided, and the whole village celebrates for a day or two. During the forenoon of the first day, a table, made by spreading upon the floor of the large assembly and dance hall of the chief's house a covering of hoja blanca, is filled with all kinds of food, among them being one special dish of eggs, prepared much after the manner of scrambling. At this feast a most exceptional departure from the rule of the separation of the sexes at public gatherings is observed. At all other feasts, men and boys only are permitted to enter the room in which the feast is held, but on this occasion the bride and her godmother are present. The mother of the bride, however, does not enter. Another interesting feature of this feast is that,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

upon the floor. First, the godfather of the groom, who at the same time is master of ceremonies, danced with the bride; next the groom danced with the godmother of the bride; and finally the chief, followed in order of rank by the other officials, danced with the bride. The groom danced but once during the day, whereas the bride was kept dancing almost constantly. She, however was relieved from time to time by some other member of her family, who danced in her place for a few minutes. During all this time the groom sat at one end of the dance hall with his mouth covered, and conversed with no one except his godfather, and rarely with him. During the intervals between dances the bride sat likewise in silence in an adjoining room. The dancing was kept up during the entire afternoon and night, with a single brief intermission. During this intermission the bride and groom put on new clothing and were decked with pendants and necklaces of silver coins, and with garlands of the yellow flowers so much used by the Cayapa for decorating the images of saints in the church.

After donning this finery, the groom resumed his place at the end of the hall and the bride continued her dancing, which lasted till nearly morning. With the coming of night, light, as usual, was provided in the dance hall by means of candles, small kerosene torches, and native torches (nī'lyū). Throughout the entire period the dance had been the simple one used by the Cayapa, but finally there was danced what is called the "San Juan," a recent importation from the mountain region which appears to be more or less, if not entirely, of Spanish origin.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

586 684 in which, in order to escape the wrath of public opinion and castigation by the officials, offenders against the divorce laws have left the Cayapa country entirely and taken up their abode in Colombia or in the interior of Ecuador. The same applies to the laws relating to 582 684 marriage between near relatives. The evasion or the open violation of either the laws of divorce or those governing consanguineal marriage are, however, of such rare occurrence that the laws may be said to operate almost perfectly, and they, together with the laws requiring chastity and fidelity in both sexes, certainly produce a salutary moral effect on the community. In fact, it is most exceptional to find a tribe or a community of the size of the Cayapa in which the ethical standards are so high and so strictly observed.

DEATH

761 As was stated in speaking of medicine practices, death is ordinarily attributed to the presence of malevolent 753 spirits in the body, whither they find their way by various 776 means. For instance, they may be placed by some [754] malicious shaman in the soul of the individual as it wanders about during sleep, or they may enter directly into the body as one passes some particular spot believed to be infested with these malicious, disease-breeding spirits.

774 There seems to be a difference of opinion as to the 775 soul. One informant maintained that there are numer- 177 ous souls, each residing in a different part of the body; that the one in the chest is the largest and most im-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

portant and the one which ascends to the sky after death, there to receive its proper reward or punishment. This latter notion, however, appears to have been derived from modern religious ideas. The various souls residing in other parts of the body were said by this informant to live in and about the house of the deceased until such time as they are driven out. Most informants, on the other hand, maintain that the body has but a single soul, which lives in and about the house of the deceased until driven out to the ocean or into the mountains by a shaman, there to reside eternally. Having once been thus expelled, the soul is never again seen about the house, but it may return to the cemetery or to other parts of the region. It is said to do no special harm to the living after having been driven away, but will cause the death of other members of the family if allowed to remain unmolested about the house.

On the death of an individual the body is dressed in his best clothing and wrapped carefully in mantas or other available cloth; it is then placed in a wooden box made after the fashion of a coffin, or if the wood is not at hand a kind of coffin is made of bamboo.

If death occurs very early in the morning, the corpse may be interred the same day; usually, however, it is kept until the following day. Meantime the relatives and friends living within comparatively easy reach are notified. All who are able, journey to the cemetery, which is but a short distance from the village, and there a Catholic funeral service is held over the remains, after which they are buried in a shallow grave.

Before leaving the house with the body, the relatives

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The three worlds of the Cayapa are each flat, approximately square, and of about equal size. A short distance beyond the openings through which the sun and moon emerge and depart from it, are the eastern and western edges of our middle world. There are also a northern and a southern edge to the world. Beyond these edges there is nothing. 772

The upper world, ka'ica, is similar to our middle world, but it lacks rivers, the sea, and indeed any body of water. Furthermore, it never rains there. It is illuminated constantly by another sun, which is stationary. Ideas concerning the inhabitants of the upper world are not very clear. It is known that they have houses, but these are of a different form from the Cayapa dwellings, being described as somewhat like the houses built by the white people in the settlements at the mouth of the Rio Cayapas, which means that they are not set high upon piles and that they have sides (pl. CXXX-CXXXI). By some it is claimed that the souls of departed human beings reside in this upper world, but most say that they reside at certain out-of-the-way places on the earth. It is said that this upper world is inhabited by spirits, but their exact nature is not clearly understood. [775]

CREATION

The Cayapa appear to have no native account of the creation of the universe, at least all attempts to obtain such were futile, and there appears to be only a remnant of an account of the creation of human beings, and this is more or less mixed with introduced religious con- 773 177

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

ceptions, if indeed it is not entirely a distortion of the biblical account of the genesis. According to this, God (Dios apa) fashioned out of clay five pairs of individuals in the form of human beings, at a point far in the mountains east of Quito; he then spat in their mouths and they sprang up in the full vigor of life. They went immediately to the region of Ibarra and became the first Cayapa. No details are given of their further existence up to the coming of the Spaniards. It is said that at that time they had so far increased as to fill the country completely. This account further states that, owing to their fear of the Spaniards, and especially of horses, they migrated to Pueblo Viejo in the lower mountains between Ibarra and the coast at a time shortly after the arrival of the first Spaniards. According to other accounts it would appear that this migration was probably prior to the conquest and may have been due to the encroachment of other tribes. It seems not improbable that the active conquest by the Quichua of Peru, which extended throughout the interior mountain region of Ecuador at a time immediately prior to the Spanish conquest, may have been the cause of this migration. Other than this meager account, the aboriginality of which is doubtful, it was impossible to obtain a trace of a creation myth accounting for the presence of human beings on the earth.

As for the universe itself, it seems to be accepted by the Cayapa as having always existed and as having required no act of special creation.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Inanimate objects, such as waterworn pebbles, fragments of ancient pottery, ancient stone implements, and practically all hard objects of unusual form, are the abodes of spirits, but have not souls like those of animate objects. The souls of other animate objects may travel about during sleep and unconsciousness, just as do the souls of human beings. The spirits resident in inanimate objects, which of course do not sleep, travel only at night. As a matter of fact the souls of animate objects also travel almost exclusively at night, since, with but few exceptions, these animals sleep at that time. The souls of animate objects and the spirits resident in inanimate objects seem to be endowed with about the same attributes, and they mingle on friendly terms, assembling in various places to dance together, visiting burial places together, and in general making common cause in their wanderings and associations.

What seems to be an intrusive idea from Catholic sources is that human souls ascend at death to the upper world, but ideas concerning this abode and the ascension of souls are largely indefinite. However, it is maintained by some who hold rather vaguely to these concepts that God keeps there a long ladder which, when the person is about to die, he drops down in order that the soul may ascend. But the majority of the Cayapa, and even those who claim to believe in this ascent to the upper world, avoid burial places at night and have the souls of departed friends and relatives expelled by shamans from their houses and driven out to the ocean in the old orthodox Cayapa manner.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

LIGHTNING

776 821 Lightning, kū'ĭdya pĭdya, which almost all peoples seem to recognize in one way or another as directly connected with thunder, is attributed by the Cayapa to the sword-like weapon carried by the Thunder spirit. [177] As they describe this weapon at the present time, it is obvious that modern ideas have intruded, although it seems probable that the concept of lightning coming from an implement carried by the Thunder being is aboriginal. The sword is said to be of steel and to be carried in a scabbard; it is highly polished, so that when it is unsheathed the glint of the sunlight upon it is like the reflection from a mirror. It is maintained by some that Thunder strikes and kills people with this sword, or at any rate with the glint of light from it.

It is said that in the dry season Thunder is quite contented and lives at peace with the world. In the rainy season, however, he becomes restless and very much discontented with human beings and with conditions generally, and it is then that, according to the first informant mentioned, he flies from place to place through the clouds, flapping his wings and making an uproarious noise, swinging his sword and causing the flashes of lightning. In due time, however, his wrath subsides and he becomes weary, and during the remainder of the year he grows restless only occasionally, with the result that thunderstorms rarely occur and lightning is seldom seen.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

spot. He brought home a small amount, but when it was cooked and his wife called him to eat, he never appeared hungry, consuming but a small amount and declaring that the food was not good. Later his form was changed to that which he now has, and he is obliged to walk on all four feet. His finely-colored shirt became his present spotted skin.

CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCES

Of aboriginal ceremonies there are few traces left among the Cayapa, so completely have the fiestas of the church supplanted them. In these festivities there are certain remnants of aboriginal customs, but they are entirely subordinated to the practices of the Catholic church.

Contrary to the customs of many aboriginal peoples, there are not at present, and apparently never have been, any special ceremonial observances associated with birth, puberty, and menstruation, although there are certain restrictions and slight observances of an ordinary character connected with each of these.

The marriage and mortuary ceremonies, already described, are, on the other hand, quite elaborate, and apparently retain much of their aboriginality, although largely assuming the nature of these ceremonies as celebrated by the church.

Two regular church festivals, that of "Noche Buena" or Christmas, and that of "Semana Santa" or Easter, are celebrated, as one might suppose, entirely according to church custom.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Another festival, having its origin in the Ecuadorian national holiday, August tenth, is also celebrated by the Cayapa, although the date of the event is never a fixed one with them. This is ordinarily the one time of the year when a priest visits the villages, and the date of its celebration depends largely on his convenience. However, regardless of the date of its celebration, this festival is always designated "La Fiesta de Agosto."

Usually combined with all these fiestas are what are called *bodas* and *ofrendas*. In its restricted sense the boda is a marriage ceremony or a marriage feast, while the ofrenda is the feast of the dead. The latter term is used in its more restricted sense among the Cayapa, and is a special feast held usually in honor of one or more relatives of the family giving the feast who have died within the previous twelve months, although such a feast may with equal propriety be held in honor of relatives long dead, especially if they had been notable people. The boda, on the other hand, partakes as much of the nature of a mortuary ceremony as of a marriage feast, and the word *boda* is used generally to include all kinds of feasting. At all gatherings of the Cayapa, regardless of their chief purpose, the people feast and dance a great deal, and much rum is consumed.

The three fiestas mentioned, as also the boda and the ofrenda, will be described from observations made on these ceremonies during 1908 and 1909.

La Fiesta de Semana Santa

"La Fiesta de Semana Santa," or the Easter festival, which is the most important and most elaborate of the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

were flat and very wide. After about ten minutes of this castigation, the síndico returned from the vestry with the candle, the paddles were dropped, and all the men and boys scurried off to the side and rear walls of the church.

This self-inflicted punishment is in this particular region confined to the Indians alone. Although there is a large negro population, and many negroes attend this ceremony, none participate in this part of it. The negroes in certain other sections, namely, to the south of Esmeraldas, are said to inflict similar punishment on themselves, while those of some other parts are quite unacquainted with the custom. This, together with certain other observances, such as whipping with a cat-o'-nine-tails on Easter Sunday, may be due to the influence exerted over the Cayapa by early Catholic priests. That the same customs do not prevail among the negroes is due seemingly to the fact that at the time of the later influx of negro slaves, other orders and other church customs had superseded those which may have given these particular ideas to the Cayapa. It is possible also that in certain of these customs there is a vestige of some aboriginal ceremonial observances, but if so it is not now possible to segregate them.

On the return of the single light to the altar, several other candles were lighted and the service was concluded by further responsive chanting.

Next was formed a procession, in which practically everyone appeared, headed by bearers of a cross and images of saints, followed by bearers of the candle torches and the banners, and by a large number of other fiesteros. Each person, whether carrying anything else or not, bore

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

form is *mañ*. Though 5 appears in the units as *ma'n-da*, it would seem, when its other forms are considered, that this is really a compound and that its simplest form is *man* or *mañ*. As with the lower numbers, in all cases in which 5 appears in the units column, it retains its unit form, but in all other cases it is changed. Since the system is in part of quinary one, 6 begins the second set or group, and 6, 7, 8, and 9 are composed of 5, with 1, 2, 3, and 4, respectively, added. In these the term 5 takes the form *ma'n-dic*, probably *ma'n-da-ic* in full. In this form it occurs in all the higher numbers in which 6, 7, 8, and 9 appear. As above stated, in any of the higher numbers in which 5 itself appears in any of the columns above the units, it has the form *mañ*, which is the same rendition that it has in a sentence when followed by such a term as *ya* or *kũ'tca*, as *ma'ñ ya*, five houses, or *ma'ñ kũtca*, five dogs. In the list of numerals the three forms occur as follows:

ma'n-da occurs in 5 and 15.
ma'n-dic occurs in 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 17, 18, 19, 60, 70, 80, 90, 600, 700, 800, 900, 1600, 1700, 1800, 1900, 6000, 7000, 8000, and 9000.
mañ occurs in 50, 500, 1500, and 5000.

Ten occurs as a basal number as follows: in the numbers 10 to 19, inclusive, where it is rendered *pa'il'a*, and in the higher numbers in which any one of these appears. This term ten is quite a different one from tens, *tcũ'ñga*, which is used in the numbers from 30 up. This unusual use of a term for tens which is entirely distinct from the simple 10 appears to be explainable through borrowing, since in a neighboring

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

802 language, the Quichua,* both 10 and tens are rendered
[177] *tcũ'ñga*, though the cause of such borrowing, if such it is, remains uncertain. These two terms appear in the accompanying list as follows:

pa'ita appears in 10 to 19 inclusive, and in 1000 to 1900 inclusive.

tcũ'ñga appears in 30 to 90 inclusive, and in 3000 to 9000 inclusive.

Twenty, *ma'ntcalõra*, one of the two exceptions to the regularity of this numeral system, appears as a basal number in 20 and in all higher numbers in which it, as such, occurs. In the accompanying list

ma'ntcalõra appears in 20, 21, 120, 2000, 2100, and 2200.

Hundred, *pa'tsa* or *ba'tsa*, depending on its phonetic surroundings, forms the base of all numbers from 100 up. This includes the thousands also, since the system is centenary above 100. Thus, 8000 is not eight thousands but eighty hundreds.

[193] * There is in Cayapa no nominal plural, hence *tcũñga* and *ba'tsa* are both singular and plural so far as form is concerned. The former, not being the term used for 10, is really used only in a plural sense, but the latter is used as both singular and plural. Further, the term *tcũ'ñga* is, according to a short Quichua vocabulary obtained from a couple of informants temporarily on the Rio Cayapas, the regular term ten in that language and is used throughout their entire system. The term hundred has also a close parallel, *pa'tsak*, in Quichua, but, while Cayapa has a strict centenary system above 100, Quichua carries the hundreds only as far as 1000, which is *huaranga*, a term entirely unrelated to hundred.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

A SYSTEM OF MNEMONIC WRITING

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As has already been noted, the Cayapa have no written language and express nothing in writing of any kind. An interesting example of the power of adaptation, however, was given by one individual along this line. The incident, while it has no direct bearing on the general life and culture of the tribe as a whole, may perhaps be significant and of interest when the general subject of mnemonics and hieroglyphic writing is considered, for it shows how readily a single individual of a tribe may borrow a principle which is entirely foreign to the culture of his own people and, with this as a basis, may invent a new system which might give rise to an entirely new order of things if it were carried to its full possibilities. Furthermore, this system is of considerable interest from a phonetic point of view, since it shows that it is founded on strictly phonetic considerations and thus shows what may be termed the natural tendency of the mind of man to correlate and arrange at least some linguistic ideas along logical, phonetic lines.

On the arrival of the author in the Cayapa country he took up his residence with a prominent official of the tribe known, according to the present-day Spanish terminology, as "El Secretario del Gobernacion." When the author expressed a desire to learn the Cayapa language, his host manifested an equal desire to learn English. It was therefore mutually agreed that each should instruct the other. A beginning was made with the numeral system, the author being given the names of the Cayapa numerals. As the terms were pronounced,

Santiago drainage system. The dissident group claimed that the Saints were stronger in the old area and would be of greater help to the Cayapa. The new group settled in Sapallito, where they have their own ceremonial center, but for reasons unknown they did not return to Pueblo Viejo. Factionalism apparently accounts for some of the tribal fission.

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Settlement Patterns. In 1879 the banks of the Río Cayapas almost as far down as Borbon, a town at the confluence of the Río Santiago and the Río Cayapas, were inhabited by Cayapa Indians while Negroes were found mainly along the Río Santiago (Wolf 1879). By 1894 Borbon had become a Negro town, and the lower reaches of Cayapa settlement had retreated up stream toward the area of the Río Onzole. At this time, about twenty-three Negroes were reported by Reascos to be living at Telembí, a "village" of three houses about 77.5 kilometers from the mouth of the Río Cayapas. The Negroes had been given special permission by the Cayapa to live there provided they did not pan for gold which was found occasionally. (Reascos 1894). In 1960 Telembí was a thriving Negro village of several hundred people, and the greater part

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of the population of the Río Cayapas up to Zapallo Grande was Negro. Isolated Negro enclaves are found today as far up as San Miguel. Negroes tend to live in village settlements, some of which are of political and/or economic importance, while the Cayapa live scattered along the river banks. The town of San José, which lies a few miles below the Río Cayapas, is the administrative center for the area. San Antonio, which is located a few miles above Punta Venado, is of considerable commercial importance as it is readily accessible to the small coastal vessels engaged in the banana trade.

The most characteristic feature of the area is its riverine quality, and settlement and movement centers on the rivers for both Indians and Negroes. The large hilly land areas between the rivers are completely uninhabited, and the dense jungle growth makes foot travel exceedingly difficult. Except for short hunting trips or to secure trees for the making of canoes, the jungle or monte is avoided. The river, on the other hand, is open and free. The river scene is seldom a quiet one. People going down stream maneuver their canoes into mid-channel, taking full advantage

4 Altschuler E-G (1959-1960) 1965
SD4 Cayapa SD4

or the front may differ from the back in solid colors. Often the panels may be cut vertically or diagonally with different brightly hued colors. The shirt, which falls to knee-length, is usually bordered at the hem by the same band that joins the front and rear panels. Sometimes the multicolored hem may be overlaid with the panel material that has been cut in triangular points. This gorgeous array is usually topped off with a white plastic fedora that has been smuggled in from Colombia. If she feet are shod, they are usually encased in knee-length rubber boots. For festive occasions, the men wear lipstick and round patches of rouge on their cheeks. Sometimes they also place a round spot of rouge about an inch and a half in diameter, in the middle of their foreheads. The over-all effect is quite striking.

Some men do not use cosmetics but prefer to dress up for fiestas in western clothing that often includes underwear and transparent nylon sport shirts in white, red, blue, yellow, or green. On occasion, a man will place a bright yellow straight plastic comb in his hair. Men quite often buy wrist watches for which they have no earthly use. The watches are fairly expensive, poorly

made, and seldom in working order. The brand names are obvious imitations of well known trade-marks, and men may be seen sporting watches marked "Algin," "Danrus," or "Wiltham." If queried as to the time of day, the most likely response is "just today the watch stopped working."

Attractive as the Cayapa male is in his festive array, the woman is clearly the fashion leader. Because she is short-legged and thick-waisted, her adornment is calculated to conceal these features and to shift attention to her face instead. Like the male, she is rouged and lip-painted. Occasionally she paints a black line across her cheeks and upper lip. Her hair, which is waist length, is fastened at the side and front with multi-colored barrettes, while the crown of the head is covered by a Juliet's cap fabricated of shiny coins. Around her shoulders and neck depend row after row of brightly-hued glass and metal beads and strings of coins. The ultimate row of baubles may fall below the hip line. Beaded ligatures may be placed on her arms, and silver rings may adorn all of her fingers except the thumbs. Around her shoulders she wears a bright

details of style and construction (Barrett 1925:154-157). 000

Dolls: /náwawa/. Dolls for children were scarce among the Cayapa of the Punta Venado section. Barrett briefly discusses dolls, and the impression received is that they were common. They were always made of a single block of wood, and were carved in both human and animal forms. No measurements are given, but they were very likely similar to the dolls of today, measuring usually twelve to thirteen inches in length and from three to four inches in width. They are most frequently carved out of Guayacan, an extremely hard wood. The one Guayacan doll in my possession is carved in two pieces. It is a seated figure, obviously of a white man, wearing a visored cap, a necktie cut in bas-relief, a jacket, breeches, and boots that are tinted reddish. He is seated in a two-legged chair which is sufficient since his own feet serve as the other two legs. The chair is fastened to the figure by two nails through the bottom, and five nails from the rear.

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At the present time, many models for play purposes are cut out of balsa in the forms of airplanes, and the forms of coastal banana boats. Other wooden articles

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by a new sibling. Weaning is gradual; however, the child is also told that an animal will come to eat him if he continues to suck which frightens him and hastens his loss of interest in the breast. From about the age of four months he is given supplementary foods and by the age of three years he eats everything. Women who are unable to nurse apply a poultice to their breasts. This poultice is made of lechera, a weed with a milky sap; this is done in the vain hope of stimulating lactation. The neighboring Negro women wean their infants at one year, and when opportunity affords, they chide the Cayapa women about their protracted nursing. This is beginning to have some effect, and a few women now wean their children by one year.

When a woman dies in childbirth, the child may be given to another woman who is lactating. Some feel that "the child dies anyway as the spirit of the dead mother will kill it." On the other hand, the infant can be taken directly to the ceremonial center where earth from the mother's grave is thrown at it at the time of her burial. If this ritual is practiced, two men stand on opposite sides of the grave passing the infant back and forth five or six times. This, it is

time this passes. The daughter-in-law is expected to help her mother-in-law when needed, but as both women have to work with and cook for their respective husbands, no onerous burdens are placed on the daughter-in-law. The household has no direction as such. Each nuclear family attends to its own tasks. If asked, they aid in the planting and weeding of the gardens of other co-residents but only if this does not detract from their own work. In temporary work-visits a man works for his in-laws in the following way. A man works with the man who married his sister but not with brothers of his brother-in-law. On the other hand, a man is expected on request, to work for any of the brothers and/or parents of his wife.

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Distant kin who may be referred to just as "family" may be resident in the household for varying periods of time, sometimes for years. No special disabilities are entailed and behavior is as described for close kin.

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Compadrazgo. The indisputable mark of Iberian contact in the New World is in the social institution

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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of ritual co-parenthood called Compadrazgo. Historically and basically it is concerned with the ritual induction into the Catholic Church of an individual through the rites of baptism, confirmation, and marriage. The god-parent stands in the role of sponsor, and in effect gives assurance of good faith on the part of the unbaptized, the unconfirmed, and the betrothed. Compadrazgo relationships are held to be sacred, and the incest taboo is extended to those involved in the ritual co-parenthood and to their descendents. Wherever found, compadrazgo seems to have been accepted with gusto, and there are innumerable variations on the basic theme outlined above. Such flexibility is indeed noteworthy. Mintz and Wolf discuss some of the reasons for the success of this social institution:

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> Compadrazgo, once accepted by a social grouping, can be moulded into the community way of life by many means. It is a two-way social system which sets up reciprocal relations of variable complexity and solemnity. By imposing automatically, and with a varying degree of sanctity, statuses and obligations of a fixed nature, on the people who participate, it makes the immediate social environment more stable, the participants more interdependent and more secure (Mintz and Wolf 1950: 355).

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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At the present time the Cayapa, in common with most rural Ecuadorians, practice a ceremony of nail cutting that has ritual significance in the sense that god-parents are selected for the child, and the extension of ritual kinship follows as for the rites of baptism and marriage. This ceremonial occasion which is called simply /tyákikánu/, is a very minor ceremony that may be performed at almost any age from a few months to perhaps six years, or it may never be performed. Almost invariably the god-parents for this occasion are Negro. As Negroes are in political and economic control of the region, we can say that this is a vertical extension of ritual kinship. The Indian seldom asks a Negro to assume this obligation. Quite the contrary, Negroes generally ask the father of the child if he would like to enter into compadrazgo.

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The actual ceremony is very simple. Only the participants are present as a rule. The nails are cut by the god-father, and the parings are placed in a glass of rum which is then drunk by the compadres. Small presents, such as a bottle of rum, some food, soft drinks, and tobacco, are exchanged. Thereafter, the

relationship of greatest importance is that between the compadres and not between the /kumbatápa/ and /kumbatáma/, that is 'god-father' and 'god-mother,' and the god-child or /ihádu/. The compadres refer to each other as /kopáre/ or /komáre/. The relationship thus set up is utterly without sanction from the Church, and in point of fact, the parties, if they are Negro and Indian, do not feel that they are actually tied to each other ritually.

Quite often the Negro who asks to be permitted to cut the child's nails is a travelling merchant who, from time to time, visits the area. It is to his advantage to have an Indian compadre as this assures him of a place to eat and to sleep in his travels. Similarly, if the Negro lives near a town, the Cayapa compadre will visit him occasionally. Indians going to Esmeraldas, for example, may stay for several days in the home of a Negro compadre. Very often the Negro asks to cut the nails of a Cayapa child for pecuniary reasons so that, for example, the banana merchants seek to extend their compadre ties to as many banana growers as they can. Sometimes the Negro attempts to establish previously

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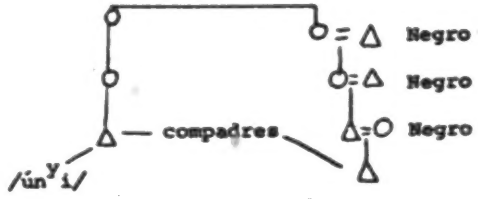
existing kinship ties by means of the nail-cutting ceremony with a Cayapa child. As an example, one Negro who is distantly related to the 'ún^{y}i/ of the Punta Venado section asked if he could be his compadre. The manner of relationship is as follows:



The /ún^{y}i/ says that he does not know the name of this Negro kinsman and compadre who lives by the ocean near Punta Bajo on the other side of Limones at the mouth of the Río Cayapas. He came upone day in his canoe, bringing fish, green coconuts, clams, and other small gifts. He asked if he could cut the nails of one of the children, and the /ún^{y}i/ agreed, and the Negro cut the nails of the daughter, Maria Agrecaria. The /ún^{y}i/ gave his new compadre gifts of sugar cane, plantain, and chontadura. Since then, the /ún^{y}i/ had visited his compadre about ten times in a four- or five-year period, and in return

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he has been visited about four times. There is no work at all involved in these visits, which are said to be purely social.

Sometimes an Indian will ask to be a compadre so that, for example, the /únyi/'s daughter, Maria Rosa had her nails cut by the father-in-law of the /ún^{y}i/'s eldest brother's daughter. She lived in Río Onzole area. Her daughter was ill on occasion, and her father-in-law came up to the Río Camerones to ask Gabriel who was not yet the /ún^{y}i/ to come and cure the child. He went down with his family and stayed for about one week. While there a brother-in-law of his niece asked if he could cut the nails of his daughter. When asked why the man had asked to do this, Gabriel replied, "Because he likes me very much." In this case we find a reinforcement of a previously existing relationship. Most children have their nails ceremonially cut, and each child in a family has different god-parents. The picture is one of a multiplicity of compadres extended vertically and horizontally. The emphasis in ceremonial nailcutting is primarily vertical and generally involves Negroes. Indians who seek compadrazgo are usually related

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The Cayapa are not theologians, nor are they knowledgeable about Catholic ritual. They recognize this lack, but do not concern themselves over it. They rely for ritual guidance on the priest, and in his absence their Negro neighbors are ever ready to take his place as religious mentors to the Cayapa. The Cayapa recognize that the Negro has greater understanding of the religion, but they also consider that the Negroes are great sinners, while the Cayapa are held to be very moral. For the Cayapa, religion is morality and morality means proper sexual behavior. That the Negroes seldom, if ever, marry is a constant source of scandal for the Cayapa, and that the Cayapa almost always marry in the Church [a few polygynists to the contrary] is a constant source of envy for the Negro women, who feel great personal insecurity in their free unions. The trouble with the world, say the Cayapa, is that there are many sinners in it--people who commit incest, adultery, and take more than one wife. As most Cayapa are moral, they will go to heaven, but Negroes and Whites, who are notorious sinners, will not. After death Negroes will go to the black clouds and

Whites will go to the white clouds, forever floating between heaven and earth. While the Cayapa believe that they are a moral people, probably everyone has sinned a little and so after death every Cayapa soul is scourged in hell. Periodically the soul is weighed and when the scale tips in favor of the soul over its sins, it goes to heaven.

The matter of sin and sex so concern the Cayapa that when they were presented by the first missionaries with the account of Adam and Eve, they transformed it by saying that in the beginning Jesus created two men and two women. The women were not created from the ribs or any other part of the men's bodies, and so, everyone was properly nonrelated. From these four beings sprang the human race.

At irregular intervals, a priest comes up from Limones for Christmas or Easter. He holds a brief service, consecrates marriages, and baptizes children. The Cayapa are very much taken with Catholic imagery and the use of candles. As the writer once watched the priest perform a marriage at Punta Venado, there was a brief contest of wills. The Cayapa wedding party had

all lined up single file broadside to the altar. There were two bridal couples and the two sets of godparents, each couple clutching a lighted candle. The priest, an Italian, who had just arrived from missionary service in the Congo, told them that candles were not at all needed for the marriage service. The members of the wedding party looked somewhat discomfited, but they maintained their grips on the candles. The priest repeated his admonitions several times. There was no argument, but the Indians just stood there holding their candles in front of them. Finally, the priest, with a generous Italian shrug, said, "If you want to get married with candles, I'll marry you with candles, but you really don't need them." In a small way, Catholic flexibility had met Cayapa rigidity and the priest was beginning his accommodation.

Easter is the most important holiday for the Cayapa. The day before Easter week, people begin arriving at the ceremonial center and set up housekeeping. The following day, most of the people have arrived. There were no special services, and most of the day was spent in clearing the plaza. The /únʸi/ began the work of

clearing. He worked alone for perhaps two hours before he was joined unenthusiastically by eight other men. They all worked separately and at a considerable distance from each other. Other men made minor repairs to the church, and still others made small repairs to the houses surrounding the plaza. All of the houses were in very poor repair, but no one felt obliged to undertake the effort required to make really good repairs. The houses were only used during Easter and Christmas, and none of the inhabitants felt sorely pressed.

The second day of Easter saw people busily engaged in building bamboo cross poles to which were fastened candles. That evening, about six, all of the fiesteros, dressed in their finery, formed a procession. A Negro carried a large statue of a saint in his arms at the head of the parade. Behind him, forming a straggling line, two and three abreast, came the Cayapa. Some men and women held candles in their hands, some men carried the large bamboo cross-poles with six to eight candles. Some carried the smaller statues of the saints. They walked around the church three times, and then entered. Groups of Negroes were present and they sang hymns in Spanish. The Cayapa like to have the

Negroes present for Church services, because they like to hear them sing. One of the complaints voiced against the/ún^{y}i/ was that he had not invited enough Negro singers to the fiesta.

On Easter Sunday, there was a great deal of varied activity in all of the houses as the Cayapa prepared for the church activities. This meant that they put on their newest clothing, and young children were dressed in the kind of ornamentation ordinarily worn by women, they often had row upon row of beads and bangles hanging from the neck down to the waist. Around ten o'clock, the church bell rang, and people began drifting over to the church. The officials stood outside with their whips, and as people approached, they struck them several times across the buttocks. Some went into the church, where the chief stood in front of the altar. They bent forward and received the blows. Children were whipped also, but very lightly. Some of the officials went into each of the houses looking for stragglers. After all had been whipped, they whipped themselves and one of them whipped the chief. Only a few of the Negroes joined in the ritual, and, in these

instances, it was done with a joking air. There was some laughter as the Cayapa were whipping themselves, but it was restrained. As the official went about looking for more people, they kept stating, "Everyone has to be whipped, everyone." This practice very likely was brought in by Catholic missionaries at a very early period.

In general, the description of a fiesta given by Barrett applies, with one major exception. The passion play described by Barrett was no longer being performed. In its place a group of fiesteros set up a marimba, small hand drums and several bass drums in a small rancho between the church and the main house of the chief. During the evening of Easter Sunday, they played with such gusto that sometime between one and two in the morning the structure collapsed. Concurrently with all of these activities, the chief dispensed justice, marriages were arranged, marriages were celebrated, Negro funerals were conducted, fisticuffs were engaged in, people drank, also passed out, woke up, and the band played on. This continued for six days and nights.

vicinity. It may kill people whom it encounters alone. 775
The third soul, the bald ghost is dressed in white and
remains by the grave. "In the old days, it would fight
with its enemies, but nowadays this does not happen."
The /kúme/ has the form of the body it inhabits, and it 774
has the power of leaving the body during sleep, and of
travelling about at will. In their travels, the souls
visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends,
and distant places. At these times the soul is in danger [754]
of being harmed by witchcraft; if the /kúme/ is prevented
from returning to its body, that person must die.

In common with much of the Catholic world, the 775
Cayapa believe that a deceased infant has not had a 848
chance to sin and so goes directly to heaven as an angel; 783
however, if the child had been conceived in sin, then 847
they maintain that it is an abomination, and non-
Christian. In this case they feel that the Christian
thing to do is to kill the neonate, but the status of
the soul of the infant is not clear. On the question of 775
the immediate transit to heaven of the infant's soul, 851
the Negroes are the authorities for the Cayapa. As an 177
instance, the wife of Pablo Canalahu of Encanto, died [845]

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in childbirth, and the infant was born dead. No one discussed the condition of the infant's soul at all, until a group of Negroes came to express their condolences. They remarked among themselves that the infant was probably in purgatory because it had not been baptized. They spoke in this vein for about ten minutes until Doña Carolina, who is half Cayapa and married to the founder of the village of Cameroneg, noticed that the Indians were becoming disturbed at the trend that the conversation was taking, and she said that of course, since the child was only recently dead, it perhaps was not too late, and she took some water from a gourd and sprinkled it on the tiny body. There was a brief flurry of conversation among the Negroes, and the remark was made that "very likely the infant was in heaven now." At this, the Indians visibly relaxed.

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Funeral customs. Death is not a stranger to the Cayapa, and everyone can reasonably expect to attend at least two or three funerals during a year. The greatest number of deaths are of infants. In other age groups there are violent deaths such as men drowning, breaking their necks in falls, and being poisoned

and chanted a curious mixture of Spanish and what may have been unintelligible magical Quechua words. The Spanish element predominated, but not as connected discourse. The manner of chanting made comprehension extremely difficult for me, but the sequence may be described as stretches of humming, interspersed with unintelligibility, peaked by the words "negrazo . . . indio bravo . . . enfermidad . . . bruja . . . ." that is, "Negro . . . wild Indian . ... sickness . . . witch . . . ." From time to time there were straight Spanish incantations: "This man is sick, I know, I know, cure, cure, Negro." The Negro is included in the list of powerful words because it is felt that Negroes often practice black magic against the Indian; similarly, the Indio Bravos were a powerful people whose very stone and pottery artifacts retain their ancient power. The witch is included for obvious reasons, and Spanish is used probably because it connotes power. A man who controls Spanish controls the outside forces to a degree impossible for a monolingual Cayapa.

On occasion, Alejandro would take a mouthful of rum and blow it out in the direction of the patient.

patient, who appeared to be wracked by malaria, declared that my power had helped him considerably. This comment was accepted with perfect equanimity by the two brujos who nodded and agreed that I did have big hands.

There appears to be no conflict between the Cayapa theory of disease and modern medical practices. On several occasions, Julio, an active brujo, would come to me for medications to give his patients. The feeling was that the White man's medicine taken together with the native remedy could not be beaten; however, quite commonly, western medication is sought only as a last resort.

Almost everyone has a modicum of curing knowledge, but one would never dare to utter incantations that summon spirits, unless he has paid a teacher for knowledge. An unauthorized person who called the spirits would be killed by them. Most people will at one time or another attempt to effect a cure. A brief illustration of some of these points can be seen in the following events recorded during the Christmas fiesta at Puerto Naranjo in 1959.

[Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado] 189

It was one thirty in the afternoon on Friday, when a very sick child was brought to the /ʌ̃ʔ/ to be cured. Gabriel, was quite drunk, but he took the child and blew on the top of its head. He then passed the child to a Negress, who did the same thing, and then tossed the child up into the air. The /ʌ̃ʔ/ then took the child and blew on its head again. The parents of the child stood by crying, as it was obvious that the child was in mortal danger. Some other Indians began taking turns blowing at the child's head, and one began to suck out at the nostrils, while another massaged the child's hands. The Negress suggested using some chocolate, but this advice was ignored. I offered some sulfa pills, but the father refused them. The /kapitán/ then began rubbing a commercial menthol ointment around the child's face, neck and chest. While he was doing this, the /ʌ̃ʔ/ slumped down in a corner of the room and passed out drunk. The Negress kept urging the /kapitán/ to rub some of the ointment on the child's back, and he did so. Then the mother took the child, and offered it the breast, which was refused.

The child was gasping very hard. At this point, the father took off his western styled shirt, and put on a yellow Cayapa shirt. As he was doing this a young man took hold of the child's right wrist, and began blowing on the fingers, while another began to briefly blow on the child's head.

Eventually, the number of people working on the child dwindled to three men, including the /kapitán/, who are said to be bruja . . . they removed the child to an abandoned house site, and they sat on a log discussing what to do. Each bruja, as he drank from a bottle of rum, stated that he would use a very important and strong incantation; and then with a long look at the others, added, "and I am not afraid either." One began to whistle and chant, and another began sucking at the child's mouth, while the third kept complaining that I was too

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[Christmas fiesta at Punta Verde] 189

It was one thirty in the afternoon on Friday, when a very sick child was brought to the /curíl/ to be cured. Gabriel, was quite drunk, but he took the child and blew on the top of its head. He then passed the child to a Negroes, who did the same thing, and then tossed the child up into the air. The /curíl/ then took the child and blew on its head again. The parents of the child stood by crying, as it was obvious that the child was in mortal danger. Some other Indians began taking turns blowing at the child's head, and one began to suck out at the nostrils, while another massaged the child's hands. The Negroes suggested using some chocolate, but this advice was ignored. I offered some sulfa pills, but the father refused them. The /kapitán/ then began rubbing a commercial menthol ointment around the child's face, neck and chest. While he was doing this, the /curíl/ slumped down in a corner of the room and passed out drunk. The Negroes kept urging the /kapitán/ to rub some of the ointment on the child's back, and he did so. Then the mother took the child, and offered it the breast, which was refused.

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Eventually, the number of people working on the child dwindled to three men, including the /kapitán/, who are said to be brujos . . . they removed the child to an abandoned house site, and they sat on a log discussing what to do. Each brujo, as he drank from a bottle of rum, stated that he would use a very important and strong incantation; and then with a long look at the others, added, "and I am not afraid either." One began to whistle and chant, and another began sucking at the child's mouth, while the third kept complaining that I was too

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ugly to bear, and that I must leave before he began his cure, but the other two assured him that I was a "good gringo." By this point, the three brujos were quite drunk, and unable to function. The father took the child back to the main house, where it died early the following morning.

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It is felt that brujos can kill as well as cure, but except for one instance, excessive sorcery was never attributed to Cayapa brujos. The father of Perdomo of Encanto was a brujo who was killed because "he killed too many people." This was the only instance recorded and it was apparently done on an individual basis and not through the legal apparatus.

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Government. The Spanish governmental nomenclature can be found with varying degrees of completeness in each of the four tribal sections. The list as noted by Barrett included the following: "Governador, secretario de la governación, teniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento." (Barrett 1925:312). In 1960, the terms alcalde, comisário, and teniente político were apparently no longer in use, and no one knew of any individual who occupied any of these offices.

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Today, as in 1909, there are apparently three

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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disputes among the Cayapa. In disputes between an Indian and a Negro, however, a Cayapa official is usually asked by the Indian to speak in his behalf before the Negro teniente político in the town of San José or before the White comisario in the town of Limones. Patently unjust decisions rendered by the teniente político may be appealed to the comisario and ultimately to the national government by the /únʸi/. In this, the Cayapa enjoy an advantage over the Negroes. The common feeling in Ecuador seems to be that in any encounter between an Indian and a Negro, the Indian is the innocent victim. While this is indeed true much of the time, the Cayapa threaten to go to the top even when they are clearly in the wrong, and the Negroes are naturally resentful of this.

The Cayapa are self-governing, although they are loosely bound by national laws covering land sale, theft, and murder. Periodically attempts are made by the local Negro officials to usurp the authority of the /únʸi/ by demanding funds for one or another purpose. In 1960, the people of the Negro village of Camerones began to agitate for recognition of the village as the center of

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the parish. This honor belonged to the town of San José, but as national elections were near, it was felt that the proper time had come to make a bold attempt to have Camerones declared the leading village. The Inspectór of Camerones visited with several Cayapa officials who lived up the Río Camerones, and he demanded fifty sucres from each adult male Indian. He said that this was needed to bribe the higher officials if Camerones were to take the place of San José. There were four or five days of rumor-mongering, mostly concerning the avarice of the people of Camerones, and then consensus was reached. Gabriel Añapa, the /únʸi/, told the writer that he would have paid five sucres but that fifty was too much. Neither the Indians nor the citizens of Camerones contributed to the Inspectór. As a result, San José continued to be the parish head, although a new teniente político was to replace the old one who had backed the losing party in the elections.

Attempts to encroach on Cayapa governmental affairs may be seen in embryonic form in some of the school activities. For example, the school has been in operation for six or seven years. There has been a

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succession of teachers with varying degrees of competence. In 1960 the school teacher, who was a native of Camerones, began giving the Indian pupils drama lessons. The plays offered always involved Cayapa going to Negroes for advice. Generally, the plots involved marital bickering within the Cayapa families which were then solved by the Negro official. These scenes are always greeted with laughter by the assembled Cayapa who come to watch their children perform. No one would even dream of taking a family quarrel to a Negro official. It is interesting to note however, that one Negro is making some progress toward involving himself in Cayapa affairs. This Negro's name is Pindaleñas, and he presents a rather grotesque appearance. His nose has been entirely destroyed by the ravages of yaws, and his hands are twisted into the shape of talons. This man has the distinction of being the only Negro who speaks Cayapa. Since he lives very near the ceremonial center of Punta Venado, he has been hired by the /ũnʸi/ to keep the church clean. Pindaleñas attends every fiesta and becomes actively interested in most of the legal cases. On several occasions he publically

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

announced that he knew more of the law than did Gabriel. The Cayapa plainly do not know how to deal with Pindalenas. Some Cayapa say that he has absolutely no right to interfere in the legal disputes. Similarly, Gabriel points out that the Negro is merely his employee and nothing more, but a few Cayapa think that perhaps he can take part in the adjudicating of disputes. They are not very certain, but if Pindaleñas acts as if he can, then perhaps he can. On occasion he has asked Cayapa women to dance with him at the fiesta in the Cayapa manner, but he has always been refused. No other Negro has ever attempted to dance with a Cayapa woman. In the disputes witnessed by the writer at which Pindaleñas was present, he seemed to restrict himself to echoing the judgments reached by the Cayapa officials.

Such governmental activities as exist for the Cayapa will be amply illustrated in terms of their law. In point of fact, Cayapa law can be said to be the major part of Cayapa government. Political behavior for the Cayapa is intimately related to governmental instability which is largely the result of interregnum

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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who will be most annoyed and an argument most certainly will follow. If the prospective bridegroom is doubtful, the men talk to him earnestly of the pleasures of married life while the woman, very wisely, says nothing, but sits very still with downcast eyes--"very still and very quiet." Most often she is accepted.

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Many times a man has a definite woman in mind for marriage but is not at all sure that he can get her by means of any of the techniques so far discussed. Then, too, it may be that another person has a particular woman in mind for a certain man, and, similarly, is not too sure that he can bring off the marriage. In either case a commission is formed, consisting of two Indians who are usually related to the man under consideration and two Negroes. The Indian members of the commission are not paid except with a few drinks. The Negroes receive some money and two or three gallons of home-distilled rum which, as Barrett once correctly remarked, "is clear in color and vile in taste."

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The Indians on the commission are first to enter the house of the prospective bride. They present

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their case to the family, and if refused, they then point out that two Negroes are waiting in the canoe. This means that the commission will fight, if need be, to get the girl. [For the Cayapa, the Negro is a threatening figure, both in fact and in fancy.] At this point, agreement may be reached between the commission and the girl's family, or a fight may develop. In either event, so far as is known to the writer, a commission always gets its woman.

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Problems in Courtship and Marriage. Many men among the Cayapa are reluctant to take the initiative in romantic affairs, but from time to time one finds among them men like Chapiro of the Río Camerones, who seems to delight in amorous peccadillos and adventures. Chapiro has the reputation of preferring married women with whom it is said he would make love, while the husband slept only inches away on the same bedding. He pretended to be the husband and apparently deceived the wives with a large measure of success for a time.

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Chapiro caught in flagrant delicto. One night while pretending to be Pablo Añapa, Chapiro was caught

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

girl at home as long as possible. This may lead to disputes and hard feelings.

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Carmelina, a crippled girl, is taken by a marriage commission over the protests of her mother. The late chief, Arcilio, had a sister's daughter named Carmelina who was crippled in one leg. She lived with her mother and younger brother, near Playa Grande. One night a commission of two Negroes and two Indians came to take the girl to Alipio Cimarrón who also lived near Playa Grande. First, the two Indians came into the house leaving the two Negroes in the canoe. They spoke with the mother, but she did not want the girl to get married "as she was badly crippled." The two Indians pointed out that they had two Negroes with them, but the mother was adamant. The Indians then called in the Negroes who were named José Isidro and Anano Vallejo, both of Playa Grande. The four men came into the house and removed the girl by force. She fell outside of the house and began to cry, but they picked her up and placed her in the canoe, still crying. All the while, the mother kept shouting at the men, but the girl's brother remained silent, as he had been

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Romulo appeals to a White official. Romulo lived with his wife and children, as well as with a dependent woman relative named Inez Cimarrón; this relative had been divorced by her husband because all of their children had died soon after birth. She had gone to live with Romulo and his wife immediately after the divorce. Some time later, a commission composed of two Negroes named Nikola Ayovi and Aurelio Caruso, and an Indian named Dámian Largo, came up from Playa Grande at the request of Averticio Largo, a 'cousin' of Dámian. Averticio was a widower [and so could only marry a widow or a divorcee], and he specifically asked the commission to bring Inez for him. The members of the commission had been given a few gallons of rum for this favor. Romulo, however, refused to give the woman up, claiming that he needed her to watch the house and children when he and his wife were out working, since they had no other relations. The Negroes replied that they would use force if need be. At this, Romulo went for his machete, but, as he was ill at the time, he could not fight effectively. The woman was removed, crying, from the

[587]

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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house and brought to Averticio. The next day, the Teniente Político, a national official of Borbón, came down the river from Telembí. He was hailed by Romulo who explained the happening to him. They both then went up to Playa Grande where a party was in progress in Averticio's house. The official took the woman back and fined the two Negroes sixty sucres each, but Dámian Largo was not fined. Averticio pointed out to the official that he had sent the commission in good faith and had not asked for the use of force. Inez also made it clear that she did not want to marry Averticio because he was too old.

Of interest here is the fact that Romulo appealed to a non-Indian official who is not ordinarily approached by the Cayapa in matters of this kind. Doubtless, it was the fortuitous juxtaposition of circumstances that brought the Teniente Político into view while Romulo's anger was still at its height. The official's decision was not completely just. In the first place, he clearly favored the Indians over the Negroes and consequently he did not fine the Indian member of the commission. In the second place,

[672]

Averticio lied when he said that he had not asked for the use of force by the commission. Mens rea marked Averticio's actions and he was an accessory before and after the fact. By requesting the two Negroes for the commission he gave tacit approval to the use of force. If Romulo had complained to an Indian official, the latter would have been unable to deal legally with the Negroes, and he would have restricted his investigation to Averticio and Dámian. When Negroes are involved, and feelings are running high among the aggrieved Cayapa, self-help may be resorted to, as the following case demonstrates.

Perdomo fights for his sister. Perdomo lived with his wife, mother, and sister in a house up the Río Camerones. One night a commission composed of the usual two Indians and two Negroes came to the house. The two Indians spoke first. They had come to deliver Perdomo's sister to Manuel Largo of Playa Grande. Perdomo and his mother refused. [Manuel was said to be very ugly, thin, and weak.] Following this refusal, the two Negroes came in to take the girl forcibly. She began to cry whereupon Perdomo went for his machete

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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and threatened the Negroes. One of them answered that he was willing to fight, and at this, Perdomo backed down. The commission then left with the girl. They brought her to Manuel Largo who hid with her in the house of José Mina, one of the Negro members of the commission.

Two days later Perdomo managed to gather together ten kinsmen and friends, and they all left in two canoes, taking the girl's mother along. A Negro told them where the girl was hidden, and they headed straight for José Mina' house. They argued a great deal with the two Negroes, but the commissioners claimed that everything was all right; "after all the girl was not marrying a relative." The argument waxed hotter, and finally machetes began to swing. This all took place in front of the house, while from within the house the girl could be heard crying and pleading for rescue. As the fighting began, the girl's mother began crying, telling the men not to fight, or they would kill each other. This had no effect. The Negro woman shouted that if they kept on fighting, they would all be fined. At this, tempers cooled, the fighting ceased, and the Indians returned home without the girl.

among the Cayapa. It is forbidden by the Church through the person of the priest, who is seldom seen. Many Cayapa maintain that divorce is not proper. At the present time, divorce is possible for both sexes, but it is much more difficult for a woman to obtain. In one instance, a woman was married to a mental defective and she left him with the full approval of the community. In the case of the crippled Julio Tapullo, his wife was not permitted a divorce even though Julio had been very miserly with her. On the other hand, a man may divorce his wife if she is barren or has too many still-births. In one case, a man beat his wife because she only gave birth to girls; he threatened either to kill her or to throw her out of the home (divorce), if the next child were a girl.

The divorce procedure is quite simple. The woman is simply told to leave! There is usually some grumbling by the woman's parents, but to my knowledge, complaints are never made to any of the officials. Julio Tapullo's case above was complicated by polygyny.

Santiagueño hires a Negro to bring his children back after his wife left him. Santiagueño Anapa's first

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wife did not like him, and after several years, she left, taking the children with her. Santiagueño was notified of the event by his brother while he was in the monte, working. He returned immediately and employed Joselino Caisero, the Negro Inspectór of the village of Camerones to bring back his children. Joselino was paid one hundred sucres for his work. He located the woman near Sapallo Grande and removed the children. The woman cried bitterly and said that she wanted to return to her husband, but Santiagueño did not want her. He claimed that she had had lovers during the months that she had been gone. She denied this, but to no avail. Santiagueño did not mind losing his wife this way, because she was a nag "bravo y siempre charlando." She was later delivered to a man from the Punta Venado section. Santiagueño soon remarried, but the second wife died, and he then remarried a third time to the ex-wife of Antonio Blanco. Antonio had divorced his wife for being barren. "People said that it was not a nice thing to do, but no one demanded that he be punished."

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Clearly the attitudes toward divorce had modified considerably, especially since Barrett's recording of the following case:

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[P 154]

CHAPTER IV

DEVIANCE AND LAW IN THE AREA OF SEX RELATIONS

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In terms of attitudes and decisions, Cayapa law can be marked off in two grand divisions: the sacred and the profane. The sacred involves the realm of sin, and sin for the Cayapa is to be found completely in the area of sexual behavior. Illicit sexual adventures, if exposed, are always punished by whipping and/or the use of the stocks. We have no information, but in all probability the whip and the stocks were introduced to the Cayapa at a very early period by Catholic missionaries. Regardless of the source of these two articles of punishment, the Cayapa have taken to them enthusiastically. The question of why sex should be so charged with feelings of sin requiring a special mode of punishment will be discussed later, when we deal with personality factors. While the Cayapa talk about sin and characterize many people as being sinners, my data do not indicate that they either dwell on, or even conceptualize sin, in terms of a world view. Rather,

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why he had delivered Margarita to his brother who was too young for marriage, he remained silent. The punishment was to be fifty lashes each, but since they kept protesting their innocence, the sentence was reduced to twenty lashes each.

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About a year after the death of Cristobal's first father-in-law, a son of the dead man named Gorce Cimarrón went to Colombia to hire a Cholo witch in an attempt to find out who had killed his father. The Cholo reported that Cristobal was the guilty one; so Gorce went to Cristobal's house and accused him of the murder, but Cristobal did not reply. Three days later Cristobal was dead. Several years later, one of Cristobal's brothers, Arcinto, heard of the affair and went looking for a witch. Gorce died a few years later, and his death was said to have been caused by the witch hired by Arcinto. Arcinto still lives in Viche where he also has two wives. He has never been punished as he never goes to the ceremonial center for fiestas.

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In the space of certainly not more than a decade the above case is found in at least one alternate versions

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Mariano takes a second wife. Mariano lived up the Río Esmeraldas and was married to the daughter of Pedrito Añapa's paternal grandfather. They had three children, two girls and one boy. Mariano went looking for another wife near San José on the Río Cayapas. He had divorced his first wife and her father was very angry over the affair. Consequently, the woman's brother went to talk to Mariano who said that he had taken divorce action because this woman did not work or cook well. He also complained that she was older than he and slightly lame. Mariano was a witch, and he told the first wife's brother that he was going to kill his father. About a year later, the old man did indeed die. Following this, the brothers of the first wife went to Santo Domingo de los Colorados and found a Colorado witch who told them that the death was caused, not by God, but by a man--namely, Mariano. For two hundred and fifty sucres the witch offered to kill Mariano. The price was paid and Mariano died about four months later. The affair ended at this point with no attempts at revenge.

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While there are differences in names and locations and in the length of time leading to the death

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of the father-in-law, the plot is the same and the kinship relations of the dramatis personae are the same. In both versions, the murdered man's son goes to seek revenge with the aid of foreign witches. The first version reports that Cristóbal came up from Niño to cure Margarita, while in the second version, Mariano came up to San José. Margarita who is the wife of Alejandro of Borrero was said to have been the second wife of Cristóbal and she was born near San José. While the unity and historicity of the two tales is not certain, it is reasonably sure. It is of some interest that polygyny is not a factor in the second version. In both stories, the first wife leaves the home with apparent reluctance. The second version was told to me by a member of the first wife's family and leads me to believe that the bone of contention that initiated the chain of events which culminated in murder was not polygyny but, rather, the divorce. It is of considerable interest to note that in the first version, Arcinto is said to be still living with two wives in Niño up the Río Esmeraldas and that he has never been punished. Clearly, one can avoid punishment by leaving the community at a distance sufficiently great to make the sending of a commission too expensive.

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the Río Verde. In fact, she said that she planned to go there with her late husband's brother. Her complaint was that the Rosenda household was "sad, bad, much crying and beating." She wanted to leave her husband permanently. According to my informants, this would be a valid divorce, considering the polygynous circumstances, and she could then remarry. She had left Rosenda without her children, because "the father did not send them along," and therefore within a few days she returned home to Rosenda. It was being said at the time that Rosenda was looking for a third wife.

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The area around Colimes is a bustling center of the banana trade, and the Cayapa who live there are very well off financially. The people of the Río Mirasol section are the furthest removed from the banana trade and from time to time go to the coastal areas to work. Sometimes they work for Whites and sometimes for Negroes, but mostly they work on Cayapa-owned land. For the first time non-related Cayapa may live and work together and opportunities for liasons are greatly increased. In some instances, as in the following case, they end in a polygynous marriage.

[177]

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Sarella Grande to find another husband, but Segundo refused to allow her to go. Several years later the second wife's father came down, and the two men had harsh words nearly resulting in physical assault. The girl wanted to return with her father "but Segundo refused, being much stronger, and he knows more Spanish." 595 684[x]

Cristobal, by marrying the second wife in the Church, had placed himself in a position beyond the power of Cayapa law, and he could only be dealt with by Jesus himself. Segundo, it seems, had learned something from his uncle. He had the model of polygyny before him, and the speed with which he left his first wife to find a second wall before the customary time for a Church wedding, indicates that he knew exactly what he was doing. The Cayapa consider one to be truly married only when the priest has performed the service. Whether this sophistry can be considered to be part of Cayapa legal thinking remains to be seen. The test will come, when, and if, Segundo visits any of the ceremonial centers during a fiesta. 595 684[x] 585

The statement " . . . and he knows more Spanish" appears to be something of a non sequitur; however, a man who speaks Spanish fluently to some extent controls 595 684[x] 191 177

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events in the outside world of commerce and government. For example, because of Segundo's ability to speak Spanish proficiently, he served as a threat to his father-in-law. One can visualize him doing nothing more than shouting at the old man in Spanish with the result that his father-in-law would be completely tongue-tied. Segundo could describe the dire straits in which the old man would find himself if Segundo went to the authorities, and the old man would unquestionably believe him.

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Trivinio Cortes claimed that a man named Cristobal Sandoval of Muisne has two wives, as does Cristobal's brother. It may very well be that Cristobal Tapuilo and Cristobal Sandoval are one and the same. In any event, Trivinio claims "they have both been punished but permitted to keep the second wives because who would take care of the children?" "In the old days, the man and woman were burned to death, as people were very angry. Nowadays, they do not get very angry about such things." While people do not demand that the culprits be burned, they do get upset and on occasion even non-kin will attempt to take matters into their own hands, as in the following case.

[178]

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CHAPTER V

LAND, PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Land is the basis of the Cayapa economy. The region, undefined and unsurveyed, has been deeded to the Cayapa as a tribe. Negroes and Whites who desire land must purchase it from an Indian in order to have a clear title. The title is for the land itself and not just for usufruct. The Cayapa may obtain land by cutting it out of the virgin forest (monte jivaro), he may buy it or he may inherit it. More land is available for subsistence farming than for other purposes. For the cash crop of bananas the land must be of good quality, well drained, and within easy access of a navigable stream that flows into the main river body traveled by La Propaganda, the banana buyers. In addition, the grower must be able to meet the banana boat on schedule. A stand of rubber trees will also increase the value of the land. Rubber is sold in Colombia where, traditionally, the price is higher than in Ecuador and retail prices on consumer items wanted by the Cayapa are cheaper. Once a year, as a rule,

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Once a year, as a rule, groups of Cayapa will band together for protection against the cutthroats and brigands that infest the coastal regions, load their canoes with as much rubber as they have been able to collect, and set off in small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colombian goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to poaching.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be good for raising pigs. (Remoteness lessens the possibility of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and sapotes. Large sections are planted to the tagua palm that, at one time, was as important economically as the banana is today. The tagua nut is only a minor item in the

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diet now, but the leaves are in demand for roofing material. Another cash crop is hardwood trees, but they are not often planted; enterprising individuals cut them out of the unclaimed forest.

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Land is seldom held in one large block. It is usually scattered about among other holdings so that, quite often, choice properties are separated by distances involving several day's travel. Many Cayapa have two houses, each built as close as possible to their main holdings. Inevitably, they must spend considerable time away from large sections of their property and, as a result, Negroes often illegally harvest standing crops or, perhaps, plant their own. Negroes may buy land from the Cayapa, but as the banana economy continues to boom, the Indians are more and more reluctant to sell. Sometimes usufruct is rented by the Negro, usually for a share of the profits, but arguments invariably develop. It is said that the Indian is always at a disadvantage in his dealings with the Negro because of the latter's readiness to engage in witchcraft and "spoil" the land for the Indian owner. If several members of an Indian's family sicken or die, after a recent quarrel with a Negro about land, it is assumed that witchcraft has been

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at work and that the land is spoiled. The Indian will then sell the land for the best price offered but will often take a lower price to avoid selling to the Negro held to be responsible for the witchcraft.

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Sometimes, boys and young men are given sections of land as advance inheritances which they work as they wish, and their work validates their claim to the inheritance. Generally, only those children who have consistently helped the parents work the land are entitled to inherit. Ill will between parents and children need not enter into consideration at all. Maximino Añapa, for example, a son of Marianito Añapa of the Río Cameronas, as a very young child was sent to live with his mother's brother in Mulane on the coast, possibly to get him away from an influenza epidemic in the inland area. He stayed with his uncle for many years and helped him work the land; later he cut some out for himself. He used to return to his parents' home for visits of varying lengths of time, but the main attraction for him, however, seems to have been the school at Rocanto. When needed, he helped his father work the land; however, he will not inherit any of the land because he said that it had all been promised to his brothers. Since he

[164]

Punta Venado, with relatives of each man joining the fray. After order had been restored, the chief stated that the land belonged to Romulo and that Buru was too young to have known what had happened earlier. Buru wanted Romulo to pay twenty sucres damages for cutting his head in the brawl, but Romulo refused on the grounds that Buru had started the argument. He did however, buy a half bottle of rum, which they consumed together. Both Buru and Romulo are "family," but the manner of relationship is unknown.

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Boundaries of land become well known with usage and may be disputed when the land is not used intensively. In either case, disputes may occur but are more apt to require settlement by a third party, if the boundaries are not well known.

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A Negro official renders a Cayapa-type decision. After Sanchi built a house on his land, he observed one day that Perdomo had planted bananas nearby. Sanchi insisted that they had been planted on his land and, with his mother's brother, Severico, called in Cristobal, the Negro inspector of the village of Camarones at that time. Cristobal decided that Perdomo should keep

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the crop but that when the plants were dead, the land should revert to Sanchi. Meanwhile, Marianito complained to Perdomo that the land was really his. Perdomo asked why he had not worked the land before, and Cristobal, the Inspectór, ignored the claim. Sanchi paid Cristobal ten sucres for his services.

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The decision was acceptable to both claimants. It followed the reasoning, apparently, that although the land belonged to Sanchi, he was not working it at the time. There seems to have been a general feeling that the land was monte jivaro and never had been worked before. It did however, adjoin the acknowledged property of Sanchi. By disputing Perdomo's use of the land, he signified his intention of using it. Perdomo was at a disadvantage because he had no land adjoining the section under dispute. Cristobal balanced propinquity and intention on the one hand, with actual use on the other, in reading his decision. The decision definitely acknowledges the land as belonging to Sanchi, but Perdomo was permitted to profit from his labor. The dispute occurred several years ago, and in 1960 it was being said that Perdomo planned to use the land again.

hundred sucres, but did not. During Christmas at Punta Venado, they were approached again, again agreed to pay, but failed to do so. Antonito later came to their house up the Río Camerones and then they paid the money.

The land is now the joint property of Ciro and Santiagueño, and they have clear title. The question of whether the one hundred sucres conveyed title by a sale, or served as a quitclaim is moot. Given the nominal price and the cloudy state of Antonito's ownership, the transaction could best be viewed as a quitclaim.

Indians seldom register land in their names, but if they sell land to a Negro, the transaction is usually registered at the insistence of the purchaser for his protection. Consequently, the Cayapa is never required to show proof of ownership; his statement that he owns the land for sale is sufficient. Some Cayapa find the prospect of selling another man's land, without his permission and knowledge, a beguiling one, and rumors are constantly being circulated of one or another Cayapa thinking of doing it, doing it, or perhaps having completed the transaction. In any event, the hurling

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and she returned to her house where she continued to cry "like one does at a funeral." The Cimarrón brothers remonstrated with Ciro, who remained silent, ashamed, because "three mouths were speaking against me." All left except Segundo Cimarrón. Ciro asked him who had made the accusation and was told that it was Segundo's brother-in-law who was married to his sister, the very one who had been constantly gossiping about Ciro. Segundo then demanded fifteen hundred sucres, saying that they were not family anymore. Ciro replied that he did not have the money, and more to the point, that the charges were not true.

When the Cimarróns' mother went home to weep "like one does at a funeral" it meant that someone was going to die, which made Ciro's brother, Santiagueño, very angry, so that, at a party, he spoke very harshly to the Cimarrón brothers. The proliferation of baseless rumors involving land transactions such as those described above, is a realization that the Cayapa's hold on the land is becoming increasingly more tenuous as the expanding banana market causes the land to increase in value. This point was made very clear by Joselino Caisero, the Negro Inspectór of the village of Camerones,

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who discussed land problems with the author. His arm described a broad arc over the Río Cayapas flowing before us as he said, "The Cayapa think that they own the land, but they just hold it by our grace." It is small wonder indeed, that the Cayapa rumor mill creates innumerable variatiojs on this basic theme.

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As we have noted, it is generally agreed that the right of ownership is validated by working the land. Often a group of brothers will work the land together, which is regarded as an ideal situation as brothers should be together, just as the term for brother, /ná.tala/, means 'sons together.' The actual working of the land imposes little problem concerning ownership, but for a stand of rubber trees that requires no maintenance at all, a problem is posed.

Rubber trees are divided into three parts for three brothers. Huru Cimarrón and his brother Segundo, came to blows at a party held at the school house in Encanto. Their father had owned a piece of land just below the rampida, up the Río Camerones, on which were some rubber trees. Huru wanted to tap some of the rubber, but Segundo had arrived at the site first and made

off with the latex. Huru claimed that the land was his, as he was the eldest son, and Segundo agreed to leave the untapped trees for Huru. But they are three brothers, and the /ún^{y}i/, to avoid further fighting, divided the land three ways among them.

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The rubber poacher keeps most of the profits. Espíritu Santo had a piece of land on which was a stand of about fifteen rubber trees. Chapiro tapped them without permission and collected about fifty pounds of rubber. He turned the rubber over to his brother, Bertram, who went to Colombia with Pablo Añapa and two Negroes, Estupinian and Manuel Caisero. Bertram sold the rubber for Chapiro. Huru Cimarrón had noticed that the trees were tapped and told people that Ciro had done the poaching. But Santiagueño, Ciro's brother, had seen Chapiro skulking in the vicinity and told people that the trees had, in truth, been tapped by Chapiro. Huru's wife, who is Espíritu's sister, became very angry with Chapiro and said that if she were a man, she would beat him up. Some time later at a party in Encanto, Espíritu approached Chapiro and asked how much he had gained by the sale. Chapiro did not argue, and

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returned, he found that his pigs were gone. He suspected Perdomo of having taken them, and for one year he questioned residents of the area for evidence. At last he found the Negro who had bought the pigs and he identified Perdomo as the man from whom he had bought them. Lorenzo took this evidence to the late /únʸi/, Arcilio, who returned with him and held a hearing. Perdomo was present, but said very little in his own defense as Ramón, a Negro employee of the man who had purchased the pigs, identified Perdomo as the seller. The pigs had been sold for five hundred sucres, and the /únʸi/ ordered Perdomo to pay four hundred sucres to Lorenzo, fifty sucres to the witness, Ramón, and fifty sucres as a fine to the /únʸi/, who had lost two days work to attend to this matter.

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Perdomo was not permitted to keep any of his ill-gotten gains nor, aside from the shame of being uncovered as a thief, was he penalized in any manner. As a rule, irregularities involving pigs are settled quickly. If a pig eats the produce from someone else's garden, for instance, payment is made for the produce without question. Occasionally, however, a quarrel involving pigs may become quite serious as is seen in the following

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

155
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sexual-social development. This leads to friendship relationships of one kind or another, and as we have been told, in bi-lateral societies, these relationships are especially marked by elaborate gift giving or other dyadic exchanges (Sahlins 1960:76-87). For the Cayapa, affiliative behavior, as expressed in these terms, can only be found in rudimentary form. One might almost say that the Cayapa practice a form of avoidance behavior that is extended to all non-kin. This avoidance is not pronounced with the Negroes and Whites. Commonly, one may see a Cayapa guiding his canoe downstream, coming abreast of another Indian poling his way upstream. They turn their heads away from each other and pass in silence, unless they are family or very well known to each other. When an Indian passes a Negro or a White, or passes in front of their houses, loud salutations are exchanged. From within a Cayapa house, when the sounds of a canoe on the river are heard, people rush to the edge of the house and peer intently; if it is a Cayapa canoe, excited whispers are heard "/ʔáči/" which means 'people.' No word is exchanged, the "people" in the canoe glide past with averted glances.

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At the Negro village of Camerones, Indians wander about and visit casually the homes of many of the Negroes whom they know. Among themselves there are no casual visits to friends--there are really no friends, with the possible exception of some of the pupils at the Encanto Indian school. The language has no word for "friend" beyond the Spanish loan-word. There is family and not-family and, one does not visit family casually either. There must be a purpose beyond a desire just to visit. Dyadic relations are easily set up with the Negroes and are quasi-friendships that are quite clearly instrumental on both sides. I have no count but my decided impression is that prestation increases markedly between Indian and Negro. Negroes very often ask to become a god-parent for a minor ceremonial occasion when the child's nails are cut for the first time. The nail parings are placed in a cup of rum and drunk by the father and the Negro god-father. Small gifts are exchanged of little monetary value, and food is consumed along with the alcohol. Thenceforth at very irregular intervals, small presents will be exchanged. Gifting, while not especially generous on any level, showed an apparent increase with

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

155
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[431]
[123]
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the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense interpersonal relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in three different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa:Cayapa, Cayapa:Negro, and Cayapa:White.

> . . . anxiety acquired in childhood might be generalized to other people . . . because of their similarity to the persons responsible for the frustration and punishment of the child--their similarity, above all, to the child's parents (Whiting and Child 1962:267).

Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa--much more so than Negroes and Whites.

The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by avoidance or

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4:Altschuler E-S (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

manifestations? The psychoanalytic frame of reference regarding homosexuality is directly relevant for the Cayapa.

> The wish to have a larger penis, in general reflects a feeling of unacceptability and inadequacy, in particular a feeling of sexual inadequacy: a belief, usually unconsciously held, that sexual functioning has been injured and is vulnerable to further injury: a wish to supersede other males who are feared and regarded as superior. The wish for a larger penis and excessive fearfulness is significantly associated . . . (Bieber 1962: 181).

The Cayapa tell a story of an ogre who is very ugly and black and looks like a Negro; he has a very long penis with which he kills women. Here we see all of the requisite feelings for a predisposition to homosexuality as well as an expression of underlying Cayapa-Negro attitudes, marked, from the point of view of the Cayapa, by fear, aggression, envy, and sexual inadequacy.

Manifest homosexualism would be a behavioral innovation, requiring of its innovator extraordinary determination, very much akin to the persistent and determined polygynous and incestuous behavior that has been noted in the legal material. It appears that one

of the main requirements for homosexuality is a profound feeling of fear and inadequacy, hardly the sort of person who would persistently and doggedly pursue this rather striking innovation. It should be noted that the Cayapa flatly deny the existence of homosexual practices. Just once did an informant admit that "maybe some boys" practiced mutual masturbation.

In the recently built Indian school at Encanto, boys and young men now maintain, for several months of the school year, a high frequency of interaction with non-related boys, and for some, very intense feelings of chumship are beginning to form that never existed before. Given the increase in duration and frequency of interaction, homoerotician could very easily pass over into homosexualism.

Friendship is a most novel situation for the Cayapa and he cannot easily function within it. In his dealings with Negroes, rules of ritual kinship may obtain or a hail-fellow-well-met stance may be adopted. The anthropologist-Cayapa situation was completely new, especially in the informant relationship. This was the closest approach to friendship, in the western sense, that they had ever experienced.

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just as I was leaving, with my canoe dangerously overloaded with Indians. He asked to go along. It was pointed out that there was absolutely no room, whereupon he suggested that I eject someone to make room for him. When this was refused, he went into a fit of pouting. Reverend Glenn, the missionary in the Sapallo Grande area, reports that Cayapa whom he considers to be friends, will come to the dispensary long after hours, or when there is a long line and demand to be taken first. The demand is always refused and pouting always follows.

Friendship in the western sense does not really exist in Cayapa life and culture, except in embryonic form. The complex of friendship that is offered to them by the surrounding population, more often than not, leaves the Indian either in debt, defrauded, and/or, as he believes, bewitched. This, coupled with the tenuous diminishing of the fear of others, leads to a dyadic relationship that requires constant testing and probing, that is neurotically destructive of the relationship itself. The strong commitment to alcohol alleviates the fears of other people, the self-doubts, the personal and sexual inadequacies, the basic anxiety of Cayapa life.

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Other wooden articles

still made by the Cayapa include the /tāñ wimāni/ "bark cloth beater," /mañuka/ "plantain mesher," and food stirrers of various types. A full listing and description can be had by consulting Barrett (Barrett 1925: 159-161). Elliptical wooden bowls called botes in Spanish, are cut from a single piece of wood, and they serve as trays for the preparation of some foods.

322 [412] [252] [415]

Musical instruments, which are played by the men, include the marimba or /ná'uka/, a large drum called by the Spanish word bombo, and a small free-standing drum that tapers at the base called ronuna. The Negroes use the same instruments, but they also use various gourd rattles and bamboo shakers. Guitars are occasionally found among the Negroes but only seldom among the Cayapa.

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Pottery. This art is scarcely practiced anymore. In fact I was completely unaware that earthenware pots were in the household inventory at all until I was asked one day if I wished to purchase a small Cayapa-made one for five sucres (.30 U.S.). This was the only pot I ever saw, except for the large rantaras made by the people of the San Miguel section, for the storage of /vāpa/, the fermented sugar-cane juice called guarapo in Spanish.

323 [178] [126] [273]

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CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship. The eliciting of kinship terminology among the Cayapa proved to be extremely difficult and time consuming. Many informants professed to be ignorant of many of the terms and clearly preferred to use Spanish nomenclature; however, sufficient data were collected to illustrate a major structural shift from Barrett's 1909 recording to the writer's 1960 notes. At present, the writer is unable to account for this shift in terms of Barrett's material and his own, as the residence and marriage patterns remain basically the same in the reports of the two investigators; however, there is some indication that new terminological forms were just beginning to come into the language in 1959. It is also known that the Cayapa tribe has undergone a process of fission, changing from one unit in 1909 to three in 1959 and four by 1965! We lack most of the vital details, but it is a reasonable assumption that changes in residence either went along with or followed the formation of the new groups.

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4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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> It is in respect to residence that changes in economy, technology, property, government, or religion first alter the structural relationships of related individuals to one another, giving an impetus to subsequent modifications in forms of the family. . . . and in kinship terminology (Murdock 1949:202).

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Murdock analyzed Barrett's kinship data and concluded that the Cayapa possess a bi-Eskimo system and that there is an incipient transition toward normal Hawaiian reflected in alternative niece and cousin terms. (Murdock 1949:228 table 61). My own data reveal an Iroquois type cousin terminology as defined by Murdock (Murdock 1949:223)! Barrett records /maʒgíku/ (written phonemically by the writer) for both the father's sister and the mother's sister. My own data show /maʒgíku/ to be restricted to the mother's sister, while the term /unʸíuʸu/ is used for the father's sister. Similarly, in Barrett's material the father's brother is equated with the mother's brother under three alternative terms: /apíku/, /apípi/, /yapípi/, whereas we recorded these terms only for the father's brother, while the mother's brother is called /ahčíyu/. The terms, /unʸíuʸu/ 'father's sister' and /ahčíyu/ are discussed by Barrett:

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From one informant was obtained the term a'toiú, said to signify both aunt and uncle, and there was also obtained the term unyunyu, said to signify aunt. No verification could be obtained for either of these terms, which, combined with the fact that they are so at variance with the whole system of relationship, make them both seem very doubtful (Barrett 1929:335 note 16).

The terms that seemed deviant and doubtful in 1909 had become systematic by 1960: Barrett also recorded that the Cayapa equated the paternal cross-cousin with the maternal cross-cousin. In 1960, cross-cousins are equated and parallel-cousins are distinguished. Barrett recorded 'grandfather' as /ancápa/ whereas this writer recorded it as /aápa/. Barrett also used the term, /ancápa/, as meaning 'father-in-law,' which agreed with my recording. Terms used between in-laws are not recorded by Barrett, but I recorded /anca?tála/ as a reciprocal term for the two fathers-in-law. It would appear that the best translation for /anc-/ is 'in-law,' and /-tála/ is glossed as 'together.' Barrett's recording of 'grandfather' as /ancápa/ is an anomoly when compared to/aápa/, since /a/ means 'big' and /ápa/ 'father.' One purpose of marriage for the Cayapa is to have children, and these children make the respective in-laws grandparents

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Benjamin Paul, working on compadrazgo in Middle America, abstracted two basic principles of the institution; namely, the intensification of previously existing relationships, and the extension or creation of new ones (Paul 1942:56-57). Mintz and Wolf see the variations of the principles of intensification and extension that mark the areal spread of ritual co-parenthood to be a reflection of socio-cultural change and economic mobility (Mintz and Wolf 1950:358).

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> In cases where the community is a self-contained class, or tribally homogeneous, compadrazgo is prevailing horizontal (intra-class) in character. In cases where the community contains several interacting classes, compadrazgo will structure such relationships vertically (inter-class). Last, in a situation of rapid social change compadre mechanisms may multiply to meet the accelerated rate of change (Mintz and Wolf 1950:364).

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Barrett's report of his 1909 field trip among the Cayapa indicates that only baptism and marriage were marked by compadrazgo (Barrett 1925:318, 324, 326). We are not given any information by Barrett about the identity of the god-parents, except inferentially, that they were Indian and not Negro. Neither are we told about the identities of the god-parents of successive

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children in the same family--are they the same or different? Between 1909 and 1960 the population pattern of the Cayapa area has altered radically, and the socio-economic changes have been even more marked. If Minta and Wolf are correct, we should expect to find as a result of rapid change, a multiplicity of compadres, and as the Negroes and the Cayapa form two classes, if not castes, we should expect a vertical extension of compadrazgo ties to include Negroes. The evidence presented by Barrett indicates that they were tribally homogeneous in his time, and compadrazgo was apparently horizontal. Despite the fact that there is no data to support me, I feel that the horizontal extension of ritual kinship during the time of Professor Barrett's study among the Cayapa was primarily, if not entirely, to reinforce previously existing kinship ties. At the present time, the Cayapa do indeed follow the pattern predicted by Minta and Wolf, but the socio-economic causative factors are not as clear-cut as these authors believe them to be: still, they may be discerned in the Cayapa data and we can see the beginnings of a class structured society reflected in some of the legal decisions that deal with polygyny.

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At the present time the Cayapa, in common with most rural Ecuadorians, practice a ceremony of nail cutting that has ritual significance in the sense that god-parents are selected for the child, and the extension of ritual kinship follows as for the rites of baptism and marriage. This ceremonial occasion which is called simply /tyákikánu/, is a very minor ceremony that may be performed at almost any age from a few months to perhaps six years, or it may never be performed. Almost invariably the god-parents for this occasion are Negro. As Negroes are in political and economic control of the region, we can say that this is a vertical extension of ritual kinship. The Indian seldom asks a Negro to assume this obligation. Quite the contrary. Negroes generally ask the father of the child if he would like to enter into compadrazgo.

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The actual ceremony is very simple. Only the participants are present as a rule. The nails are cut by the god-father, and the parings are placed in a glass of rum which is then drunk by the compadre. Small presents, such as a bottle of rum, some food, soft drinks, and tobacco, are exchanged. Thereafter, the

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known to one while living: however, there is one exception, this one being that one's /padénaʔépa/, the god-father of the wedding, who sees the newly arrived soul and calls its name. In heaven one is re-united with the god-father and not the father. This story indicates that the major relationship that is set up is between the bridal couple and the padrinos and not between compadres. The marriage padrinos tend to be of the same generation as the bridal couple, and the feeling is that it is best to select padrinos from within the kindred. Padrinos are always man and wife, so that if one wishes a particular individual to be his padrino, then his wife automatically becomes his madrina. If incest taboos did not apply before, they are now extended, and the children of all of the ritual-kin are forbidden to marry each other.

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Except for remarriage, when it is permissible to choose new padrinos for the new marriage, it would appear that the ties of the marriage compadrazgo could not multiply "to meet the accelerated rate of change." I have the slightest suggestion of evidence that indicates that this may very well be happening. I was

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never able to collect cases or to gather actual names, but some of my informants said that they had heard of people occasionally taking a new set of marriage padrinos. The feeling was that this could perhaps be done if the original padrinos gave their permission. In these cases, then, a person could have multiple marriage padrinos. It is most unfortunate that field work exigencies precluded following up these leads. In any event, compadrazgo among the Cayapa has shown itself to be a tremendously flexible instrument of societal ordering.

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Religion. The Cayapa are a religious people who call themselves Catholic and are considered to be Catholic by the Church, albeit, "Children in the Faith." They know nothing of the practice of confession and this is not expected of them by the Church. The basic tenets of Catholicism with respect to baptism, marriage, and burial in the Church are followed faithfully by the Cayapa. Within a few months of birth children are taken to the coastal town of Limones or Esmeraldas for baptism. Most marrieges are sanctified by a priest, and within a few weeks to a few months after death a special mass will be paid for by the nearest Kin of the deaeased.

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instances, it was done with a joking air. There was some laughter as the Cayapa were whipping themselves, but it was restrained. As the official went about looking for more people, they kept stating, "Everyone has to be whipped, everyone." This practice very likely was brought in by Catholic missionaries at a very early period.

In general, the description of a fiesta given by Barrett applies, with one major exception. The passion play described by Barrett was no longer being performed. In its place a group of fiesteros set up a marimba, small hand drums and several bass drums in a small rancho between the church and the main house of the chief. During the evening of Easter Sunday, they played with such gusto that sometime between one and two in the morning the structure collapsed. Concurrently with all of these activities, the chief dispensed justice, marriages were arranged, marriages were celebrated, Negro funerals were conducted, fisticuffs were engaged in, people drank, also passed out, woke up, and the band played on. This continued for six days and nights.

were involved in the demise of the man and his children. Jesus, they say, never punishes people while they are living, and the fact of having been punished on earth by a tribal official in no way mitigates one's punishment after death. The young man may have been killed by witchcraft, but the Cayapa aver that this is not supernatural punishment, and he probably "just died for whatever reason."

When asked why widows could only marry widowers, the answer was invariably, "Jesus ordered it that way." According to my informant, the couple was permitted to return to the community because of the children. They were still considered to be living in sin, but they had been punished, and now the matter was in the hands of Jesus. The /ũnʸi/ had applied the law as far as he could. He could do no more. In a way very similar to the cases of polygyny, to be discussed in the next chapter, an innovation had been introduced into the community--a new behavioral pattern was available for emulation! For the Cayapa, the realm of sin seems to be the most fruitful for cultural change.

Divorce. Divorce is theoretically prohibited

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they dwell on, are attracted to, and are repulsed by sexual involvements. In this, they agree with the missionaries, and if the missionaries call this area of life sinful, the Cayapa can readily agree. We shall see that it is in the realm of sexual deviancy and in the attempts made by Cayapa lawmen to come to grips with it that the most sweeping socio-cultural changes take place.

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Incest. Incest is generally viewed by the Cayapa as being particularly heinous. In the olden days, it is asserted, when the Cayapa lived in one village at Pueblo Viejo, anyone guilty of such a crime would be placed suspended over a table which was covered with lighted candles, and then, slowly roasted to death. While this may be apocryphal, it does indicate strong negative feelings towards incestuous behavior. The Cayapa are very clear about this and state that incest is a sin, that it goes against Jesus' commandments and must be punished. Barrett recorded the following case which indicates that the punishment was still severe if not as extreme:

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The incestuous widow. The widow of the late /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio, became pregnant by the son of Arcilio's brother, Arcide. They were both sentenced to fifty lashes but the boys' mother complained that this was too much, and that thirty lashes would be sufficient for her son. No one spoke up for the widow, and so she received the full fifty lashes for incest, even though prior to her marriage to the late /ún^{y}i/ she and the boy were not related. 684^{x} 696

As sexual matters fall into the realm of sin for the Cayapa, a determined sinner, in the last analysis, can only be handled by God and not by law. The Cayapa are unable to cope effectively with a determined deviant, in most instances. Attitudes towards incest outside of the nuclear family seem to be changing, as illustrated in the following case. 684^{x} 178 [783] 684^{x} 178 835 588

When incest is no longer incest. Lorenzo Añapa of the Río Camarones was married to his /ápinatarúhki/, 'father's brother's daughter.' They lived together for two months and then left to attend a fiesta at Punta Venado. Camilio Blanco notified the /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio, who ordered that they each be whipped forty lashes. [694]

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Lorenzo was then told to give up his cousin, but when they all returned home from the fiesta, he took her back immediately. Meanwhile, a woman was sent down from Sapallo Grande to him, but he refused her, saying that he already had a wife. His wife's father said that he did not mind if Lorenzo married his daughter, and the girl's brother, Ruru, said that he was in favor of the marriage, and added, "they are not very close relatives anyway." Since the family of the girl did not object to this marriage, people did not gossip much, and Arcilio said that he would not punish them again, that "Jesus would know what to do when they died." [626]

Lorenzo had a reputation for being a good worker, and his cousin's family were happy to keep his economic services within the family. Their insistence that it was all proper and that, as first cousins, they were not closely related anyway was such a strong violation of Cayapa thought regarding incest that the couple were placed beyond the power of the law, ultra vires, and the burden of punishment was shifted to the supernatural. We stated that anyone who witnesses an [694]

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incestuous act performed by strangers or members of his family will make the act known. There is one exception reported. A truly determined deviant as was Pablo Candalehu can get away with repeated incest.

The determined incestuous couple. Pablo Candalehu had been committing incest with his sister, who later gave birth to twins. Pablo took these new-born infants and threw them into the river, but the bodies were found by a Negro who went to the Teniente Político. The police came and arrested Pablo and his sister, resulting in their being fined, as well as jailed for a year. After their release from jail, they came to Encanto, where they continued living together. People gossiped and Pablo's "uncle" Gerardo, went to the Río Onzole, to get him a wife. Three months later they found a husband for his sister in San Miguel. When Pablo's sister later died, her husband did not cry at her funeral, claiming that he did not feel any grief because the woman was really her brother's wife and not his own. He then related at the funeral how once when he was out fishing at night, he came back to the house very quietly with the lamp extinguished and heard Pablo making love

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to his sister. 684x 178 835 694

Here again, Pablo's determination placed him beyond the pale of Cayapa law. His brother-in-law apparently realized the futility of making a public complaint and unburdened himself only at his wife's funeral.

Adultery. As with incest, decisions rendered in cases of adultery require a firm declaration on the part of the official trying the case that the behavior is abhorrent and sinful; however, the punishment seems to be somewhat more lax than is the case with incest, and more feeling seems to be present that women are the aggressors in adultery. The following case was witnessed by the writer during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado in 1959. 684x 837 695

The philandering captain and his light punishment. The /ún^{y}i/, Gabriel, was in his hammock, quite drunk, and a group of men were standing around him speaking drunkenly in Cayapa. Suddenly, everyone dashed to a corner of the house and looked over to an adjacent dwelling where a fracas was in progress. A woman was beating and berating another woman who offered no 684x 837 694

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Polygyny. Max Heinan stated that "Die Cayapa leben in sehr harmonischer Ehe, Vielweiberei . . . gibt es bei ihnen nicht" (Heinan 1931:286). If the situation of pristine monogamy were true in 1931 or earlier in 1909, when Barrett reported nothing in the way of polygyny, it was certainly not true in 1960. To account for the change, we can look towards the expanding money economy that began to envelop the Cayapa several decades ago. Between 1931 and 1960, an economic factor of tremendous magnitude developed in Ecuador. Bananas began to be commercially valuable and in the boom period of the late 1940's and early 1950's the best prices were always to be had near the coast, and it was from the coastal areas that most of the following cases came.

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Cristobal uses his brother as a pawn to get a second wife. Cristobal, who lived at Yicha, was a bruja or 'witch.' He came up from the coast one time to cure Margarita of an illness. She was single at the time. During the night while the curing session was going on, Cristobal seduced his patient. Later he asked her father to let him deliver her to his brother in Yicha and the father agreed. When they arrived at Yicha, it appeared

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the Río Verde. In fact, she said that she planned to go there with her late husband's brother. Her complaint was that the Rosenda household was "sad, bad, much crying and beating." She wanted to leave her husband permanently. According to my informants, this would be a valid divorce, considering the polygynous circumstances, and she could then remarry. She had left Rosenda without her children, because "the father did not send them along," and therefore within a few days she returned home to Rosenda. It was being said at the time that Rosenda was looking for a third wife.

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The area around Ostiales is a bustling center of the banana trade, and the Cayapa who live there are very well off financially. The people of the San Miguel section are the furthest removed from the banana trade and from time to time go to the coastal areas to work. Sometimes they work for whites and sometimes for Negroes, but mostly they seek work on Cayapa-owned land. For the first time non-related Cayapa may live and work together and opportunities for liasons are greatly increased. In some instances, as in the following case, they end in a polygynous marriage.

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marriage, and the cousin aided by another man, proudly trounced Ramando. After this, they sent the second wife to another Cayapa in Quinindé. That same day Ramando and his first wife left to return to Galeras.

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The party held "the visiting" is worth noting because Cayapa never just visit among themselves. A new pattern is developing in the coastal regions where groups of unrelated Cayapa are brought together in a live-work arrangement that is quite foreign to the traditional patterns. "Galeras formed the musical background"--an indicator of the newly developing situation. It must also be noted that Ramando was a member of the Punta Venado and the official who ordered him whipped was from the Espolin Grande section, and the second wife, who was also whipped, was from the San Miguel section. The official did not have the second wife sent away, and it can only be surmised that there were no single men locally available for her. Ramando was not able to keep the second wife simply because he was not strong enough to do so. It is becoming abundantly clear that the Cayapa cannot come to grips with a determined wrong-doer. The following case illustrates this in terms of polygyny.

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events in the outside world of commerce and government. For example, because of Segundo's ability to speak Spanish proficiently, he served as a threat to his father-in-law. One can visualize him doing nothing more than shouting at the old man in Spanish with the result that his father-in-law would be completely terrorized. Segundo could describe the dire straits in which the old man would find himself if Segundo went to the authorities, and the old man would unquestionably believe him.

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Trivinio Cortes claimed that a man named Cristobal Sandoval of Mulang has two wives, as does Cristobal's brother. It may very well be that Cristobal Tapuilo and Cristobal Sandoval are one and the same. In any event, Trivinio claims "they have both been punished but permitted to keep the second wives because who would take care of the children?" "In the old days, the man and woman were burned to death, as people were very angry. Nowadays, they do not get very angry about such things." While people do not demand that the culprits be burned, they do get upset and on occasion even non-kin will attempt to take matters into their own hands, as in the following case.

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father, and they argued. Roberto claimed that he needed two wives, and, being a rich *brujo*, he could afford them. Furthermore, the second wife could supply him with children. Romulo's father replied that Roberto should know well what he was doing in his own heart, and after death, Jesus would punish him. 595 627 [556]

The case materials so far presented indicate that the polygynists and would-be polygynists have been wealthy and powerful dissidents. The following case of Segundo Añapa is a contrary instance that portends of major changes to come. 595 [556] [178]

Poor man attempts polygyny. Julio Tapullo who lived a short distance below *Tapallo Grande* had a crippled left arm. His wife, María Cimarrón, deserted him for another man named Segundo Añapa. Segundo who lived near *Playa Grande* on the *Río Cayapas* was already married to Petrona Cimarrón who was not related to María. Despite the objections of his first wife, he and María lived together for over a month. A 'niece' of Petrona met Aurelio who is one of the /[illegible]/ from the *Río Camarones*; she met him when he was bringing in bananas for sale directly to the boat at *San Antonio*. 595 586 684 [694]

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Segundo did not reply. In the crowd the murmur went around, "por gusto," for pleasure. Most translated here as, "for the hell of it." They both received two hundred and fifty lashes, and as a Cayapa woman does not live by plantain alone, Gabriel advised Julio to spend more money on his wife.

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Again it is seen that Cayapa women are capable of direct action, but much more important, a case of polygyny had been successfully legally quashed. Compare, however, the severity of the sentence with that of Segundo: two hundred and fifty lashes versus twenty, plus a thirty sucre fine. Cayapa law can handle the "little man." It is almost as if polygyny were becoming quasi-respectable. Gabriel replied that Segundo had no need for another wife, since he had children. The lack of follow-up action directed against the rich and powerful and the severe quashing that Segundo received may signal the formation of a class-structured society wherein polygyny is legally restricted to the wealthy. In any event, the chief in discussing with me all of the on-going cases of polygyny presented above denied his responsibility. He said that even though all of them were living in sin, everything was actually

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all right because these cases had been "settled" previously by the late Mr. Apollo.

The omnipresent theme seems to be that a truly determined wrong-doer cannot be handled within the legal framework, and his punishment is shifted to the realm of the supernatural. This results in a de facto acceptance of the illegal act that may be very productive of greater change ultimately leading to de jure acceptance in terms of legal decisions.

manifestations? The psychoanalytic frame of reference regarding homosexuality is directly relevant for the Cayapa. 155 838

> The wish to have a larger penis, in general reflects a feeling of unacceptability and inadequacy, in particular a feeling of sexual inadequacy: a belief, usually unconsciously held, that sexual functioning has been injured and is vulnerable to further injury; a wish to supersede other males who are feared and regarded as superior. The wish for a larger penis and excessive fearfulness is significantly associated . . . (Bieber 1962: 181).

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of the main requirements for homosexuality is a profound feeling of fear and inadequacy, hardly the sort of person who would persistently and doggedly pursue this rather striking innovation. It should be noted that the Cayapa flatly deny the existence of homosexual practices. Just once did an informant admit that "maybe some boys" practiced mutual masturbation.

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solution and serves to exclude the chief from entangling alliances with one party as opposed to the other. Whether this serves to enhance the position of the chief in his role as third person in the legal process, is not clear. Aubert (1963) believes that mediating decisions foster independence for the third party office, as well as increased prestige. Structurally, the office of /ũn^{V}i/ is an independent one that does not permit the formation of alliances with groups that are virtually impossible to form anyway, given the social and psychological structure of Cayapa culture.

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In the legal materials dealing with land it is seen that all of the parties to the dispute were in complete agreement as to the nature of land and its ownership. Conflict does not involve different value positions on the part of the disputants but rather individuals are competing for scarce goods that embody shared cultural values. Polygyny among the Cayapa represents a mixture of competing interests, as in land disputes, and also some lack of agreement as to what the basic issues and values are. Women are valued goods, in a sense, that at present are in scant supply. A compromise solution, as in land disputes, is not

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possible to reach, inasmuch as the religious element of sin is also a factor, and the /ʌ̃ʸi/ cannot condone sin. He must condemn the parties involved in the polygynous marriage. The dispute does not involve a conflict of interests, as in the land cases, but rather new values that markedly conflict with traditional values. The individuals holding the new values refuse to accept an aligned decision, that is, a decision based in effect on an "alliance" with the believers of the traditional values. Ultimately, if the unilateral decision against polygyny cannot be enforced, it is superseded by de facto compromise. Thus, if the parties have been punished once but persist in their sinful behavior, further punishment is left to God, and the polygynous union may continue.

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For cases of incest and adultery, the conflict of interest, although present, is minimal. In addition, conflicting values are not an issue, as no one seriously presents a new value position that encourages incest and adulterous behavior. The nature of incest and adultery is such that a compromise solution, while not impossible perhaps, is improbable. In these cases, where sinful behavior is at issue, the official can adopt a unilateral

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non-compromise position. Persistence in transgression, however, is tantamount to the defense of new value positions that leads to de facto compromise. The Cayapa judge, with the legal avenues that are open to him, cannot handle a strong personality, that is, one that either develops new values, as the polygynist, or the one that refuses to be deterred from wrongdoing, as in the case of the persistently incestuous couple.

Eventually, de facto compromise may assume the dignity of social acceptance. The effective restraint of the poor would-be polygynist, as opposed to the de facto acceptance of the wealthy polygynists, may lead to the formation of class distinctions: that is, a wealthy man will be permitted to have more than one wife but a poor man will not be permitted to enjoy this privilege. Normally, it would be expected that incest could achieve social acceptance only with great difficulty, but from an examination of the case of Lorenzo Ampa (p. 139) it becomes clear that the incest range for some people is narrowing considerably, for in this case the incestuous arrangement has been given the express approval of the families concerned and de facto

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compromise on the part of the /ʌ̃ʔ/ permits the continuance of this union.

Many things somewhat beyond the ordinary cannot be handled directly, but only by means of de facto compromise or latently. Every society is an action system that in one degree or another utilizes specific innovations for definite ends. Often, the latent functions of an innovation incur more sweeping changes than do the manifest ones. For example, the manifest function of the Indian school was to increase literacy. Its latent function was to increase homosexual behavior. The cultural emphasis for the Cayapa seems to be that of latency, and sweeping changes come about, not because they are sought, but because the socio-psychological matrix of the law can only permit de facto acceptance of threats to basic values.

Cayapa law, in terms of de jure decisions is not at all able to "redefine relations between individuals and groups as the conditions of life change" (Hoebel 1954:275). Cayapa culture is not, however, moribund. Extraordinary socio-cultural changes are taking place precisely because the law cannot accommodate

easily to new economic changes and value positions which are redefining relationships between people. The redefining of a situation, or the creation of a new structural arrangement, very often involves legislation or political behavior. For the Cayapa, new definitions and new structural arrangements cannot be legislated through de jure decisions; nor can they take place through primary political involvement due to the paucity of strategic political possibilities inherent in a bilateral system that lacks corporate bodies which may be utilized in the formation of alliances; rather, they take place by means of de facto compromise.

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Some authorities maintain that political behavior involves the "formation of new principles of organization" (Siverts 1960). That is, groups or individuals who have differing ideological or value commitments attempt to restructure society. In these terms, Cayapa behavior is not so much political as governmental. It is concerned mainly with the maintenance of stability and the status quo. Such political behavior as is found among the Cayapa apparently stems from periods of uncertainty that are in part sociological and in part psychological. When a new /ʊnʸi/ takes the reins

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When a new /úⁿʸi/ takes the reins 344

of authority, his individual personality and behavior, complicated by the cultural emphasis on heavy drinking, will effect the complementarity of expectations between the /úⁿʸi/ and the people. If there is a lack of conformity between the behavior of the /úⁿʸi/ and the expectancies of the people, there will be an effort on the part of individuals to effect conformity by engaging in moralizing, gossiping, nagging, and threats to shift allegiance to other authorities--all directed against one man, the /úⁿʸi/. The aim of all of these kinds of behavior is to return to the status quo ante, when the late /úⁿʸi/ was the image of true leadership. As the new /úⁿʸi/ is pressured into modifying his behavior in the direction of the cultural expectancies, the agitation and political behavior will diminish.

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THE CAYAPA INDIANS*

by
Max Heimann

In the far north west of the Ecuadorian Republic there is a river named the Santiago. Near the village of Borbon it is joined by one of its tributaries, the Cayapa River. The Cayapa Indians, a harmless tribe consisting of no more than 2500 persons, live on the upper reaches of the Cayapa River and around its sources.

I have never been able to understand why they are called "uncivilized" and "savage." Would it be because they dress more simply, more comfortably, more suitably and cheaply than we European fashion slaves? Or would it be because they speak their own language, unknown to us, and because they do not know how to read and write and do not stuff their heads with the dead weight taught in schools and called "education"? Or even, would it be because they have other customs and manners as well as different moral concepts?

One thing is certain--the Cayapa are happy people, because they are more satisfied with their lot than we Europeans, who are so demanding and feel so superior with our conceit in our sham civilization, in the clothes prescribed for us by the tyrants of "fashion" and in the "wisdom" acquired in schools.

They frequently come to town in small groups of five to 20 persons. I have seen them many hundreds of times, but again and again I am delighted when I meet these small, but well-built and sturdy [282] figures. The men are not taller than 150-160 cm. (Translator--5 ft. to 5ft. 4 in.), while the women are barely 140 cm. (Translator--4 ft. 8 in.). Their skin is copper brown in color.

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* The author, a business man, lived in Tumaco (southwest Colombia) for 35 years (1895-1930) and was German Vice-Consul for the Departamento Narino from 1907 to 1930. Although he never actually visited Cayapa villages, he did have occasion to see and question groups of them "many hundreds of times," on their frequent visits to Tumaco. Apart from this, several of his employees have been in Cayapa villages and have given him reports. (K. Th. Preuss).

●[8] Left to themselves and untouched, the Cayapa are gay, content and happy. Politics and book knowledge do not trouble them. The forest, fields and rivers yield in abundance everything they need for living. They know all the medicinal herbs and roots of [p24] their region and know exactly which will protect them against snake bites and which one will cure their toothaches. The administration of the community is in good hands and does not cost anything; they do not have to pay taxes or tributes. They do not bother with what goes on in the cities of the white men and the outside world. Their main concerns are the instincts of nature, women and children, eating and drinking; they are indifferent to everything else, because they neither know nor understand it. Their simple and carefree life makes them happy--they are richer than we who, as a result of rushing and ambitious pushing, cannot find peace and happiness. They are happier in their ignorance than we, who proudly call our thin varnish of culture "civilization" and who scornfully characterize the Cayapa as "savages."

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the market, and he maintains a rough balance between subsistence and commercial farming. In the pages to follow we will view a tribal people through their law, attempting to redefine human relationships that are being restructured by new economic conditions.

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CHAPTER VI

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSION

The basic personality of the Cayapa is marked by anxiety, suspicion, and lack of confidence. Cooperation is minimal, and social cohesion is maintained through the use of alcohol. Cayapa culture is marked by extremely heavy permissive drinking patterns. The Cayapa drink to get drunk: they drink at weddings and funerals: they drink for joy and sorrow: they drink out of fear when an earthquake appears to threaten the end of the world: and they drink to screw up enough courage to bring litigation before the chief. While they are not at all addicted to alcohol, they are to some extent dependent upon it. The dependency arises out of a deep-rooted basic anxiety that is manifested by a generalized fear of others, an inability to maintain friendships, low male sex drive, female sexual forwardness and latent homosexuality. Following Kardiner (Kardiner et al. 1939; 1945), it will be posited that there is a connection between the primary institution of child rearing, the Basic Personality Structure, and the system of law and government as their derivatives

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the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense interpersonal relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in three different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa-Cayapa, Cayapa-Negro, and Cayapa-White.

> . . . anxiety acquired in childhood might be generalized to other people . . . because of their similarity to the persons responsible for the frustration and punishment of the child--their similarity, above all, to the child's parents [Whiting and Child 1961:267].

Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa--much more so than Negroes and Whites.

The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by avoidance or

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4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD4 Cayapa SD4

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highly restrictive interpersonal involvements. When in their canoes, which pass each other quickly, they can easily and effectively avoid each other. Where they cannot pass by rapidly, as at the weeklong *fiestas* at the ceremonial centers, heavy drinking is required to get the law-jobs done, arrange the marriages, and to maintain a minimum of social integration and interaction. With the increase in social integration and interaction brought about by liberal amounts of alcohol, a new factor can be noticed. For some, latent homosexuality comes close to the surface in the form of homoerotisism. Young boys may be seen on the floor wrapped in each other's arms, and young men may be seen seated in the same hammock, facing each other, holding hands. It must be emphasized that this is not homosexual per se, but *erotic* in the sense of a transfer of libidinal effect to another male. I have only witnessed this behavior at the *fiestas*. If the Cayapa have strong latent homosexual tendencies where the generalized fear of others may be seen "as a defense against asexual anxieties . . . against homosexual tendencies" (Whiting and Child [1953:268]), why then do we not find it in the normal

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just as I was leaving, with my canoe dangerously overloaded with Indians. He asked to go along. It was pointed out that there was absolutely no room, whereupon he suggested that I eject someone to make room for him. When this was refused, he went into a fit of pouting. Reverend Glenn, the missionary in the Espelis Grande area, reports that Cayapa whom he considers to be friends, will come to the dispensary long after hours, or when there is a long line and demand to be taken first. The demand is always refused and pouting always follows.

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Friendship in the western sense does not really exist in Cayapa life and culture, except in embryonic form. The complex of friendship that is offered to them by the surrounding population, more often than not, leaves the Indian either in debt, defrauded, and/or, as he believes, bewitched. This, coupled with the tenuous diminishing of the fear of others, leads to a dyadic relationship that requires constant testing and probing, that is neurotically destructive of the relationship itself. The strong commitment to alcohol alleviates the fears of other people, the self-doubts, the personal and sexual inadequacies, the basic anxiety of Cayapa life.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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anxiety of Cayapa life.

Given these features of Cayapa life and culture it may be seen that tribal cohesion can best be achieved by means of a chief who fulfills the requirements of dominance that goes hand in glove with attitudes of submission in a people who lack both confidence and competence. Political behavior as described in the body of the text may be viewed as a projective system, in Kardiner's terms, wherein an attempt is made to mold the present chief into an image of their ego ideal.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1968
SD4 Cayuga SD4

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CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

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The nexus between the realms of Cayuga law, government, and politics, can be found in the area of personality and social structure. The law derives from a functional complex that is characterized by a deep-rooted anxiety, sexual inadequacy, heavy permissive and dependent drinking, periodic political behavior, and individual deviant behavior that ultimately leads to sweeping socio-cultural changes. The framework of this complex, and its legal derivatives, is a society that is bi-laterally organized and lacks corporate bodies: whose only action groups are marked by constant changes in personnel, as individuals and family members move about tending their widespread land holdings. Cayuga fear and anxiety, coupled with a generalized fear of others, effectively blocks the formation of action groups that are more than temporary unions of very short duration. Even non-kin dyadic friendship groups were marked by extreme instability as the bonds of friendship are being constantly tried and probed and usually found wanting.

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and power by way of organized groups. There were no political groups, just individuals who occasionally united dissatisfaction.

John Embree in his comparison between Thai and Japanese social systems wrote in terms of class and loose structures:

> Loosely integrated here signifying a culture in which considerable variation of individual behavior is sanctioned (Embree 1950:182) . . . Where social structure is "close"--that is, where the behavior of the people conforms closely to the formal social patterns of human relations . . . it is difficult for an individual to deviate, and reciprocal rights and duties are closely marked and carried out (Embree 1950:182).

Cayapa social organization is, in these terms, loosely integrated, and Cayapa behavior is marked by individuality but not by individualism. That is, there is no ethic of individualism, rugged or otherwise, held as an ideal, but rather the sociological consequents of a bi-laterally structured kinship system, lacking encysurate kin groupings, coupled with the lack of permanent action groups of any kind, usually precluding social involvements on other than an individual basis. A possible exception to this may be

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found in the household consisting of several related nuclear families, but even here, the group is contingent upon circumstances, variable in personnel and unstable in duration. Members of the household are in constant movement, tending their far flung farm plots, visiting kinfolk, traveling to the cities, and visiting curers.

The lack of corporate involvements for the Cayapa effectively restricts political behavior to periods of turbulence and uncertainty such as occurred after the death of the late /[illegible]/, Arcilio Pianchichi, and the installation of his nephew, Gabriel Añapa, as the new governor. It may be, that whenever the office passes out of the direct line from father to son, political disturbances develop which may be exacerbated by personality factors. This seems to have been the case with Gabriel whose involvement in political events will be discussed shortly.

In terms of being a loosely structured society, the Cayapa differ from the Thai as discussed by Embree in an important manner:

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> In Siamese society it is relatively easy to achieve a fait acompli by doing something not approved by other members of the group. But in so doing one does not necessarily achieve the acceptance of the others. The "accomplished fact" does not accomplish much (Embree 1950: 185).

It is precisely at this point that the Cayapa offer a dramatic contrast. The strong-minded deviant in Cayapa society can, by his determination, make his accomplished fact a model for emulation and ultimate acceptance by the members of his society. Cayapa society is structurally unable, in the normal course of events, to permit the development of concerted and protracted pressure on an individual deviant. The only approach to this occurred when Gabriel assumed his position as /ũnʸi/. Gabriel was not a man who commanded respect from either the Negroes or the Indians. He did not speak Spanish well, he drank to excess and was unable to perform his duties, he was not well versed in the law, and he was a poor man. For the Cayapa, the /ũnʸi/ should be a man of infinite wisdom, who is well spoken both in Cayapa and in Spanish, a man who can stand up to the Negroes for the Cayapa.

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a man who can govern justly with a minimum of friction. People may be born in this mold and others may change aspects of their personality and perceptions through the performance of required role behavior in new status positions. This latter situation is being structured by the Cayapa in terms of a unique kind of political behavior.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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Agriculture

As before stated, the Cayapa practise agriculture to such an extent that it may be considered their chief occupation, for by it are produced their chief food supply and also certain materials used in textiles. Under agriculture should be classed not only the introduced domesticated plants, but also certain indigenous vegetal growths which are cared for to a greater or lesser extent. These various products are in large measure raised for consumption by the Indians themselves, but some are sold in the settlements at the mouth of the river.

The regular Cayapa dwelling, as before stated, is situated near the bank of the river, and is almost always flanked, usually on both sides, by clearings and fields. Plantains, bananas, sugar-cane, cacao, cotton, yuca, rascadera, pineapples, yams, tobacco, corn, coconuts, rubber, and certain herbs are grown by the Indians. The first five of these are almost invariably found in the fields immediately adjacent to the house. Some of the other products mentioned, such as yams, corn, coconuts, and yuca, are not raised by all the Indians, and rubber is more frequently grown at some distance from the house, as it thrives better under special soil conditions. In addition to these nearby fields, frequently a favorable location for more or less extensive plantings in the hills is found along the banks of some estero and at a considerable distance from the river. By some of the Indians it is claimed that the plantain grows better at some distance from the main stream, as does also "pita," the plant which yields the tough

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The Cayapa are not theologians, nor are they knowledgeable about Catholic ritual. They recognize this lack, but do not concern themselves over it. They only for ritual guidance on the priest, and in his absence their Negro neighbors are ever ready to take his place as religious mentors to the Cayapa. The Cayapa recognize that the Negro has greater understanding of the religion, but they also consider that the Negroes are great sinners, while the Cayapa are held to be very moral. For the Cayapa, religion is morality and morality means proper sexual behavior. That the Negroes seldom, if ever, marry is a constant source of scandal for the Cayapa, and that the Cayapa almost always marry in the Church [a few polygynists to the contrary] is a constant source of envy for the Negro women, who feel great personal insecurity in their free unions. The trouble with the world, say the Cayapa, is that there are many sinners in it--people who commit incest, adultery, and take more than one wife. As most Cayapa are moral, they will go to heaven, but Negroes and Whites, who are notorious sinners, will not. After death Negroes will go to the black clouds and

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Whites will go to the white clouds, forever floating between heaven and earth. While the Cayapa believe that they are a moral people, probably everyone has sinned a little and so after death every Cayapa soul is scourged in hell. Periodically the soul is weighed and when the scale tips in favor of the soul over its sins, it goes to heaven.

The matter of sin and sex so concern the Cayapa that when they were presented by the first missionaries with the account of Adan and Eve, they transformed it by saying that in the beginning Jesus created two men and two women. The woman were not created from the ribs or any other part of the men's bodies, and so, everyone was properly nonrelated. From these four beings sprang the human race.

At irregular intervals, a priest comes up from Limones for Christmas or Easter. He holds a brief service, consecrates marriages, and baptizes children. The Cayapa are very much taken with Catholic imagery and the use of candles. As the writer once watched the priest perform a marriage at Punta Venado, there was a brief contest of wills. The Cayapa wedding party had

than as a personal phenomenon. That is, there are no family shrines within the home. Individuals do not pray. It is only on festive occasions when many families come together that the trappings of religion are brought forth. The statues of the saints will be displayed in a makeshift shrine within the home which is being used as the gathering place. Some candles are lit; the chief makes the sign of the cross, and the drinking begins. As it progresses, the saints will be turned to the wall "because they do not like to see so much drinking."

The ceremonial centers with their cemeteries, churches, and *fiesta* activities give the Cayapa a much needed sense of self-awareness and identity. If a priest is present, so much the better: if not, the Cayapa know that they are doing the right thing, that they are moral, and that they are Catholic.

Supernaturals. The Cayapa have a large inventory of spirits and devils (Barrett 1925:388-391). Two that are not mentioned by Barrett seem to reflect a feeling of fear on the part of the Cayapa toward the Negro: The first of these is *Duende*; he lives at the headwaters of

the Río Camarones in the monte. People are afraid of him, because he can kill a person by catching his spirit. Duende is the owner of all of the wild pigs, as well as the /bubúlᵀa/, a race of cave dwellers who are similar to the Cayapa in appearance. The second, /ɛᵀubéri/, is the devil who plays all of the musical instruments at the same time. Some think that he just touches himself to produce the sounds. He is naked, and black like a Negro, and has a very large penis with which he kills women when he makes love to them. These beings are not really a part of the religious belief system, but other spirits are.

The Cayapa believe that people have three souls: /tambúka/ "heart," /húma/ "soul" and /sᵀúa cútᵀu ǒhmu/ "bald ghost." At death, the /tambúka/ leaves the body by way of the mouth and goes straight up to Jesus, who has it punished. The manner of punishment is not clear, but it goes on for a very long time. Finally, the soul enters heaven. There are no clear ideas expressed regarding the nature of heaven, but many Cayapa think in terms of a big fiesta. The /húma/ leaves the body at death in an unknown manner and wanders about the

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of witchcraft. Secrets reveals that very little attention is given to wounds per se beyond the application of hot beeswax or a leaf to keep off the insects; however, a few individuals have specialized in the setting of broken bones. Apparently, this specialty is not taught, but a person who wants to engage in this activity practices by removing the corn kernels from a dry ear of corn and then replaces them in their sockets under cover of the husks. This is said to develop finger dexterity and the sense of touch. With growing competence the neophyte bonesetter practices mending the limbs of domestic animals, and eventually, the first human patient requests his services. Clean fractures seem to be rather easily handled, and it is said that "green-twig" fractures are similarly mended. The price for this service is high, ranging from 500 pounds to over 1,000 pounds.

For illnesses caused by spirit possession or spirit loss, a healer or witch is needed. There are no special requirements for becoming a healer beyond the desire and money to pay for instruction. As the prophet is seldom honored in his own country, so the Cayuga

maintain that the best witches are not Cayapa at all but neither the Chota of Colombia and the Colorado of Ecuador. Next in order of preference are the highland Indians around Ibarra, and, finally, those Cayapa who have been instructed from the masters listed in descending order of preference. Those Cayapa who have been instructed by other Cayapa enjoy very little esteem. There is said to be a good deal of jealousy between witches, and in popular belief they are said to seek opportunities to kill off their rivals.

The Cayapa theory of spirit possession is that if one is wandering in the monte, a spirit may spy one and fall in love with one. The spirit then embraces the victim and enters his body. Spirits or inimical objects may be implanted in the body by witchcraft as well. When someone falls ill and lingers in illness for a time, the charge is made that an enemy is at work. The task of the healer is simply to rid the body of the object or spirit that is causing the illness.

The witches' paraphernalia consists of archaeological artifacts that were made by the people resident in the area prior to the Cayapa occupation. A

and chanted a curious mixture of Spanish and what may have been unintelligible magical Quechua words. The Spanish element predominated, but not as connected discourse. The manner of chanting made comprehension extremely difficult for me, but the sequence may be described as stretches of humming, interspersed with unintelligibility, peaked by the words "negro . . . indio bravo . . . enfermidad . . . bruja . . . ." that is, "Negro . . . wild Indian . ... sickness . . . witch . . . ." From time to time there were straight Spanish incantations: "This man is sick, I know, I know, cure, cure, Negro." The Negro is included in the list of powerful words because it is felt that Negroes often practice black magic against the Indian; similarly, the Indio Bravo were a powerful people whose very stone and pottery artifacts retain their ancient power. The witch is included for obvious reasons, and Spanish is used probably because it connotes power. A man who controls Spanish controls the outside forces to a degree impossible for a monolingual Cayapa.

On occasion, Alejandro would take a mouthful of rum and blow it out in the direction of the patient.

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their case to the family, and if refused, they then point out that two Negroes are waiting in the canoe. This means that the commission will fight, if need be, to get the girl. [For the Cayapa, the Negro is a threatening figure, both in fact and in fancy.] At this point, agreement may be reached between the commission and the girl's family, or a fight may develop. In either event, so far as is known to the writer, a commission always gets its woman.

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Problems in Courtship and Marriage. Many men among the Cayapa are reluctant to take the initiative in romantic affairs, but from time to time one finds among them men like Chapiro of the Río Camarones, who seems to delight in amorous peccadillos and adventures. Chapiro has the reputation of preferring married women with whom it is said he would make love, while the husband slept only inches away on the same bedding. He pretended to be the husband and apparently deceived the wives with a large measure of success for a time.

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Chapiro caught in flagrant delicto. One night while pretending to be Pablo Añapa, Chapiro was caught

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shaming, ridicule, the application of bitter tasting substances, or frightening the child with stories of cannibalistic ogres. Thus, within the psychoanalytic framework, the seeds of dependency drinking are sown and begin to develop.

> . . . oral frustrations in the infant result in cannibalistic fantasies toward the mother's breast and her total person. Because the child projects its feelings and fantasies, it also views the external world as cannibalistic and develops fears of objects in it. This results in an unconscious fear of being devoured by the love object. The vagina, which is unconsciously equated with the mouth, comes to represent the restrating, devouring organ. Such anticipations result in avoidance of the heterosexual object . . . (Bieber 1962:6-7).

For the Cayapa, the equation of vagina-mouth is not at all unconscious. The vagina dentata motif is clearly present, and sexual intercourse is spoken of as the vagina eating the penis. As for cannibalistic fantasies, they still exist in the stories that the Cayapa tell of the wild Indians who lived in the area before them: these Indians were cannibals and preyed on the Cayapa. The fantasies are also used to manipulate events. When I first explored the Cayapa area up to the Río Tigre, I decided to do my work among the Cayapa of the San

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manifestations? The psychoanalytic frame of reference regarding homosexuality is directly relevant for the Cayapa. 155 [illegible]

> The wish to have a larger penis, in general reflects a feeling of unacceptability and inadequacy, in particular a feeling of sexual inadequacy; a belief, usually unconsciously held, that sexual functioning has been injured and is vulnerable to further injury; a wish to supersede other males who are feared and regarded as superior. The wish for a larger penis and excessive fearfulness is significantly associated . . . (Bieber 1962: 1812).

The Cayapa tell a story of an ogre who is very ugly and black and looks like a Negro; he has a very long penis with which he kills women. Here we see all of the requisite feelings for a predisposition to homosexuality as well as an expression of underlying Cayapa-Negro attitudes, marked, from the point of view of the Cayapa, by fear, aggression, envy, and sexual inadequacy. [796] [186] [177]

Manifest homosexualism could be a behavioral innovation, requiring of its innovator extraordinary determination, very much akin to the persistent and determined polygynous and incestuous behavior that has been noted in the legal material. It appears that one [178]

301 The women's clothes are much simpler and scantier than the
291 men's. They simply consist of a piece of cotton cloth dyed blue, black or red, about two yards long, which is tightly wrapped around the lower part of the body and is tied at the waist with flax cord. The upper part of the body, up to the waist, and legs, from the feet to the knees, remain totally uncovered. By way of ornaments they wear long strings of tiny colored beads around the wrists and long, colored bead necklaces around the neck, as well as self-made mother-of-pearl amulets and some of the more well-to-do women even wear strings of silver coins. Bead necklaces are also
[584] worn in large numbers by young men during the period of their betrothal. In other words the women's wardrobes are not a serious worry to the husbands. Up to their sixth year, children run about completely naked apart from some bead or button ornaments likewise hung on them.

481 The men walk ahead of their wives, a long leaf-shaped paddle
562 in one hand and a small net-like basket containing as little as
482 possible in the other, while the heavily laden women trot behind them with short, swaying steps, along with the children. Even from their visits to town one can observe that the woman has been given the role of the load and work-horse.

482 On her back the woman carries a heavily laden basket which is strapped around her forehead, while the youngest child sits thrust out in riding position on her hip, with the mother's arm holding him tightly. In her other hand she usually carries a bundle and a cooking pot.

574 One of their first visits in town is at the local priest's. The
797 latter claims that the Cayapa are Catholics. But this is not true.
301 Probably they only go to the priest because he seeks to prove the blessings of the Catholic Church by means of small presents and holy coins, which, one must admit, do look very pretty worn around the neck. At home they have their own cult.

481 Their happiness is apparent when they leave the vicarage, be-
198 cause they have again received presents. They amble down the business streets, curious, amazed and admiring as they go from one shop to the other. "Chindo, Kachindo, compadre?" the gutter-snipes call after them. (The first two words are in the Cayapa language, the third is Spanish; the sentence means: "Where ye going, fellow?") "Caminando, viendo, comprando, compadre"
[91] ("going for a walk, seeing, buying, brother") the men answer politely, but in very poor Spanish.

437 They have sold the new small canoes, tree bark mats
[501 (damajaguas), palm-leaf fans, rubber and rolls of liana (these are
285 used in the construction of bamboo huts to tie up the palm-leaves
283] on the [284] roofs and for some other purposes in lieu of string),
which they have brought from the villages and with the cash they
have earned they now make their small purchases. They have
few wants and do not need much: a few feet of cotton cloth, a
chopping knife, some salt, a small mirror, glass beads, fish hooks,
[511] powder and small shot for the old muzzle-loader which a few of
them may own. This would be all their heart desires. It is little,
even very little, and yet it takes long, even very long, until they
have made their choice and finally decided to buy. First they
talk it over among themselves in their guttural and sonorous lan-
guage and then they start bargaining, and then they count out their
money slowly and cautiously; finally having managed to get the
[462] desired goods, they packed them into the nearly full basket car-
ried by the wife. The women and girls timidly hide behind their
576 menfolk. When spoken to, they do not answer, although they
571 understand sufficient Spanish. Their jealous menfolk have strictly
[141] forbidden them to enter into conversation with men of other races
or tribes. They draw back bashfully. But if the husband is not
present, only the mother or brother, the women become very
loquacious, especially when their tongue has been untied by a
small present—a mirror, necklace or something of the kind. And
they are happy beyond words if you caress their little child, who
looks like a Japanese baby painted brown, and has a friendly smile
even for a stranger. It is amusing to watch the women meeting a
fashionably dressed lady in one of the shops; then they surround
her laughing, amazed and admiring, but they do not appear to be
jealous of the lace dresses worn by European women. The men,
on the other hand, do not honor even the most beautiful and most
elegant white lady with so much as a glance.

142 The Cayapa girls are pretty from the age of 12 to 16 years,
502 their bodies somewhat plump, but still with a beautiful shape.
574 Sometimes young men and women can be seen with red and black
streaks and dots on their faces, chest, arms and legs; this is a
sign that they are engaged.

505 Once their business in town is finished they prepare for the re-
turn journey to their villages. "Adios compadre, adios compadres,"
and chattering and laughing, happy and content, they hurry to
the shore where their canoes are moored. On their way they

considered to be gambling. Nevertheless, everyone enjoys them. Even the mourners come over to watch when they are not wailing at the coffin. 764 [526] [524]

It is important that life and gaiety go on, and, for this reason, people struggle not to fall asleep. If the noise, laughter, and music were to cease, the soul of the deceased "could exert vengeance." Finally, about four o'clock in the morning a silence falls over the assembled mourners and celebrants; it is the time of the /mulóta bávu/, the last farewell. Everyone stands, and one man known to have a good voice sings out in a Spanish-Cayapa mixture: "nanny ya se fué mulota yaya llegue mulota talet[illegible]umbi [illegible]." At this, all of the assembled men accept for the "owners" of the deceased sing the same phrase in unison. Now the coffin is carried down to the raft for the trip to the ceremonial center. Not everyone goes to the burial; some family members remain behind to take care of the children if there any, and others may be too drunk to make the trip. Three or four people are generally all that go to the cemetery. [775] [191] [273]

Adults and children are buried in a cemetery 800

spirit is said to reside in each piece. Black stone 755
ones are especially potent, as are pieces of crystal 756
that have been purchased in town. Tobacco is part of [172]
every curing; the smoke wafts the illness away from [276]
the body. A considerable amount of alcohol is used as [293]
well. The witch takes a mouthful of /[illegible]/, 'rum,'
and sprays it out of his mouth with a loud "whoosh" at
the patient's back; a considerable amount of rum fails
to compress as spray, and the witch finishes the curing
in an advanced state of inebriation! In general, the 755
manner of effecting a cure is as described by Barrett 129
(Barrett 1925:344-352). However, I participated in
one that differed considerably. I was told one day
that a curing session was in progress at a point not
too distant from my house. When I arrived, the cure
had apparently been going on for some time. A middle-
aged man lay on a reed mat that had been placed on the
ground. Alejandro of Rosario sat off to one side lean- [352]
ing back against two parallel sticks that had been
thrust into the ground to serve as a backrest. From [533]
time to time he alternately whistled short stretches [191]
of staccato sounds, that had a decided "blues" quality,

and chanted a curious mixture of Spanish and what may have been unintelligible magical Quechua words. The Spanish element predominated, but not as connected discourse. The manner of chanting made comprehension extremely difficult for me, but the sequence may be described as stretches of humming, interspersed with unintelligibility, peaked by the words "moreno . . . indio bravo . . . enfermidad . . . bruja . . . ." that is, "Negro . . . wild Indian . ... sickness . . . witch . . . ." From time to time there were straight Spanish incantations: "This man is sick, I know, I know, cure, cure, Negro." The Negro is included in the list of powerful words because it is felt that Negroes often practice black magic against the Indian; similarly, the Indio Bravo were a powerful people whose very stone and pottery artifacts retain their ancient power. The witch is included for obvious reasons, and Spanish is used probably because it connotes power. A man who controls Spanish controls the outside forces to a degree impossible for a monolingual Cayapa.

On occasion, Alejandro would take a mouthful of rum and blow it out in the direction of the patient.

755
123
533
191

[177]
[186]
[754]
[172]

123
755
273

595
684x

Sapallo Grande to find another husband, but Segundo refused to allow her to go. Several years later the second wife's father came down, and the two men had harsh words nearly resulting in physical assault. The girl wanted to return with her father "but Segundo refused, being much stronger, and he knows more Spanish."

595
684x
585

Cristobal, by marrying the second wife in the Church, had placed himself in a position beyond the power of Cayapa law, and he could only be dealt with by Jesus himself. Segundo, it seems, had learned something from his uncle. He had the model of polygyny before him, and the speed with which he left his first wife to find a second well before the customary time for a Church wedding, indicates that he knew exactly what he was doing. The Cayapa consider one to be truly married only when the priest has performed the service. Whether this sophistry can be considered to be part of Cayapa legal thinking remains to be seen. The test will come, when, and if, Segundo visits any of the ceremonial centers during a fiesta.

595
684x
191
177

The statement " . . . and he knows more Spanish" appears to be something of a non sequitur; however, a man who speaks Spanish fluently to some extent controls

events in the outside world of commerce and government. For example, because of Segundo's ability to speak Spanish proficiently, he served as a threat to his father-in-law. One can visualize him doing nothing more than shouting at the old man in Spanish with the result that his father-in-law would be completely terrorized. Segundo could describe the dire straits in which the old man would find himself if Segundo went to the authorities, and the old man would unquestionably believe him.

595
684 x
191
177

Trivinio Cortes claimed that a man named Cristobal Sandoval of Mulong has two wives, as does Cristobal's brother. It may very well be that Cristobal Tapullo and Cristobal Sandoval are one and the same. In any event, Trivinio claims "they have both been punished but permitted to keep the second wives because who would take care of the children?" "In the old days, the man and woman were burned to death, as people were very angry. Nowadays, they do not get very angry about such things." While people do not demand that the culprits be burned, they do get upset and on occasion even non-kin will attempt to take matters into their own hands, as in the following case.

595
684 x

[178]

595
627

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

137
192
324

Trees and Plants

English	Spanish	Cayapa
	guayacan	waiaka'n*
rubber	caucho	sa'be
cedar	cedro	inū'n-tcī, or inō'n-tcī
	guadaripo	tū-tcī
	amarillo	pītōa'lō
	balsa	na'na
	dama jaua	te'cki-tcī or tū'cki-tcī
	achote	ca'imū (canyūñ-tcī = the shrub)
	hawa	ma'iñ-tcī
	guabo	cī'lyū (cī'-tcī = the tree). See p. 109
	guabo macheton	macti-pa' cīlyū
	guabo dulce	pi' cīlyū
	guabo tacuane	ni'ñga cīlyū
	guabo agria	sa' cīlyū
		pū' cīlyū
calabash	calabaza	wa'lyū (wa'l-tcī = the tree), also ca'lya
chocolate	cacao	kaka'bō
papaw	papaya	papa'ia
	caimito	a'kū'iñya (akūi'ñ-tcī = the tree)
	zapote	sapō're
orange	naranjo	la'nsa (lansa'-tcī = the tree)

* In some instances these names are invariably given by informants with tcī, signifying tree, following the root of the word; in others this is never added unless it is intended particularly to show that the tree itself is meant. In some cases the addition of tcī causes considerable phonetic change in the root. In those cases where the simple root form and also the compound form were obtained, the latter follows the former in parentheses.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

137
192
824

English	Spanish	Cayapa
lemon	limon	lē'mō (lēmō'-tcī = the tree)
	chocolatillo	tcōkōla'ie, tcōkōlaō'a
sandpaper tree		lya'pic-hakī
plantain	platano	pa'nda
banana	seda	sē'da, sēda-kīnī'a
	hoja blanca	lī'ba-hakī[1]
	hoja negra	e'lōñ-hakī
sugar-cane	caña dulce	e'lla
wild cane	caña brava	nya'nyī
corn	maiz	pī'cū
tobacco	tabaco	ta'kō
	yuca	kū'tcū, kū'ctcū
	rascadera	rū'a
pineapple	piña	tcī'lya
pepper	aji	tyū
	yerba buena	ēvī vē'nō[2]
pumpkin	sapayo	ū
	kuna-kuna	wa'-tcī
	matamba	bī'ta
		nintcū'a[3]
	tangarea	ōlō'n-tcī

Palms

ivory nut	palma tagua	tī'mō būlō (tī'ñ-tcī = the palm)[4]
	palma real	ūya'-tcī

[1] This term, like the Spanish *hoja blanca*, signifies "white leaf."

[2] The name of this introduced plant is obviously a corruption of the Spanish.

[3] A porous vine used as a smoking material by children.

[4] In the majority of cases the names given by informants for these palms are combinations of the simple names of the palms with the word *tcī*, signifying "tree." The five cases in which the simple name was obtainable are here noted, the compound terms following them in parentheses.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

137
192
824

English	Spanish	Cayapa
	palma palmicha	sā'wī (sa'n-tcī = the palm)
	palma chonta dura	ka'imbī (kanō'-tcī = the palm)
	palma chapil or milpeso	kūla'pō-tcī
	palma guividnande	vīñga'-tcī
	palma guinul	pūka''-tcī
	palma pambil	bū'a (bū'īñ-tcī = the palm)
	palma crespa	pī'nlya-tcī
	palma chontilla	pē'aputc
coconut	palma coco	kō'kō (kō'kō-tcī = the palm)
fan-leaf palm	palma rampile	pī'tcūa va'ha kapī'm-tcī

GAME

136

Game is abundant in the jungle, and there are fish of various species in the streams. The ocean is within a comparatively short distance and its shores abound in many species of Crustacea and mollusks, as well as in the various salt-water fish, all highly prized by the Indians.

The specific uses of each species and its mode of capture, together with other points of interest in connection with it, will be taken up in detail at appropriate points in the following pages. For the present purposes it will be sufficient to give lists of the principal mammals, birds, fishes, Crustacea, mollusks, reptiles, and amphibians which are found in the region.

These lists, like the list of trees and plants previously given, are by no means complete, since they include

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

only the principal species with which the Indians are particularly concerned. Moreover, it is a source of regret that it is impossible, except in a very few instances, to give the scientific names of any of the species mentioned. It was originally intended that a collection should be made of all those forms of vegetal and animal life employed in any way by the Indians. In fact, a good beginning had been made in this matter, and considerable time had been spent in preparing mammal and bird skins during the first three months' residence on the river, but, unfortunately, during the author's illness from fever for nine weeks, these specimens were completely spoiled by insects and no time was available later to gather another collection. The only specimens saved were certain insects preserved in alcohol.

MAMMALS

English	Spanish	Cayapa
deer	venado	ma'na
wild hog	saino	awen-dû'cû, awen-dyû'cû
peccary	tatabara	na'-tcûcû, ne-tû'cû, ka'ne tyûcû
tame hog	puerco	kû''tcî, kô''tcî
(large rodent)	guanta	wala'mbû
(large rodent)	guatin	kô'yû, kû'yû
jaguar	tigre	kê'la, a-kê'la
black-marked species		pabañe'la
red-marked species		lakembî'lya
ocelot	tigrillo	tômañ-gê'la
puma	león	lyû-kê'la, lyû-kê'na
monkey	mono	wa'cû, wo'cû

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

136
1920

English	Spanish	Cayapa
monkey	mico, machin	cū'rī, cō'rī
howler monkey	mongon	hōyū'ngū
	cusumbi	wa'sū, wa'se
squirrel	ardilla	ī-ya'mbū, ya'mbū
armadillo	armadillo	tcīl-ya'mbū
rat (large species of wood rat)	raton	ī'yō
rat (small species)		pakōla'la
	zorra	cī'ni

BIRDS

toucan	paliton	tcandō'tō (o)
toucan (small species)	pichilingo	pī'tcī (o)
grouse	perdiz	ū'ndūrūrū, ō'ndōrōrō (o)
turkey, wild	pava, drumalona	ē'lī
turkey, wild	pavon, cantona	ka'ntsū
turkey, domestic	pava	kastī'lya walya'pa
dove	paloma	mabō''kō (o)
		pastō''kō (o)
		wa'pū'pū (o)
buzzard	gallinaso	kū'ndūrūrū, petyū'tyū
pelican	alcatraz	nana''ka
	guacharaca	watcara'ka (o)
frigate bird		nyambīwa'tū
hawk	gabilan	hūya'lyū
hawk	gabilan de machiñ	cūl hūya'lyū
hawk	gabilan de mono	wac hūya'lyū
	canchimalo	tcañgō'kō
	catanita, panchana	kīwīlw'ctcī

[1] As elsewhere among aboriginal peoples, onomatopoetic terms are of frequent occurrence among the Cayapa, the tendency being especially noticeable in bird names. Terms of this kind in the above list are indicated by means of (o) following them.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

136
192

English	Spanish	Cayapa
parrot (large green)		lō'rō, alō'rō
parrot (small green)	catalina	kīū'' kōtcī
macaw		a'kara

REPTILES AND AMPHIBIANS

boa constrictor	guelcauna	hūrūhū'rū
boa constrictor	sobrecama	we'sū
alligator	lagarto	e'mbū
crocodile	caiman	e'lmbū
crocodile, young	tulisio	dī' t'cū
iguana	iguana	ara''pī
lizard (large species)	piande	hīmbū'ka
lizard (large species)	lagartilla	dūmbē'la
lizard (chameleon-like)		kapūtckē'rūn
salamander	salamanca	wacpī'nī
tree-toad or frog		pa'tata

FISH

shad	sabalo	awī'lī
		pīpū''pū
sting-ray		tyū-wī'lī
	verugate	antca'ma

MOLLUSKS

oyster	ostion	ostī'ō, ostrū'n
	piangua	pī'añgū, icpia'ñgūn
	chiripiangua	tcī'rīpiañgūa
periwinkle		ka'kū
	almeja	tcū'ya

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CRUSTACEA

136
142

English	Spanish	Cayapa
crayfish	camaron	a'bicū, pi'cū
crayfish (another species)		karna da (?)
crab	cangrejo	nē'lū, nē'lō
crab (a particular species)		ṅpūī nē'lū
crab (a particular species)		kaia nē'lū
crab (a particular species)		kaia'pa nēlū
	mapara	ma'para

INSECTS

Many species of insects abound in the Cayapa region, 136
though few of them directly concern the Indians in an economic way. In view of the fact that many of these insects are not mentioned later in these pages, it seems appropriate to enter more into detail at this point respecting certain of them than was necessary in dealing with plants and animals.

Among the insects worthy of particular mention are 136
certain malevolent ones, such as centipedes, scorpions, 164
tarantulas, ticks, stinging gnats and, above all, the mosquito, of which there are a number of species. Contrary to the conditions in many parts of the tropics, however, there seems to be a total absence in the Cayapa region of the yellow-fever bearing species of mosquito, as there is also of the plague-bearing flea. Hence this particular section of the tropics to the present time has been entirely free from these two dreaded maladies,

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

which were observed, were a large, black, beaked beetle (*Rhynchophorus palmarum*), called kû'perû by the Cayapa, and a large white larva called kômu'cû by them.

Certain other insects, though of no special economic importance, are of interest to the Indians. One in particular is a large beetle (*Euchroma goliath* L. & G.) whose iridescent wing-covers are employed in making necklaces. There are also large, beautifully colored butterflies, dragonflies, and a large firefly (*Pyrophorus pellucens*), besides a host of other species of insects of greater or lesser interest.

Insects

English	Spanish	Cayapa
beetle (*Rhynchophorus palmarum*)		kû'perû
beetle (*Euchroma goliath* L. & G.)	cucaron	kabê'tsû
firefly (*Pyrophorus pellucens*)		mû'lûkû
bees		paba ta'nda ciñemi'skî ta'nda amûî a'ma
ant (a large, black, stinging ant)	conga	nyû'mî
larva (a large white larva)		kô'mucû
larva	rogoyo	ávî'
a worm or caterpillar	hualpe	tcîlî'lî

MINERALS

Among the natural resources of the country should be mentioned its minerals, certain of which are found

At the Negro village of Camarones, Indians wander about and visit casually the homes of many of the Negroes whom they know. Among themselves there are no casual visits to friends--there are really no friends, with the possible exception of some of the pupils at the Borbon Indian school. The language has no word for "friend" beyond the Spanish loan-word. There is family and not-family and, one does not visit family casually either. There must be a purpose beyond a desire just to visit. Dyadic relations are easily set up with the Negroes and are quasi-friendships that are quite clearly instrumental on both sides. I have no count but my decided impression is that penetration increases markedly between Indian and Negro. Negroes very often ask to become a god-parent for a minor ceremonial occasion when the child's nails are cut for the first time. The nail parings are placed in a cup of rum and drunk by the father and the Negro god-father. Small gifts are exchanged of little monetary value, and food is consumed along with the alcohol. Thenceforth at very irregular intervals, small presents will be exchanged. Gifting, while not especially generous on any level, showed an apparent increase with

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177
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[871]
[192]

155
572
177
609

[491]

[123]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

language, the Quichua,* both 10 and tens are rendered *tra'ñga*, though the cause of such borrowing if such it is, remains uncertain. These two terms appear in the accompanying list as follows:

pa'ita appears in 10 to 19 inclusive, and in 1000 to 1900 inclusive.

tra'ñga appears in 30 to 90 inclusive, and in 3000 to 9000 inclusive.

Twenty, *ma'ntcalêva*, one of the two exceptions to the regularity of this numeral system, appears as a basal number in 20 and in all higher numbers in which it, as such, occurs. In the accompanying list

ma'ntcalêva appears in 20, 21, 120, 2000, 2100 and 2200.

Hundred, *pa'tsa* or *ba'tsa*, depending on its phonetic surroundings, forms the base of all numbers from 100 up. This includes the thousands also, since the system is centenary above 100. Thus, 8000 is not eight thousands but eighty hundreds.

* There is in Cayapa no nominal plural, hence *tra'ñga* and *ba'tsa* are both singular and plural so far as form is concerned. The former, not being the term used for 10, is really used only in a plural sense, but the latter is used as both singular and plural. Further, the term *tra'ñga* is, according to a short Quichua vocabulary obtained from a couple of informants temporarily on the Rio Cayapas, the regular term ten in that language and is used throughout their entire system. The term hundred has also a close parallel, *pa'tsak*, in Quichua, but, while Cayapa has a strict centenary system above 100, Quichua carries the hundreds only as far as 1000, which is *wara'ñga*, a term entirely unrelated to hundred.

3; Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

vigesimal nature, but it lacks even so much support as four, and the binary system for it has not even one other number of a form in any way resembling it. On the other hand, though two other terms of the system are held in common with a neighboring language, the terms for four and twenty do not show this indication of possible borrowing either by one people or the other. 802

An unusual feature here shown is the use of two distinct terms for the same number in two different parts of the system. This occurs in ten, where *pa'it'a* is used up to nineteen; and *tra'ēqa*, apparently a borrowed term, from thirty up.

The order given to the figures of the various denominations is as follows:

All compound numbers from ten up which contain a figure of the units order have this as the final term. Thus thirteen is ten three. The numbers six to nine are compounds of five with the four lower numbers. Here the same rule is followed and the numbers one to four are terminal.

In all tens and in all hundreds, which in this system include the thousands also, the term tens or hundreds is the final one, being preceded by the number of tens or hundreds in the numeral in question. Thus 40 is four tens, 400 is four hundreds, and 4000 is forty hundreds.

In no case is there found anything in the nature of a connective term between the parts of a compound number.

Following the phonetic laws of the language, certain terms, if not used as the ultimate ones, are changed when they occur in a compound numeral. Thus *pē'ma* 802 194

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

802 is the unit three, and *pa'it·a pēma* is thirteen, but *pē'ñ*
•194 *tcūñga* is thirty. So far as two and three are concerned, the change is regular and universal. One changes in the hundreds place in the numerals one hundred to one hundred ninety-nine, and in six when this occurs as a terminal figure. Five has three forms. According to these phonetic laws also, these numbers, when occurring in units or in the units place, undergo the same changes if followed by other terms possessing the necessary sounds. Thus, in the sentence "he has three new ollas," *ya-tcī kasa pē'n pīa'ma kū*ⁿ, literally "his new three ollas has," the change of form of the numeral is necessary. Equally correct, however, is *ya-tcī kasa pīa'ma pēma kū*ⁿ, in which the surrounding sounds do not necessitate the change. It appears also that the numbers two and three, and perhaps one and five, may exert an influence upon the term following, as in the cases of *pa'i patsa* and *pē'ñ batsa*, in which the change of the second term would seem to be related to the preceding sounds.

Rules of Composition

802 The numbers on which the Cayapa numeral system is based are 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 20, and 100. On these the composition proceeds as follows:

Four is *ta*-2.

Six to nine are 5-*dic* 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively.

Ten alone and as a component of the numbers 11 to 19 and other higher numbers in which these occur is *pa'it·a*, a term quite different from tens (*tcū'ñga*) used

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

THE CAYAPA AND COLORADO

By JOHN MURRA

INTRODUCTION

The *Cayapa* and the *Colorado* are the last surviving Indian groups in the lush western lowlands of Ecuador (maps 1 and 6). Once an area of extensive Indian occupation, western Ecuador is now inhabited by a Spanish-speaking population of mixed Indian, Negro, and white ancestry, known as montuvios. The *Cayapa* and *Colorado* have precariously managed to hang on to their jungle homes. Speaking closely related if mutually unintelligible languages of the *Barbacoan* division of the *Chibchan* family, they represent the southernmost extension of that major division. Comparative studies with other *Chibchan*-speaking groups in Highland and eastern Colombia, with *Quechua*-speaking Indians in Highland Ecuador, and with various Montaña groups should prove of considerable culture-historical interest.

THE CAYAPA

The *Cayapa* are a riverain people inhabiting the lowlands of northwestern Ecuador. Sprinkled through the jungles of Esmeraldas Province, an area of difficult colonization and control, they managed for centuries to avoid the enslavement suffered by their Highland neighbors or the ethnic annihilation of most Coast aborigines. Only in the past few decades have their settlements been pushed back into the hills by Spanish-speaking montuvio and Negro homesteaders. World War II requirements in balsa wood, rubber, and other tropical commodities have accelerated this process of displacement and acculturation.

The Cayapa River and its affluents, from the mouth of the Anzole to the foot of the Andes, are the main area of *Cayapa* settlement. Barrett (1925) found three concentration spots: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, corresponding to three political, tribal divisions, which might since have shifted or amalgamated. In addition, small groups of *Cayapa*, in various degrees of acculturation, are found in the Santiago Valley and along the coast into Colombia. Estimates of their numbers vary but hover around a mean of 2,000.

The chief source and authority on the *Cayapa* remains S. A. Barrett's monograph (1925). Barrett visited them in 1908–9, long enough to bring

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

this section is a form of malarial fever locally called paludismo; but this malady is so mild in comparison with the diseases above mentioned as to be almost negligible in a comparative consideration of the general health conditions of the region. The attacks of paludismo on newcomers are often severe, and now and then result fatally, but a native or an old resident of the region is usually fairly immune from it.

It is said that typhoid is entirely unknown; indeed no signs of it were observed during the author's stay in the region. Dysentery, which is such a serious malady in certain parts of the tropics, is little known here, though sporadic cases occur; in fact, two cases came under the author's observation, but only one of these was fatal, and this largely by reason of a complication of conditions combined with inadequate care.

It may be said, therefore, that the region inhabited by the Cayapa, and in fact the whole Province of Esmeraldas, is very healthful in comparison with other parts of the tropics.

Surrounding Peoples

The only people at present known to have close linguistic affinity with the Cayapa are the Colorados of the upper course of the Rio Esmeraldas. Dr D. G. Brinton[19] places the Cayapa in what he terms the Barbacoas linguistic stock, taking that name from a people formerly living on the upper Rio Patia in south-

[19] Brinton, The American Race, pp. 196–199, New York, 1891.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ern Colombia. Brinton's limits of this linguistic stock are not very clearly defined, but are given roughly as extending from the headwaters of the Rio Daule, which empties into the Gulf of Guayaquil, northward to the vicinity of the Rio Patia, which empties into the ocean north of Tumaco in southern Colombia, thus extending from about one degree south to two and one-half degrees north latitude. The information at Brinton's disposal did not enable him to locate exactly the various peoples which he includes in this stock, but he names the Barbacoas, Cayapas, Colorados or Sacchas, Cuaiqueros, Iscuandes, Manivis, and Telembis. It is not at all unlikely that the peoples whom Brinton calls Barbacoas, Iscuandes, Telembis, and perhaps also the Cuaiqueros, are in reality only small bands of Cayapa who had gone into the localities which still bear these several names, and that the vocabularies and other information on which he based the classification were collected from them at these places, with the result that these people came into literature as four distinct divisions.[11] The same thing has happened in many instances in North America,

[11] It is highly probable that the meager vocabularies on which Brinton based his classification of these several supposedly distinct groups of people under the one family name were recorded by various systems of orthography, used by travelers whose mother tongues were different, and who in most, if not all, cases were not trained in the study of aboriginal languages. This would be sufficient to account for the considerable differences in the vocabularies—differences which, in the absence of further data, would warrant anyone in considering the various peoples as dialectically distinct one from another.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

hence it is now being found that a people speaking a single language appears in literature under several different names. As already pointed out, a few of the Cayapa at the present time are scattered along the coast from a point north of Tumaco to some distance south of Esmeraldas. These small bands near the coast are far more accessible to travelers and naturally would be encountered first by them. Hence it could very easily have happened that the several different peoples reported to Brinton, probably by as many different travelers, as separate groups, but whose languages proved to be closely related, were simply these bands of Cayapa who were then, as they are now, living apart from the main body along the Rio Cayapas. Furthermore, if the above assumption is true, it is probable that these Cayapa of the coast then recognized, as they do now, their identity with the main body of the people.

[103] The fact that almost all the rivers, and especially all the smaller streams, as well as other physiographical features of the whole region, mentioned by Brinton, still bear names that are of Cayapa origin, is strong evidence that the Cayapa at a comparatively early date had spread over this large area and that they were familiar with and probably in possession of, so far as other Indians were concerned, the territory from a point some distance north of Tumaco southward. It therefore seems very probable that what appeared to Brinton as several linguistically related groups are in reality parts of a single group, and that formerly, as now, the only other people so far reported who have any

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6
Colorado SD7

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close linguistic affinity with the Cayapa were the Colorados.

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The dialect of the Colorados, however, is so different from that of the Cayapa as to be almost unintelligible to the latter. Their customs, dress, and general culture are also quite distinct, and their territory is of a very different character from that of the Cayapa, being decidedly mountainous, though not far enough inland to be at a great altitude. There is no political or social affinity between the two peoples; in fact, although belonging to the same linguistic stock, the only knowledge one has of the other is that gained from an occasional visit by two or three Cayapa to the Colorado country, or vice versa. It is told as one of the important events of recent times that in returning, several years ago, from a visit to Quito, the chief of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa came by way of the Colorado country and spent several days there, and that he finally brought home with him a member of that tribe who visited on the Rio Cayapas for some days before returning to his own people.

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That the Cayapa have wider linguistic affiliations has been recently shown by Drs Beuchat and Rivet,[12] who set forth the fact that there is considerable affinity between the Barbacoas, of which the Cayapa is a dialect, and the Coconuco and Paniquita groups, both of which are in Colombia. The interrelations of the latter two

[12] Affinités des Langues du Sud de la Colombie et du Nord de l'Équateur (Groupes Paniquita, Coconuco et Barbacoa), par H. Beuchat et P. Rivet, extrait du *Muséon*, Louvain, 1910.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6
Cholo

197 groups are much closer than are those of either with the Barbacoa, but there seem to be a sufficient number of features in common between these two Colombian stocks on the one hand, and the Cayapa and Colorado dialects on the other, to warrant the inclusion of all these in a larger group or linguistic family.

101 On the north the nearest Indian neighbors of the Cayapa are those commonly called by the ambiguous term "Cholos," and who live along the Rio Saija, a small stream which empties into the ocean at about 2° 50′ N., at a point nearly opposite the island of Gorgona. These people are entirely different from the Cayapa in language and culture; but there is a certain amount of intermingling between the two, and a marked [177] influence is exerted by the Cholos on some features of Cayapa culture, especially medicine practices.

The only other Indian neighbors of the Cayapa are the Quichua, or Kechua, descendants of the historic Inca peoples, who live in the interior valleys, the nearest [484] being those about Ibarra and Cotacachi. Although they are of an entirely different linguistic stock, there is here also a certain amount of intermingling, small parties of Quichua making occasional trips down to the coast, and small parties of Cayapa making occasional [487] trips into the mountains. At the present time, however, the trails are much neglected and are extremely difficult to travel, so that the intercourse is very slight.

177 The only other peoples with whom the Cayapa come into contact are the few European or North American whites, and the many negroes, descendants of former

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foothills of the Andes are reached. Thus, for example, Punta Venado, which is approximately 49 kilometers from the mouth of the river, has an altitude of 12 meters as compared to Telembí, approximately 77.5 kilometers from the river's mouth, which has an altitude of 22 meters (Wolf 1879:35). The volume of the waters carried by the rivers varies considerably. Depending upon the amount of rainfall, I have seen a rise and fall in the level of the Río Camerones of well over twenty feet within five hours. The rivers of this system cut through heavy clay soil, and the banks are not part of a flood plain but immediately form part of the hilly interior that is characteristic of the hinterland. The soil is predominantly a heavy saturated clay that is mostly reddish brown in color.

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Language. The Cayapa and the Colorado Indians who live in the tropical highlands about seventy miles down the western slopes of the Andes from Quito share the distinction of being the last two aboriginal groups in western Ecuador. Their languages, although not mutually intelligible, are closely related. Recently, B. Moore worked out some phonetic correspondences between

Cayapa and Colorado and thereby systematically proved the relationship that had always been assumed on purely inspectional grounds (Moore 1962). The most recent classification proposed by Greenberg places Cayapa-Colorado within the sub family called Paezan, which together with Chibchan proper belongs to the Macro-Chibchan family (Greenberg 1956). This classification is similar to that proposed by Mason (Mason 1950:180). A claim that Cayapa is closely related to Mayan is proposed by Professor Aquiles R. Perez T; however, the documentation is not convincing at present (Perez 1960: 491-494).

History. The first actually reliable information on the Cayapa comes from the pen of W. B. Stevenson, who visited them briefly in 1809. At that time, there was but one group of Cayapa (those who lived in the vicinity of Punta Venado). The chief, or alcalde, as Stevenson called him, carried a "baston, insignia of authority" which he presented to Stevenson. He then ordered the Indians to obey Stevenson ". . . and they advanced one after another to kiss the head of the baston, and accompanied me to the house of the alcalde, which was

301 The women's clothes are much simpler and scantier than the
291 men's. They simply consist of a piece of cotton cloth dyed blue, black or red, about two yards long, which is tightly wrapped around the lower part of the body and is tied at the waist with flax cord. The upper part of the body, up to the waist, and legs, from the feet to the knees, remain totally uncovered. By way of ornaments they wear long strings of tiny colored beads around the wrists and long, colored bead necklaces around the neck, as well as self-made mother-of-pearl amulets and some of the more well-to-do women even wear strings of silver coins. Bead necklaces are also
[589] worn in large numbers by young men during the period of their betrothal. In other words the women's wardrobes are not a serious worry to the husbands. Up to their sixth year, children run about completely naked apart from some bead or button ornaments likewise hung on them.

481 The men walk ahead of their wives, a long leaf-shaped paddle
562 in one hand and a small net-like basket containing as little as
482 possible in the other, while the heavily laden women trot behind them with short, swaying steps, along with the children. Even from their visits to town one can observe that the woman has been given the role of the load and work-horse.

482 On her back the woman carries a heavily laden basket which is strapped around her forehead, while the youngest child sits thrust out in riding position on her hip, with the mother's arm holding him tightly. In her other hand she usually carries a bundle and a cooking pot.

574 One of their first visits in town is at the local priest's. The
797 latter claims that the Cayapa are Catholics. But this is not true.
301 Probably they only go to the priest because he seeks to prove the blessings of the Catholic Church by means of small presents and holy coins, which, one must admit, do look very pretty worn around the neck. At home they have their own cult.

481 Their happiness is apparent when they leave the vicarage, be-
● 198 cause they have again received presents. They amble down the business streets, curious, amazed and admiring as they go from one shop to the other. "Chindo, Kachindo, compadre?" the gutter-snipes call after them. (The first two words are in the Cayapa language, the third is Spanish; the sentence means: "Where 'ye going, fellow?") "Caminando, viendo, comprando, compadre"
[791] ("going for a walk, seeing, buying, brother") the men answer politely, but in very poor Spanish.

except in one instance. The Cayapa of the Río Cameronas have decided that no Indian may sell land to a Negro in the upper reaches of the river. Rumors are constantly reported that Negroes are moving in and there is definite concern that community strength is not sufficient to maintain the boundaries. The meager historical data indicate that in the early nineteenth century the Cayapa were largely self sufficient and were not producing much for cash. By the 1900's their wants and needs had increased and they were now engaged in the small scale production and sale of rubber and Tagua nuts. By the end of the first world war rubber and Tagua were major cash crops in the region. During the second world war rubber boomed and Tagua declined almost to the vanishing point. After the war the rubber market similarly declined. By now the Cayapa were well used to money and the things that money could buy, sewing machines, rifles, shotguns, shot, powder, cloth, watches, rubber boots, ready-made clothing, cosmetics, patent medicines, pressure lamps, rice, sugar, soft drinks, and many other products of our tinsel civilization. After the Second World War, Ecuador became a center of a banana boom and the Cayapa were affected greatly. Like the Negroes,

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hundred sucres, but did not. During Christmas at Punta Venado, they were approached again, again agreed to pay, but failed to do so. Antonito later came to their house up the Río Camarones and then they paid the money.

The land is now the joint property of Ciro and Santiagueño, and they have clear title. The question of whether the one hundred sucres conveyed title by a sale, or served as a quitclaim is moot. Given the nominal price and the cloudy state of Antonito's ownership, the transaction could best be viewed as a quitclaim.

Indians seldom register land in their names, but if they sell land to a Negro, the transaction is usually registered at the insistence of the purchaser for his protection. Consequently, the Cayapa is never required to show proof of ownership; his statement that he owns the land for sale is sufficient. Some Cayapa find the prospect of selling another man's land, without his permission and knowledge, a beguiling one, and rumors are constantly being circulated of one or another Cayapa thinking of doing it, doing it, or perhaps having completed the transaction. In any event, the hurling

of acrimonious charges, because of a rumor concerning fraudulent land sales, is usually sufficient to squelch whatever factual basis there may have been in the rumor. Very often, the rumors are just malicious in intent, as seems to have been the case in the following instance. 423 685 203 [426]

Rumor mongering causes family dispute. Ciro Añapa is not liked by his father's god-father's daughter. Through the system of compadrazgo they are considered to be family, /bélutála/. She apparently spends a good deal of time gossiping about Ciro, much to his annoyance, and although he would very much like to complain to the /ún^{y}i/, he does not do so because they are family. When Ciro lent some land to Perdomo in Encanto, she claimed that the land was not his and he had no right to make the loan. She generally spreads rumors of illegal land deals involving him. One day as he was studying in his house, three of the Cimarrón brothers and their mother visited him because they had heard that he had sold their land in Encanto to a Negro. The old woman burst into tears saying that she had once given a feast in honor of Ciro's dead mother, [608] [426]

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and she returned to her house where she continued to cry "like one does at a funeral." The Cimarrón brothers remonstrated with Ciro, who remained silent, ashamed, because "three mouths were speaking against me." All left except Segundo Cimarrón. Ciro asked him who had made the accusation and was told that it was Segundo's brother-in-law who was married to his sister, the very one who had been constantly gossiping about Ciro. Segundo then demanded fifteen hundred sucres, saying that they were not family anymore. Ciro replied that he did not have the money, and more to the point, that the charges were not true.

When the Cimarrón's mother went home to weep "like one does at a funeral" it meant that someone was going to die, which made Ciro's brother, Santiagueño, very angry, so that, at a party, he spoke very harshly to the Cimarrón brothers. The proliferation of baseless rumors involving land transactions such as those described above, is a realization that the Cayapa's hold on the land is becoming increasingly more tenuous as the expanding banana market causes the land to increase in value. This point was made very clear by Joselino Caisero, the Negro Inspector of the village of Camerones,

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[177]

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who discussed land problems with the author. His arm described a broad arc over the Río Cayapas flowing before us as he said, "The Cayapa think that they own the land, but they just hold it by our grace." It is small wonder indeed, that the Cayapa rumor mill creates innumerable variations on this basic theme.

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As we have noted, it is generally agreed that the right of ownership is validated by working the land. Often a group of brothers will work the land together, which is regarded as an ideal situation as brothers should be together, just as the term for brother, /ní.tala/, means 'sons together.' The actual working of the land imposes little problem concerning ownership, but for a stand of rubber trees that requires no maintenance at all, a problem is posed.

Rubber trees are divided into three parts for three brothers. Buru Cisarrón and his brother Segundo, came to blows at a party held at the school house in Encanto. Their father had owned a piece of land just below the rapids, up the Río Cameroncs, on which were some rubber trees. Buru wanted to tap some of the rubber, but Segundo had arrived at the site first and made

shaming, ridicule, the application of bitter tasting substances, or frightening the child with stories of cannibalistic ogres. Thus, within the psychoanalytic framework, the seeds of dependency drinking are sown and begin to develop.

> . . . oral frustrations in the infant result in cannibalistic fantasies toward the mother's breast and her total person. Because the child projects its feelings and fantasies, it also views the external world as cannibalistic and develops fears of objects in it. This results in an unconscious fear of being devoured by the love object. The vagina, which is unconsciously equated with the mouth, comes to represent the castrating, devouring organ. Such anticipations result in avoidance of the heterosexual object . . . (Bieber 1962:6-7).

For the Cayapa, the equation of vagina-mouth is not at all unconscious. The vagina dentata motif is clearly present, and sexual intercourse is spoken of as the vagina eating the penis. As for cannibalistic fantasies, they still exist in the stories that the Cayapa tell of the wild Indians who lived in the area before them; these Indians were cannibals and prayed on the Cayapa. The fantasies are also used to manipulate events. When I first explored the Cayapa area up to the Río Tigre, I decided to do my work among the Cayapa of the San

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Miguel section and, after reaching an agreement on the location of a house, I made a down payment for the purchase of roofing material. Two weeks later I returned with my family, but was told that we could not settle in the San Miguel section: the inhabitants were afraid of us, as they had heard we were cannibals. The rumor had been started by people of the Punta Venado section who wanted us to live with them. Earlier, a resident missionary had started a small dispensary among the San Miguel group, and another missionary was conducting a very large medical practice in the Sapello Grande section. Since the people of Punta Venado wanted a medical prince, too, they started the rumors of our cannibalistic propensities to frighten the people of San Miguel into rejecting us so that we would move in with them. They told the stories with such gusto that for a brief period, even after we settled among them, they believed the fantasies were indeed true.

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It is not only the complex of aphincter training, nursing and weaning that convinces the young boy that the world and its objects are threatening and cannibalistic, but play behavior also. A common game that parents and older siblings play with young males is to

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

A SYSTEM OF MNEMONIC WRITING

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As has already been noted, the Cayapa have no written language and express nothing in writing of any kind. An interesting example of the power of adaptation, however, was given by one individual along this line. The incident, while it has no direct bearing on the general life and culture of the tribe as a whole, may perhaps be significant and of interest when the general subject of mnemonics and hieroglyphic writing is considered, for it shows how readily a single individual of a tribe may borrow a principle which is entirely foreign to the culture of his own people and, with this as a basis, may invent a new system which might give rise to an entirely new order of things if it were carried to its full possibilities. Furthermore, this system is of considerable interest from a phonetic point of view, since it shows that it is founded on strictly phonetic considerations and thus shows what may be termed the natural tendency of the mind of man to correlate and arrange at least some linguistic ideas along logical, phonetic lines.

On the arrival of the author in the Cayapa country he took up his residence with a prominent official of the tribe known, according to the present-day Spanish terminology, as "El Secretario del Gobernacion." When the author expressed a desire to learn the Cayapa language, his host manifested an equal desire to learn English. It was therefore mutually agreed that each should instruct the other. A beginning was made with the numeral system, the author being given the names of the Cayapa numerals. As the terms were pronounced,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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careful record of them was made in writing. However, when the Secretario was told the English numerals, he was entirely dependent on his memory, since no system of writing was known to him. On the following day, when each endeavored to recite his lesson to the other, the Secretario was greatly surprised to hear the author read from his notes and correctly pronounce the Cayapa numerals told him the day before, whereas he, on the other hand, had much difficulty in getting his pronunciation correct and in remembering certain of the English numerals. He asked the author how it was possible to remember these numbers and the pronunciation of them; and upon being told about the aid to the memory given by the writing, he was immediately desirous of trying such a plan himself. Being provided with pencil and paper, he thereupon carefully recorded the first ten of the accompanying set of mnemonic characters (fig. 29). With this paper before him he was able, on the following day, to the author's surprise, to recount with almost perfect exactness these first ten English numerals. A day or two more added another set, and in the course of about a week he had worked out a complete system of mnemonic characters for the numerals from one to one hundred. Furthermore, an interesting feature of this set of mnemonic characters is the fact that they are strictly decimal in their composition, whereas the Cayapa numerals form a much more complex system, it being quinary-decimal-centenary.

The units themselves appear to be entirely unrelated one to another, and as the author watched the Indian making these characters it was evident that a pure proc-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

802
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211

ess of invention was evolving in his mind, his chief desire being in each instance to get some character that

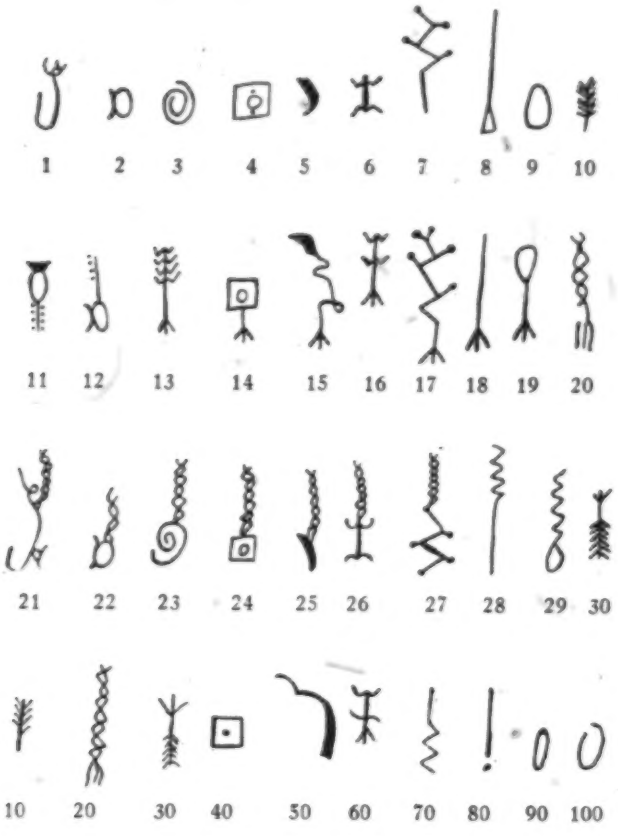

FIG. 29.—Mnemonic characters

should represent the particular number and which should be different from all the others.

In forming most of the characters to represent the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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numbers from eleven to nineteen he took carefully into account those representing the units one to nine. In fact, he always referred to these and in most cases reproduced them entirely, or in part, as portions of the characters representing the 'teens. Indeed the characters representing fourteen to nineteen are clearly and obviously these same unit characters with the addition of the crowfoot beneath, which represented to his mind the idea of 'teen—not that it was related to ten, but the crowfoot actually represented to him the sounds comprising 'teen. It is even more evident in thirteen, where the crowfoot first appears but where the unit character for three is not present, that the various parts of these characters actually represented to his mind sounds, rather than precisely correlated ideas of the numeral system. This became clear whenever he used this table of characters, for when he first repeated these numbers he did so very slowly and pointed to the particular part of the character which represented the sound which he was speaking. For instance, in the case of fourteen he would point to the square enclosing the circle and say "four;" then his pencil would go down to the crowfoot and he would say "teen." Likewise in nineteen the oval was nine and the crowfoot 'teen. As still further evidence of the phonetic nature of these mnemonic characters, eleven and twelve are excellent examples. To our minds eleven and twelve belong logically to the set of 'teens, though "'teen" does not appear in them. To the Cayapa's mind, however, the vertical line with the four dots on each side in the sign for eleven represented "e," and the oval with its heavy crescent above

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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represented "leven." Likewise, in the case of twelve, the oval with the crescent on the side represented "two," and the vertical line with the four dots on the left represented "helve." Furthermore, he learned this number not as twelve but as "two-helve," and no amount of correction at any later time could change his pronunciation. In both of these instances we have a composition of the character along strictly phonetic lines. In the higher numbers a similar condition prevailed, though in many instances the same sound or set of sounds was represented by different characters. For instance, the "ty" in the higher tens was variously represented. In fifty it was the long heavy curved line, in sixty the crowfoot, and eighty the dot. In each instance this character forms the lower part of these respective characters. In seventy it was the vertical line, and in thirty the crowfoot, which form in these instances the upper part of the character. Forty and ninety are simply four and nine somewhat altered.

As above mentioned, the idea of the addition of ten to the unit in the numbers eleven to nineteen is indicated by joining directly to the characters one to nine certain other characters representing the sounds, not the idea, expressed in "teen." Likewise also in the numbers twenty-one to twenty-nine. The upper part of the character twenty is joined directly to the unit character and forms an integral part of it. From thirty onward, however, a different method was used. Here the unit character was placed directly after the character representing the particular ten which was being used, thus requiring two independent characters instead of one

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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composite character to represent any particular number. This arrangement of the characters may have been more or less due to the fact that the inventor had seen the English numbers and had had these explained to him. His arrangement of these may possibly have been influenced by the arrangement of the English, and the fact that the lower numbers were not arranged in a similar manner may be because when he invented them he did not thoroughly comprehend this arrangement of the English.

In the accompanying set of these characters it will be observed that in large measure the tens are formed on the units as bases. There are, however, certain exceptions to this rule. For instance, ten, twenty, and thirty are evidently formed independently without taking the numbers one, two, and three into consideration. The remainder of the tens, however, from forty to ninety inclusive, are palpably formed directly from the units four to nine inclusive by the simple addition of some extra stroke or by the alteration of the unit character.

In view of the above-mentioned phonetic nature of this whole system it appears natural that these three numbers, ten, twenty, and thirty, should be different from their corresponding units, since the sounds involved in these three are very different from the sounds involved in the same units. Attention should be called also to the fact that the character thirty strongly resembles thirteen and that to the informant's mind the upper branching portion of the character thirteen represented the portion of this numeral which we pronounce 'thir," while the crowfoot below represented "teen," and that likewise

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the very similar lower portion of the character thirty represented the same sound "thir" while the crowfoot above it represented "ty."

It is therefore evident that, while this set of characters is strictly mnemonic in its use, it is formed on a phonetic basis. It is, as first stated, the original invention of a single individual and in no way represents a tribal characteristic, but with it at hand this individual appeared to be greatly assisted in his difficult task of learning to count in English, and so assiduously did he study his system that in the course of a short time he was able to count fluently from one to one hundred. For a considerable length of time he was unable to do this without the aid of his set of numeral characters, but ultimately, of course, he became so familiar with this that he repeated them easily from memory.

DWELLING SHOWING RAILING IN LIEU OF WALLS

[p.50(v)]

222
342

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

leaf, a covering of the most available material is employed. The material used for this temporary thatch is usually a palm-leaf, but generally of some species of palm which provides a much less durable thatch than that used for the permanent dwelling. 342 [824]

These ranchos serve two purposes almost exclusively, namely, temporary shelters while traveling, and temporary shelters for work which lies too far from home to make daily journeys to and from the regular dwelling profitable. When traveling it is infeasible, not to say dangerous, to sleep upon the ground and without some kind of a roof, owing to the torrential rains which are almost sure to occur during the night, as well as to the danger from poisonous reptiles and other creatures. If, therefore, in traveling, it is impossible to reach a house by night, an early halt is made and a rancho constructed. This is rarely necessary except in case of a long trip over an uninhabited mountain trail, since along the navigable rivers are houses which may be reached in the course of the day's travel. Here the traveler, whoever he may be, is always welcomed according to the custom of the country, the unwritten law of which requires that shelter be given any traveler, whether he be an old acquaintance or a total stranger. When it is necessary, in gathering rubber or pita, in making canoes, or in doing any other work, to journey so far from the permanent dwelling as to make daily travel back and forth unprofitable, a small rancho is built. Such a structure may be used for a short time or for several seasons, it being re-thatched as occasion demands In the [574] [609] [222]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

243 ears each. These bunches are then hung from the roof to prevent attacks by rodents. Whenever possible the corn is hung where the heat from the fire will keep it from molding.

177 241 262 The foregoing are the chief agricultural food products of the Cayapa. Excepting the maize and the potato, all were introduced since the Spanish conquest and are now systematically cultivated. In this connection should be mentioned certain palms which provide food of one kind or other, and which, while they cannot be strictly classed under the head of agriculture, since they are not planted and tended as are the other plants mentioned, are of considerable economic importance.

222 One of these palms is that commonly known by the Spanish name chonta dura and called kanō′tcī by the Cayapa. One variety of this produces a cluster of red fruits, another a cluster of yellow fruits. The Cayapa [262] name for the fruit of this palm is ka′imbī. Both ripen in the late summer months and are much esteemed as food. [413] By means of a long hooked bamboo pole, these clusters are torn from just below the crown of the palm, which is 252 usually quite tall. The fruits are boiled in a cooking-pot or kettle; the tough skin is then easily peeled off, leaving the yellowish mealy meat ready to eat. In the center of this, in turn, is a very hard nut which, when cracked, yields a toothsome white meat with a flavor resembling that of ripe coconut. The mealy yellow meat is usually eaten with a little salt, but is especially good when eaten with a thick syrup made from cane juice. It is also frequently boiled in this syrup, the result being a kind of conserved fruit.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

While the fruit of the chonta dura is never eaten raw, there is another palm that produces a fruit similar in form but of a grayish yellow color, which is considerably esteemed in its raw state. Neither of these species of palm is purposely planted by the Cayapa, but when found they are carefully protected, and the fruits are harvested year after year.

One other species of palm, a very tall, slender one, produces a fruit which it eaten raw. To secure this the palm is usually cut down with a machete, which is always carried by everyone going into the jungle.

One of the most important of the natural products of this part of Ecuador is the tagua, or ivory nut. These palms, called ti′ñ tcī or ti′mō būlō, are scattered throughout the jungle and are carefully conserved by the Indians, especially where a grove of them is found near a dwelling. The importance of this palm applies both to the Indians and to the negroes and whites. The ripe nuts, tīmbū pū′ka, or *t*imō pōka, are an article of commerce, and their exportation to the United States and to Europe, where they are extensively used in making buttons, is an important industry. To the Indians, however, the tagua serves at least three other uses. When its green burs approach maturity, they are gathered and taken to the house, where they are cut crosswise with a machete. These burs are covered by an outer shell, called ha′ñda kīka. They are very hard and can be cut only with difficulty. Each of the nuts in this stage of its development is an almost transparent gelatinous substance, called tcapī *t*a′ka, which, may

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

either be scooped out with the fingers or sipped. The nut is not used as a regular article of food, but more as a confection, its use being much restricted by the supply and the difficulty of opening the bur.

Another food derived from the tagua is the yellow, mealy and comparatively thin covering, called pĭm bûkû, or ya û'kû, which surrounds the ripe nut itself. This is peeled off and roasted over coals, if it is to be used immediately, or dried on the smoking rack above the fire if to be used later. The flavor of this roasted meat is similar to that of crisp, baked, fresh pork-rind. It is also frequently eaten raw, but in this state it has a rather unpleasant flavor, similar to that of raw acorns.

The gathering, curing, and use of the tagua leaf, which is almost exclusively employed in thatching houses, are described in the discussion of building construction.

A very good food is obtained from the palma real, called ûya'-tcĭ. This is a very large species and in form is perhaps the most beautiful of all the palms. Its very straight trunk, which sometimes reaches a height of seventy-five to a hundred feet, swells considerably at a point about midway of its height and resembles an entasic column surmounted by a huge umbrella-shape crown of leaves which wave gently in the breeze. In a large specimen of this species the trunk is from three to four feet in diameter at its base, swelling uniformly to a diameter perhaps one-third greater at the middle, and again decreasing toward the crown to a diameter somewhat less than that of the base. The mature leaves reach a length as great as twenty feet.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The crisp, pure white, young leaves from the center of the crown of this palm are much esteemed as a food by the Cayapa. To secure these, however, it is necessary to cut down the whole plant, which is done with a machete or preferably an ax. The large, mature leaves of the crown are cut and pried away until the inner part of the trunk is reached. These outer, old leaves of the crown are even more fibrous and resistant than the trunk itself, and as it is almost impossible to cut them away with a machete, an ax is usually necessary. Owing to their great weight, and especially to the interlacing of the hard and very strong fibers at the bases of the leaves, a couple of chisel-pointed sticks, six feet or so in length, are needed to pry away the outer leaves after the mid-ribs have once been cut through with the ax. This inner trunk and those inner leaves which have already begun to unfold are next cut away, until the very young, succulent leaves, which as yet have not commenced to unfold and which appear in the form of a solid, slender cone of pure white, are reached. This cone often measures at its base as much as ten to fifteen inches in diameter, and may be even ten or twelve feet in length. It is a solid mass of crisp white matter, finer in texture than the innermost part of a head of cabbage and with a flavor resembling that of almonds. It is ordinarily eaten raw, either with or without salt, although a very good dish is also prepared by boiling it.

The palma real yields another useful product. The tough fibers, called nifitcû'a, which grow along the sides of the base of the mid-rib of the mature leaf, and which,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

as above mentioned, interlace with the fibers of adjoining leaves in such manner as to make it necessary to pry the leaves apart with wooden bars, are strong and pliable, and are woven into burden-bands by which heavy loads are carried. These fibers often attain a length of about four feet and are possessed of tensile strength sufficient to enable their use as strings on the wooden harp which is now made to a very limited extent by the Cayapa. This instrument was borrowed by them from the Indians of the interior, who in turn copied it from the Spanish conquerors.

Another palm, found to a limited extent along the river, is the coconut, called after the Spanish, kō'kō-tci. It does not, however, thrive at any considerable distance from the ocean, consequently few palms are found even at so short a distance up the Rio Cayapas as the mouth of the Onzole. Pl. CXXXI presents a view looking up-stream at the confluence of the Rio Onzole with the Rio Cayapas, and, upon the projection of land between them, the hacienda of one of the more prosperous of the negroes of the region. Several coconut palms appear in front of the house. Coconuts grow well along the immediate coast, and there are here large groves, the nuts being shipped to nearby villages and to points even as far away as Esmeraldas. They are purchased to a certain extent by the Indians, by whom they are used in very limited quantities as food, more especially for the so-called coconut-milk which is made from the ripe nuts.

In addition to the foregoing food-producing plants,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

these acts, combined with the spraying and smoking, gradually drive the spirits from the locality.

Another important product of this region is pita, called sa'nō, by the Cayapa, a plant resembling somewhat the yucca of the Southwestern desert region of the United States, but with leaves which sometimes reach a length of fifteen or sixteen feet. It is usually grown at some distance back from the river, and seems to thrive best in the dense shade of the jungle. When once well started it requires very little attention other than the cutting away of undergrowth and clearing of the field which is incidental to the harvesting of the leaves. These leaves yield long, very strong fibers, called sañ bu'tyū, which are twisted into two-ply strings. These are much used in net-making, in binding the selvage of textiles, for fish-lines, and for a variety of other purposes where very strong cord is required. The leaves are cut close to the ground and brought to the house in bundles such as those illustrated in pl. LXVI, where a large and a small bundle of the freshly cut, long leaves are shown leaning against the side of the house. Each leaf yields a large number of fibers, the laborious preparation of which will be discussed in speaking of string-making.

While pita is the strongest material and is considered the best from all points of view, there is another material, called in the local Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa señgi'lya, which is used especially where string or rope of large diameter and of moderate strength is desired, such as for hammocks. This material is derived from the bark of a tree and is obtained by beating in a manner

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

222 283 similar to that used in making the bark cloth of the region. When the fibers are beaten out and prepared for twisting into cordage, they are usually stored away in bundles, such as that shown in pl. CXIX, 2, until needed.

222 287 An important economic plant of the Cayapa country is that from which is made the bark cloth called by the local Spanish name damajaua and by the Cayapa name tû'ckî. This is beaten from the bark of an indigenous tree called tû'ckîtci. The tree is felled and a section of the bark the length desired, usually six to eight feet, is carefully removed, being split along one side only. The bark may then be beaten immediately upon the same log, but it is ordinarily rolled up and taken to the house where a log is kept especially for this beating, which is done with a short maul, called tatci wima'so, such as that shown in fig. 6. One side of the maul, at least, is cut diagonally with grooves and corresponding ridges. The beating must be done within a few hours after the bark is taken from the tree, or before it dries considerably. Placing the strip of bark crosswise upon the log, it is beaten with considerable force with the grooved side of the maul, which is held at an angle of about forty-five degrees to the length of the bark. After beating one short section of the bark in this manner, it is moved across the log far enough to bring a new section into place, and in this way every part of the bark is reached.

287 4:3

287 FIG. 6.—Beater for bark cloth

5: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

species now used, the one producing a globular fruit called wa'iyū, and the other an ellipsoidal fruit called cā'lya, were introduced here from Colombia. Every house is provided with one or more of these trees, and usually at least one of each of the two species. These large gourd-like fruits are produced in considerable numbers by such a tree and find a variety of uses. They are gathered when just ready to turn from green to ripe and are immediately hollowed out into utensils of several kinds. The details of manufacture and the uses of these utensils are treated on pages 166–173.

Another fruit, some species of which are said to be indigenous and some introduced, which is found abundantly in this region, is what is called by the local Spanish name guabo or guaba. This requires no cultivation, but the trees are carefully guarded against destruction. It is rarely if ever purposely planted, but grows from the accidental dropping of seeds. In the vicinity of almost every house there are several trees of one or more of these species. The fruits, which grow in long pods, are much esteemed and are almost invariably eaten raw. Each variety has its own special name, as follows:

Cayapa	*Spanish*
mactē'-pa cīlyū,	guabo de macheton (machete guabo, so named on account of the shape of the pod).
ni'ñga cīlyū,	guabo de tacoano.
pī' cīlyū,	guabo dulce (sweet guabo). The Cayapa name signifies "water guabo."
sa' cīlyū,	guabo agria (sour guabo). The Cayapa name also signifies "sour guabo."
pū' cīlyū,	guabo.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

222 Of these species the one most commonly found about the houses and the most used is pū' cīlyū, a wide-spreading tree reaching a height of about forty feet. A general view of this species is shown in pl. v, in which the broad, branching top of one of the trees is shown prominently against the sky toward the left of the center of the picture. The habits of growth of the other varieties are similar to this.

247 301 [529] A species of small Compositæ, called le'lyū, which somewhat resembles the marigold, is grown with considerable care, its special use being to provide decorative flowers for fiestas. The flowers are made up into long garlands which are draped about the altar of the church or are worn about the necks of those celebrating the fiesta. They are also sometimes inserted in the hair, over the ears, or about the clothing.

249 Upon the drying platform attached to the house there is almost always a fragment of an old canoe or some broken pots or other utensils in which are grown several of the various species of medicinal herbs, such as limoncillo, or of other plants valued for the scent of their leaves or seeds, or plants used as teas.

245 242 In addition to those already mentioned in greater detail, there are several other introduced fruits, such as the papaya, the caimito, the orange, the lemon, the lime, and the sour sap, which are grown so rarely by the Cayapa as to make them almost negligible in a consideration of the vegetal products of the people. They spring up almost always by the accidental falling of seeds in favorable soil, rather than by intentional

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

316
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in his craftsmanship. The less particular artisan simply paints rude designs with a small coconut-bark brush.

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The designs, called kä'm bilya, used upon canoes are varied. They are largely geometric, consisting chiefly of dots, lines, and triangles, although sometimes animal figures are employed. These last, however, appear only on those canoes made by the Cayapa for sale. On pl. LXXIII-LXXV are shown most of the designs used by the Cayapa on canoes made for their own use. They bear no special symbolic significance, none of them is typical of any special group of people, and no individual ownership is connected with any of them. In large measure they bear no names other than the generic kä'm bilya, literally "canoe design."

237

As before mentioned, beva is the wax made by certain small bees common to the region. It is called amü'ya, and is of two kinds, black and yellow, the latter being much preferred. The particular bees which produce the beva are of four different species. A small black bee, which lives in hollow trees and is called paba ta'nda, makes the wax of the best quality and in greater quantities than any of the others. Another small black species, called ta'nda also, lives likewise in hollow trees and makes much more honey than wax, but a certain amount of its wax is used. A third species is called citomi'ski; it is also black, but builds its nest in the ground and its wax is used to a limited extent. The fourth species is a small yellow bee called amü a'ma; its wax is black.

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Beva is obtained by smoking out the bees and chopping

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

237 open the log or chopping down the tree. None of
222 these species of bees makes honey of any particular value, hence they are sought almost exclusively for the wax. The bees are very vicious, and therefore a certain amount of danger attends the process of obtaining the brea. In smoking out the bees, ordinarily a wide strip of green bark, about three feet long, or the large blossom bract of a large species of palm, is used as a case in

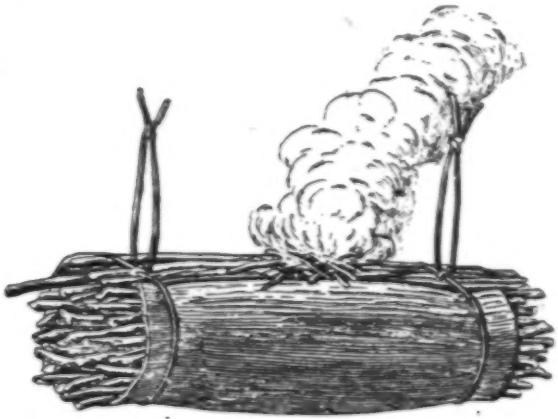

FIG. 12.—Device for smoking out bees

which to place the green or wet wood and coals used to make the smudge. Near its ends this bundle is securely bound by two pieces of pitigua which project enough to make loops about fifteen inches in length, by which the apparatus may be carried about. When completed, this smudging device (fig. 12) is about ten or twelve inches in diameter and three feet in length. It is taken by a man, who has wound about his head and the other exposed parts of his body handkerchiefs or other pieces of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

cloth, and is placed near the opening at which the bees enter and leave the tree or log. The smudge apparatus is then fanned until a volume of smoke is produced, which in time drives away or stupefies the bees and makes possible the taking of the brea. The wax is found in large blocks, usually at the bottom of the nest, and is cut out with an ax or a machete. It keeps indefinitely, and is stored either in the house or is buried in the ground until needed.

Shortly before or sometimes just after painting the canoe with brea, a hole is cut in the middle of the prow at a point just back of the slightly raised transverse line upon its upper surface, for the cable by which the canoe is moored. This cable, called kondō′pī, consists usually of from two to four strands of carefully selected pitigua twisted together. Such a cable of three strands is shown in pl. XCI, 1. The length of the cable usually varies according to its diameter and the number of its strands, governed by the size of the canoe for which it is made. For very small canoes, frequently a single strand of pitigua is sufficient, but in most cases a two-strand cable is required; very large canoes have three-strand and sometimes even four-strand cables. In making a cable it is necessary first to twist each of the pitigua strands separately, the bark of the strands first having been removed. By means of this twisting the strand is rendered pliable, as well as stronger, since the fibers, which ordinarily would be parallel, are forced to twist around one another. The twisted strand is now wound round a hooked stick, such as that used in cleaning the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

In the second class of material may be included the thin bark of five species of endogenous plants: rampile, hoja blanca, hoja negra, chocolatilla, and crinande, which are used for making the lighter and less durable baskets, especially the hamper-shape baskets such as those shown in pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 6, 10, 11, as well as diminutive trinket baskets like those in figs. 15–17 (pp. 200-201). These materials, especially rampile, are used also in making baskets of other forms, but requiring no great durability or strength. Baskets of this class are shown in figs. 7–9 of pl. XCIII. Rampile is also extensively employed in making fans and mats. In the third class of materials is the leaf of the palm known in Spanish as chapil, sometimes also called milpeso, and, by the Cayapa, kūla′pō. Two forms of basket, one conical, the other square-sided (pl. XCII, 2, 5 respectively), are made of this material. Such baskets are suitable only for temporary use, since after a day or two the material becomes dry and brittle; while green, however, it is pliable and fairly strong. The conical basket (fig. 2) serves a ceremonial as well as a utilitarian purpose, being employed by shamans in their medicine practices.

The most important of the various basketry materials is the pitigua. This durable fiber is derived from the long roots of a single species of aerophitic plant which usually grows in the upper branches of trees and sends its long, slender roots to the ground. Pitigua is much sought for various purposes by the negroes and whites of the region, as well as by the Indians, so that along the lower course of the Rio Cayapas it has become somewhat scarce. When the plant is found, however, its roots are

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

easily gathered, since by simply pulling on them they usually break off at or near the plant itself, and often a root seventy-five or even a hundred feet in length is obtained. It is employed not only for basket-making but for many other purposes, such as for binding together the parts of a house-frame (figs. 2–5), for binding the palm-leaf thatch upon the roof (pl. VII), and indeed wherever material for tying or binding is needed. It serves also the many purposes for which civilized people use string and rope, as for mooring canoes, securing animals, etc. Pitigua fiber is practically indestructible so far as dampness is concerned, and may even be kept wet for a considerable time without rotting. If kept from direct contact with water, however, it will last for years even in this humid climate, as is shown by the bindings on the frames of some of the Cayapa houses that have been in use for ten or fifteen years at least.

When gathered these roots are usually made up into large coils (pl. XCI, 4) and laid away in a dry place until needed. To render them pliable they are soaked over night in the river. In two forms of baskets the warp elements are made of the smaller whole roots of the pitigua, otherwise the material is always split into strips or splints, which are prepared as follows:

The bark of the root being first removed, its inner woody portion is split into long, thin ribbons. The individual fibers of the root are extremely long and straight, hence when once started a ribbon can be split the full length of the root with almost perfect evenness. Usually one end of the root is taken up and split with a knife or machete, for a distance of an inch or two, into

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 trimmed to approximately equal widths, but for ordinary baskets this is not deemed necessary.

222 285 824 In case the pitigua root is not available, there are other parasitic plants which send aerial roots to the ground that may be used for temporary baskets.

Of the less durable and lighter materials used for making hamper-shape baskets, the most important is rampile, which comes from the bark of the petiole of a fan-leaf palm which produces thin strips from one-eighth to one-half inch in width and from three to twelve feet in length. In splitting off this bark, the circumference of the end of the stem is cut with a sharp instrument into as many segments as the desired width of the strips demands. Usually the strips on several stems are started at one time and then the bark of each is split off by pulling with the fingers one strip after another. In splitting the bark in this manner, a certain amount of the inner succulent fiber of the stem is taken with it. To remove this a number of strips, perhaps twenty, are grasped between the great and second toe in such manner that one end of the bunch of strips reaches almost to the body. Thus held, the strips are taken in turn and the succulent portions cut transversely at a point a couple of inches from the end. The strips are now taken rapidly one by one and the bark is peeled from the succulent fibers. It remains only to size the strips, that is, to bring them to an even width. This is done by splitting, since in this material, as in the pitigua, the fibers are long and straight, so that when once started they part evenly the full length of the strip. It is rarely necessary to do any special cutting and trimming to make these strips of proper widths.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The material of this class next in importance to the rampile is that obtained from the petiole of the hoja blanca, called by the Cayapa fī'ba hakī, signifying, as does the Spanish term, "white leaf." This plant has a long pinnate leaf somewhat similar to that of the banana, but with a long, round, slender, and fairly hard petiole. It derives its name from the fact that the under-surface of the leaf-blade has a thick coating of white bloom. The strips of this material used in basket-making are obtained from the petiole of the leaf in the same manner as are those of the rampile, except that before splitting off the bark it is scraped. This removes a thin, succulent outer coat of light-green, and leaves the inner creamy-white bark which is hard and tough, though very thin. This hoja blanca bark is used chiefly for making small hamper-shape baskets (figs. 15–17) used as receptacles for trinkets, though it is frequently employed in making fans, especially the finer ones. It is much less durable than is the rampile, and for that reason, as also on account of its thinness, it is not adapted to the manufacture of large hampers or of mats.

The blades of the leaves of hoja blanca find a variety of uses, chief among which is as a covering for cargoes of canoes to protect them against rain. The leaves are much tougher than are those of most plants of a similar kind in this region and shed water perfectly. They are used even for repairing leaks in house-thatch, though they are never employed for entirely thatching a permanent building.

Hoja blanca is the only basket material which is ever artificially colored. The strips are stained with red

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 386 achote, the plant which produces the red face-paint used by the Cayapa. This coloring matter is rubbed on the stem after it has been scraped down to the hard white layer of the bark and before the bark is stripped from the stem. The colored strips are used occasionally as a means of producing the geometric designs used in small hamper-shape baskets and in fans.

285 824 Three other plants with a habit of growth similar to that of the hoja blanca occasionally furnish materials for the hamper-shape baskets. They are the chocolatilla, called by the Cayapa tcōkōla′te, which yields a brown material; the hoja negra, called e′lūñ hakī; and the crinande, called viñga′tcī. The material in each of these plants comes from the petioles of the leaves. They are obtained and manipulated in the same manner as is that derived from the hoja blanca. None of the three, however, is ever colored.

285 482 [222] As above mentioned, the leaf of a large species of palm, called in Spanish chapil, is used on rare occasions for basket-making. Should a person be out hunting, or for any other reason be at a considerable distance from his house and unexpectedly find some fruit or other commodity which he cares to take home, he may, by securing a couple of the large leaves of the chapil, quickly fashion a temporary burden-basket, such as either of those shown in pl. XCII, 2, 5, in which to carry them. Such a basket is never kept for further use, for as soon as the leaves become dry they are very brittle and entirely worthless.

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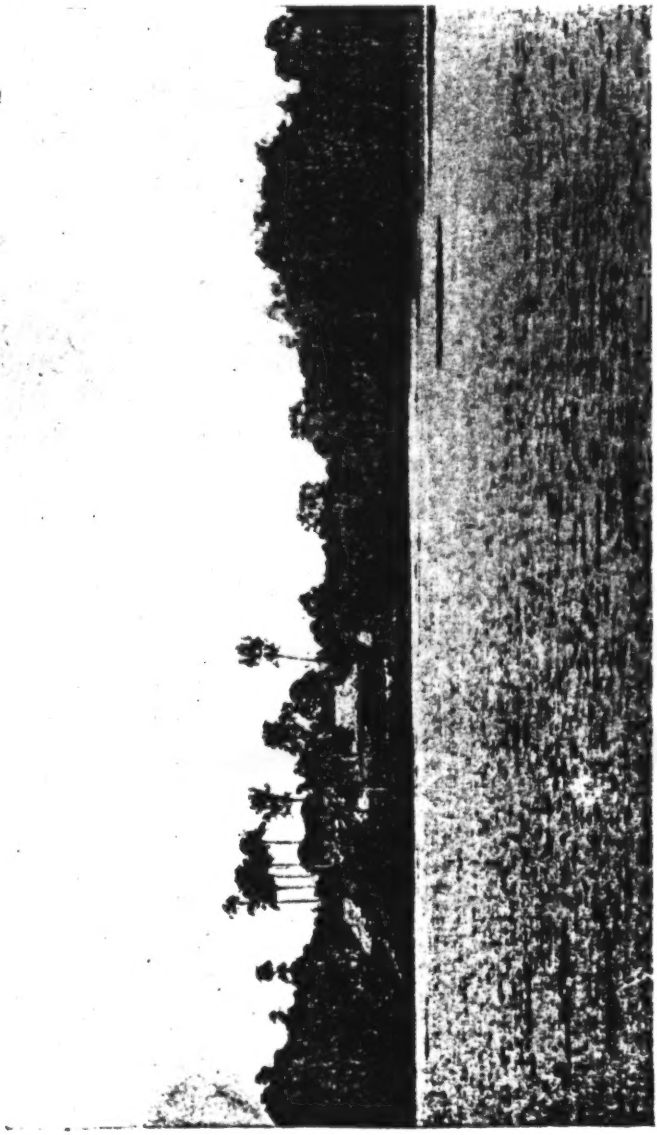
PL CXXXI



BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

HACIENDA OF A NEGRO IN A GROVE OF COCONUT PALMS

ripe, but most often it is boiled green and then pounded on a mortar. Bits of meat and/or fish may be added to the pulp. In this form it is called bala by both Negroes and Cayapa. In the ripe form, it may be boiled and treated as bala, or it may be eaten raw. Children eat enormous amounts of ripe plantain, and they never seem to become satiated. Important adjuncts to the subsistence pattern are the traveling merchants who bring canoe-loads of dried fish, clams, bread, cookies, sugar, and candy as well as smuggled Colombian cloth and clothing, up from the coast.

Hunting is a very important activity, and most Cayapa men spend one or two days a week tracking game. The main animals are large rodents called guanta /walámbu/, a smaller rodent called guatin /kúyu/, peccary /netúšu/, jaguar /kéla/, puma /l^{y}ukéla/, monkey /wášu/, squirrel /yámbu/, and the armadillo /čil^{y}ámbu/. Large birds are shot whenever possible and include toucans /čandútu/, the wild turkey /éle/, and a hawk /huyál^{y}u/. At the present time, hunting is done almost entirely with muzzle-loading shotguns. Hunting is generally a small operation involving no more than three

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent canefields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported.

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Cayapa* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the priests visit the *Cayapa*.

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive.

In addition to permanent houses, small temporary ranchos are sometimes built when people are far from home. The houses in the "village" are standard structures, but the church follows Spanish ways: it rests on the ground and has walls.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Although *Cayapa* tradition records a period when the people wore blankets and even ponchos, today their clothes are scanty (pl. 59, *bottom*). The men wear a tight, small, white garment, made like bathing trunks, and a thin gaudy shirt of calico, with short and very tight sleeves. On festive occasions vests of European cut and manufacture are frequently donned over the shirt, and so are felt fedoras.

Women wear a long skirt of native cloth, girded with a narrow fringed belt. As in the Highlands, several skirts of different weights are sometimes worn. Head, shoulders, and chest are usually left bare.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

At an early age the girls are instructed in household duties of all kinds, and often begin to spin and weave, as well as to make pottery, basketry, and other articles, at the age of five or six years. They also take a hand in agriculture when very small. As they grow older and become more proficient in these various arts, they enter more and more into the regular daily work of the home, until they finally marry, which they usually do at an early age, often at about seventeen or eighteen years.

The daily life of the men is also a busy one. They do their share of the work in the fields, besides being industrious hunters and fishermen. They are expert woodworkers, making very excellent canoes, paddles, benches, images used as toys by children, musical instruments, certain cooking utensils, and various other objects of wood. They make and tend the fish corrals as well as set the seines when the water is in a favorable condition to divert fish to certain places. In addition to trapping and netting fish, they also do much fishing with hook and line. They hunt a great deal and procure a very important part of the food supply in that way, for the jungle abounds in many kinds of game. When about the house, they are, like the women, almost always busy at something, as adzing a canoe, weaving a net, or doing some one of the many kinds of work which fall to the man's lot in the Cayapa division of labor. Since the introduction of needles and thread among the Cayapa, the men have taken up sewing and have become very efficient tailors for their simple needs.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Food and its Preparation

241 262 The territory of the Cayapa is abundantly supplied by nature with both vegetal and animal foods, the former being the more important. In addition, various introduced vegetal foods are now raised by the natives, the most notable of which are plantains, bananas, sugar-cane, yuca, pineapples, cacao, and sweet potatoes. There are also various introduced fruits, such as guabos, caimitos, sapotis, papayas, and, to a limited extent, coconuts. In addition to these, many species of wild plants and trees yield foods; especially is this true of the palms, such as chonta dura and palma real.

224 262 The jungle abounds in a great variety of mammals and birds, most of which furnish food for the Indians. The mammals mostly used are the guanta and the guatin, two large species of rodents, the peccary, the wild-hog, the deer, the jaguar, the puma, the ocelot, a small species of red squirrel, a large species of wood-rat, the sloth, the ant-eater, and the armadillo. The birds most used as food are two species of grouse, two species of wild turkey, two species of toucan, and several species of dove. The rivers abound in various kinds of fish, several of which are eaten by the Cayapa. A species of lobster is also plentiful in the streams, and there is a very small mussel-like bivalve which is consumed to a limited extent. Reptiles of all kinds are shunned although the boa and certain other species of large serpents occur in the region. The iguana and its eggs are much prized as food, and numbers of these large lizards are taken in the season when they come down

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

to the river to lay their eggs. The large eggs of the alligator are also much in favor, and it is said by some that alligator flesh is edible. The eggs and flesh of another and slightly different species of amphibian, called tulicio in the local Spanish, are likewise used for food. In addition to these foods there are certain insects which, either full-grown or in the larval state, are much esteemed.

Various methods are employed in the preparation of these foods. The plantain, the most important food product of the Cayapa, is prepared in a variety of ways. It is almost invariably gathered while green, and is regularly eaten in that condition, though ripe plantain is frequently used for making a kind of gruel, and occasionally it is roasted. The usual method of preparing the green plantains is by boiling, the outer covering of the fruit having first been removed. They are thus cooked for from a half to three-quarters of an hour in a pottery vessel, or nowadays more frequently in an iron or a granite-iron kettle, closely covered with a green leaf called ũ'tya hakĭ, which is very tough and is used in many ways in the preparation of food. It is impossible to cook green plantain so that it is tender, hence the usual mode of preparing it is to beat the hard, cooked fruit with a stone muller upon a mealing stone (pl. LXII, 1, 2), mixing and kneading it meanwhile with the hand. Usually this beaten plantain, which is called bala, is eaten without seasoning, although a little salt may be added; or it may be mixed with dried meat during the pounding. The boiled green plantain is also frequently eaten without

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

planting. They are, however, all eaten raw and to a limited extent by the Cayapa whenever obtainable.

Hunting

In the Cayapa region, where game of various sorts is so abundant, hunting is a practice of considerable importance. This is now done almost entirely with old-fashioned muzzle-loading shotguns, which have supplanted blow-guns almost entirely. In aboriginal times the blow-gun was the chief weapon employed in hunting, and a few of them are still in use, especially by the boys in hunting small birds. In addition to the blow-gun the Cayapa say that they formerly had lances made entirely of the wood of certain hard palms, and that more recently they used the bow and arrow. They maintain that they originally did not know the use of the bow and arrow, but that they became acquainted with these only after coming down from the high mountains to the vicinity of their present abode, which was then occupied by another people. The bow and arrow appear to have been comparatively little used at any time by the Cayapa, but formerly the lance was much used in hunting wild hogs and one or two other species of game. In fact it is still used by some in hunting the guanta, a species of large rodent which lives in burrows.

The blow-gun, called by the Cayapa pitcə'ə, is a slender tube varying from about six to nine feet in length, made of palm-wood wrapped with pitigua and the whole covered with brea, the black waterproof wax used especially for calking canoes. The blow-gun tapers

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

224 411

slightly toward its point, the opposite end being provided with a flaring mouth-piece two to three inches in diameter. It is made a follows: The innermost part consists of two pieces of palm-wood, each containing a groove, and forming, when placed together, a perfectly even-bored tube about three-eighths of an inch in diameter and with a wall half to three-quarters of an inch thick. The two halves of this tube are bound firmly together at from three to five points along its length by means of thin, narrow strips of pitigua, or with one of the stout fibers from the base of the leaf of the palma real. This binding is merely to hold the two halves of the tube together while they are being completely wrapped, which is done with strips of pitigua about one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness and one-quarter of an inch in width. It is wrapped tightly and very evenly from end to end in such manner as to completely cover the wood. This spiral wrapping of so long an object [384] requires a great length of these narrow strips. As the end of one strip is reached, the end of the next is inserted in such a manner as to be held firmly in place and to make each strip bind the next. This pitigua wrapping is in turn covered and made waterproof by a coating of brea, or wax, as above mentioned. On some of the blow-guns a hump is made in the brea at a point a short distance in front of the mouth-piece. This serves as a kind of sight by which to take aim, though obviously it is not a very accurate gauge, consequently the aiming is largely a matter of calculation by the hunter, and accuracy is acquired only by long practice. The

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

mouth-piece of the blow-gun is made of a more or less funnel-shape piece of wood which fits to the larger end of the gun. The implement is shot by blowing the breath suddenly, though not too forcibly, through this mouth-piece.

In this tube are shot very light palm-wood darts, called mō'le or hambī tsū'ta, a foot or so in length and not much thicker than a heavy knitting-needle. Their lightness is overcome and the darts are given force by means of a weight of clay, called ya 'tū'mīta, placed near the point. To make them fit in the tube in such a manner as to be air-tight, and thus give the air an opportunity to exert its force upon them, a small wad of cotton, called kūmī ḥ'na, is wound about the dart near its middle. One of these darts is shown in fig. 7, *a*. Near the point may be seen the pear-shape clay weight, and about its middle the cotton wad. Such a small shaft would be of little service even

FIG. 7.—*a*, Dart of blow-gun; *b*, Quiver for blow-gun.

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

in killing small birds if it were not for the fact that its tip is poisoned. The tip is sharply pointed and is covered for perhaps three-quarters of an inch back from its point with a vegetal poison called ba'mbi, consisting of the juice of a large tree growing in only a few places in the vicinity. This sap is gathered after the manner of rubber milk or the sande juice used in making torches. It is very viscous, and runs very slowly from a cut in the tree; in fact it is claimed that a few ounces only may be obtained from a tree in the course of a day. The juice dries within a few days, becoming solid and black or dark-brown in color. To get this into such a consistency that it may be applied to the points of the darts, a few drops of lemon or lime juice are added on one side of the receptacle in which it is kept, and a small amount of the poison worked up with this juice into a paste by means of a small paddle. The points are then dipped into this and revolved in order that they may be completely covered with it. They are then carefully laid out with a low support just back of the point so as to keep the poison from touching anything, and sufficiently low to prevent the paste from flowing back from the tip to any extent. The paste dries evenly around the point in about an hour and finally becomes very hard. When in this condition it will not rub off with ordinary friction, but immediately it comes into contact with liquid it dissolves. Thus, when a dart enters the body of a bird, a small mammal, or even a man, the poison quickly passes into the circulation. It is said to be very virulent poison and that

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

death ensues within a few minutes, even in men or large [278]
mammals. The palm-wood from which the darts are 224
made is very tough and ordinarily would break with 411
difficulty, hence one of them shot into the body of an animal, especially a man or a monkey, could be easily withdrawn. To overcome this, two slight incisions are made around the shaft, just back of the poisoned tip, about a quarter of an inch apart, so that if the shaft enters a body it is almost certain to break with the force of the blow at one or the other of these incisions. In case the dart does not break of its own accord, it is quite sure to break if an attempt is made to extract it, and in either event the poisoned tip is left in the flesh of the victim. Great care must be exercised in making and in handling these darts in order that the owner himself does not get even a small amount of the poison into his system through an abrasion of the skin or by pricking himself with one of the sharp points, for it is claimed that such an accident would almost surely prove fatal. However, without thorough experimentation with this poison it is impossible to vouch for the extreme virulence attributed to it by the Cayapa. There seems, in fact, some reason to doubt its very rapid action on the larger mammals, though in the case of small mammals and birds it is undoubtedly very effective.

A small carrying case, or quiver, called ha'mbī pa''kī, such as that shown in fig. 7, *b*, is made especially for blow-gun darts. It consists of a bamboo tube, about an inch longer than the darts, which is filled with soft fibers from the young leaves of a certain species of palm,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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the fibers being placed vertically in the tube. This filler is called hambī yata′pī. The palm fibers protect the points of the darts and also prevent abrasion of the clay weights. The rear or unpoisoned ends of the darts project an inch or so above the filling, the projecting end serving as an easy means of extracting the darts as needed. In the above mentioned illustration the ends of some of the darts are shown projecting above the rim of the quiver. In actual use the ends of the darts are usually below the level of this rim and are thus afforded all possible protection. In making the drawing for this illustration it seemed desirable to show the ends of some of the darts, hence they were pulled up into view above the rim.

The usual method is to poison the points and make the incisions above mentioned directly back of the points, and then to place these incomplete darts in a mass in the center of the quiver. Attached to the quiver is a small receptacle, called *t*ō′kūbī, usually a little wickerwork basket, in which clay is carried. Also there is attached to the quiver a small calabash or other receptacle for cotton, called hambī kō-a′īū. These appurtenances enable the hunter to put the clay weight and the wad on the darts as fast as needed. This is necessary, since if they were prepared in any considerable numbers and not used, the clay and the cotton would be of no service later. Usually three or four darts at a time are weighted and wadded ready for use and then carefully placed, each one by itself, near the outer margin of the palm-fiber filler. The quiver is suspended upon the hunter's back by

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

means of a string, called ya''tcua, which passes about the neck. 224 411

The blow-gun is carried over the shoulder or in the hand, but always with the point forward, since if it were reversed there would be danger of the mouth-piece being broken in passing through the jungle. When not in use the blow-gun is carefully keep in such position that no uneven strain comes upon any part of it, causing it to bend and thus to spoil its efficiency. It is frequently placed in the thatch under the eaves or in the loft of the house, but often it is suspended vertically by means of a string.

The blow-gun is an excellent and effective weapon for hunting all sorts of mammals and birds which live in trees or otherwise above the ground level, but for those which live always upon the ground and for birds on the wing this instrument is of little use, since it is not feasible to shoot horizontally or, in fact, at any considerable angle to the perpendicular, owing to the deflection due to gravity. Especially is this the case if the object shot at is small. The best results are obtained by getting almost directly under the object to be shot at and by this means practically overcoming the influence of gravity. Thus the blow-gun is especially used in shooting those mammals and birds, such as monkeys, squirrels, guatins, parrots, toucans, and a variety of other species, which are almost always to be found in trees.

The Cayapa were at all times inclined to be peaceable, but wars were sometimes forced upon the most peace- 126 721

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

726 loving. It is said that on those rare occasions when the Cayapa engaged in hostilities, the blow-gun was used as a weapon, though the lance, called tsū'ta, seems to have been preferred. This weapon, six or seven feet in length, is made entirely of palm-wood, with a simple, 411 very sharp point. A rude lance is used even at the 224 present time in hunting certain mammals, especially the guanta (Cayapa wala'mbū), a large rodent which lives in a burrow. Armed with a lance, the hunter sits near the entrance to one of these burrows until the guanta comes out to feed, when he is able to spear it. On rare occasions also the lance is still used in hunting the wild hog and the peccary, which are both still fairly abundant in the jungle.

The bow and arrow, the use of which is claimed to have been derived by the Cayapa from their old enemies, the former inhabitants of the Rio Cayapas, is not very clearly remembered by them, for the reason that it has not been in use for many years. The arrows are said to have been about a yard in length with shafts made from a species of wild cane, called by the Spanish name caña brava and by the Cayapa nya'nyī. The points were made of hard palm-wood. The bow and arrow appear, however, to have been comparatively little used by them at any time, and almost never as an implement for hunting. No names other than the Spanish terms for these two weapons could be learned.

224 No nets or snares are used by the Cayapa in the capture of mammals or birds, and only one form of trap is employed. This is the small deadfall shown in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

fig. 8, used for catching small mammals, such as wood-rats, which abound in almost all parts of the jungle, and especially in places which have been recently cleared or about the edges of an old clearing. In large measure the boys build and tend these deadfalls, one or two boys sometimes having as many as half a dozen of them. They are constructed as follows: Two rows of upright sticks of almost any material are set just far enough

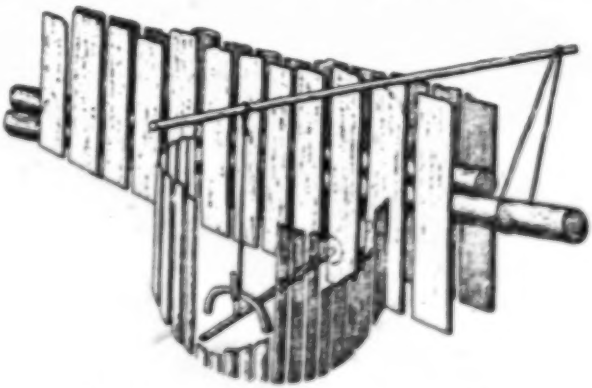

FIG. 8.—Deadfall trap for small mammals

apart to permit the free rise and fall of a log or a heavy section of the stem of a plantain or banana palm. These two rows of sticks form what may be termed the fences of the trap. To one end of this log, which is usually from four to six feet in length, is attached a cord or a piece of pitigua, which in turn is fastened to one end of the stick used as a lever. One of the upright sticks in one of the fences above mentioned is so notched as to receive this lever, which passes diagonally across it and out so that its other end is opposite a point about one-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

●224 third of the way down the log and perhaps a foot to one side of the fence. Another string or piece of pitigua is attached to this outer end of the lever and passed down to a small trigger by which the trap is sprung. The drawing for the illustration here given was so made as to show the manner in which the trigger and the bait-arm are set. This was done by cutting away in the drawing a part of the semicircular fence erected at the side of the trap to protect the trigger apparatus from being set off by some animal prowling about outside. A twig is set into the ground in a semicircular arch directly below the lever arm above mentioned. Through this arch passes the outer end of the bait-arm, the inner end of which extends through the fence which runs along the side of the log. This inner end bears, directly under the log, a piece of plantain or other bait. To hold this bait in its proper position, which is an inch or two from the ground, the outer end of the bait-arm is stuck into the ground very lightly. Its position must be firm enough to hold it sufficiently so that the pressure of the trigger upon it will not force it out of place and spring the trap; but it must not be too firm, lest the nibbling of the game at the bait will not move it sufficiently to release the trigger. The trigger is set vertically under the arch, and with its lower end resting upon this bait-arm, as is shown in the illustration, in such a manner that a very slight movement of the latter will release the trigger, which, operating through the lever, allows the log of the deadfall to drop upon the game. Often two or three rats are caught at one time with this device, which is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

made more effective, in case the single log above mentioned is not sufficiently heavy, by superimposing upon it another which not only adds weight and enables the trap to kill larger animals, but accelerates its action and diminishes the possibility of the game escaping after the trap is sprung but before the log can fall. Such a second log is usually a foot or so shorter than the other.

Fishing

The numerous streams of the Cayapa region are well stocked with various kinds of fish, many of which are used as food by the Indians. They are at present caught by six different methods. There are three types of nets, the "re," or large set-net, the atarraya or conical casting-net, and the small dip-net, used incidentally in connection with the set-net. These are all used to a considerable extent, especially the set-net; but the "corral," or impounding trap, the pole and line, and the "gig," or fish-spear, are much more generally used. Of these six devices, four only, the set-net, the dip-net, the corral, and the gig, appear to be of aboriginal origin.

The re, called in Cayapa wa'kū, is, like the other two nets used by the Cayapa, made of pita fiber string and is used especially in catching a very excellent species of shad (Spanish, sabalo), called by the Cayapa awī'lī. For this purpose it is made with a mesh of about three inches, and varies in length from about twenty to sixty feet according to the width of the particular estero in which it is to be used. Usually near a house there are one or more esteros where shad are fairly abundant,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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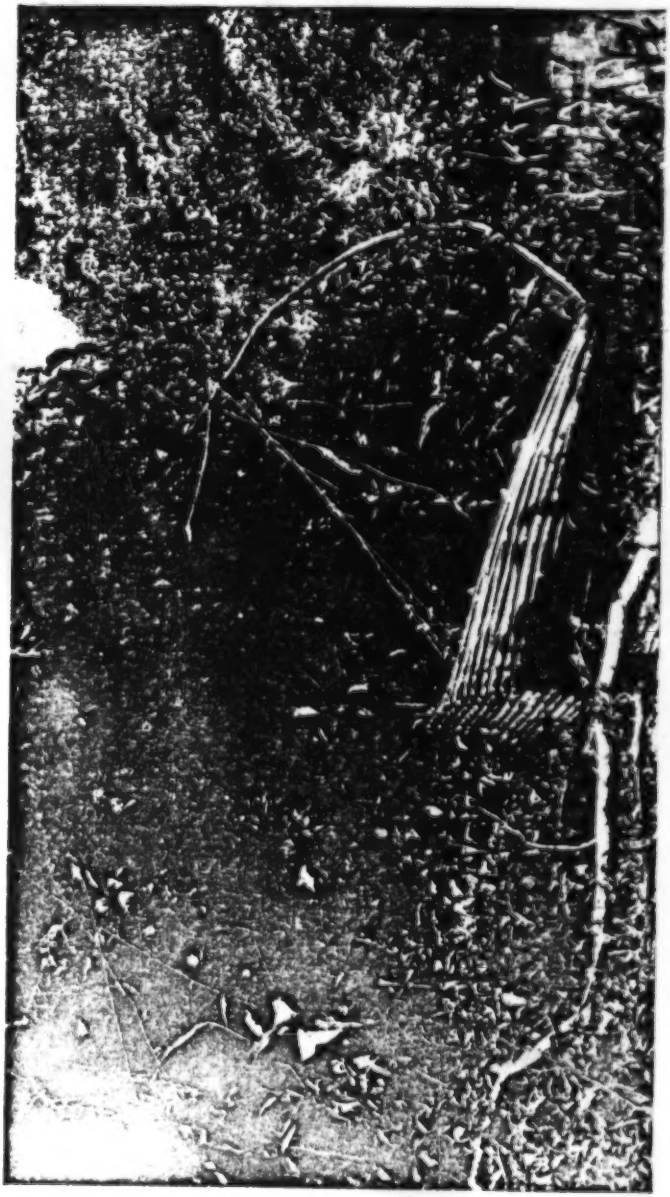
PL LXVIII



NEAR VIEW OF SPRING TRAP

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 126 (B)]

juice called guarapo in Spanish.

Basketry. Fans, baskets, and pouches, are made in the same style and technique as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:183-250). There is a market for the fans which are used for fanning the embers in the fire-box when preparing a meal. They are often sold in the coastal towns of San Lorenzo and Esmeraldas as well as in the highland town of Ibarra. The money received for these fans is the property of the woman who made the fans, even though they were sold by her husband.

Weapons. The blowgun has disappeared from general use. Only a few specimens are left. All hunting today is done with the escopeta or muzzle-loading shotgun. Serving both as a tool and as a weapon is the machete or /múšte/, and both men and women are quite adept in its use.

Housing.

Probably the cultural feature of the Pacific lowlands which most quickly attracts the eye of the outsider is the type of house used by the rural Negroid population. This is the square or rectangular pile dwelling with four-shed hipped roof of thatch, a peculiar roof crown, and palm-lath floor

ripe, but most often it is boiled green and then pounded on a mortar. Bits of meat and/or fish may be added to the pulp. In this form it is called bala by both Negroes and Cayapa. In the ripe form, it may be boiled and treated as bala, or it may be eaten raw. Children eat enormous amounts of ripe plantain, and they never seem to become satiated. Important adjuncts to the subsistence pattern are the traveling merchants who bring canoe-loads of dried fish, clams, bread, cookies, sugar, and candy as well as smuggled Colombian cloth and clothing, up from the coast.

Hunting is a very important activity, and most Cayapa men spend one or two days a week tracking game. The main animals are large rodents called guanta /walámbu/, a smaller rodent called guatin /kúyu/, peccary /netúšu/, jaguar /kéla/, puma /lʸukéla/, monkey /wášu/, squirrel /yámbu/, and the armadillo /čilʸámbu/. Large birds are shot whenever possible and include toucans /čandútu/, the wild turkey /éle/, and a hawk /huyálʸu/. At the present time, hunting is done almost entirely with muzzle-loading shotguns. Hunting is generally a small operation involving no more than three

men, and occasionally only one shotgun is available to share among them.

Fishing is an important adjunct to the dietary pattern. Fish are dynamited, netted, speared, trapped, drugged, and hooked. Often a man or boy will work his canoe up-stream and then drift slowly down while he plays his hook and line which are tied to a light pole. The fisherman baits his hook with a lively grasshopper, drops his line into the water, then holds his arm motionless except for a slight movement of his wrist which causes the line to move with a sinusoidal motion. This favorite method can only be used when the river is very low. At these times, in the evening, three men or boys go out in a canoe moving slowly along the bank. One man paddles, another holds a flashlight or a pressure lantern, and the third man stands ready with a fish spear. The light attracts multitudes of fish, and the haul is invariably a huge one. Lobster can also be easily trapped when the river is low. A lobster trap, called <u>catanga</u> is baited with plantain. It is set under water alongside a bank that has some protuberance, such as a pile of driftwood. The mouth of the trap is placed so it faces

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

several stout strands of pita cord are fastened securely to the head at the point where the prongs branch off from the tang, and these are attached to the pole at a point a few inches up from the head. Thus in case the head should pull out of its socket it is still securely fastened to the pole and cannot be lost.

The other form of fish-spear, called in Cayapa pūtyū'lya, is made usually with a long, slender, palm-wood pole not more than half an inch in diameter, the prongs being made from heavy fish-hooks which have been straightened out. The point of the pole is fairly flat and about an inch in width. From two to four straightened fish-hooks are bound to this flat point by means of pita cord, which is then thoroughly covered with brea to make it impervious. This form of gig is suitable only for catching very small fish. While the gigs of the present time are thus made of iron, the aboriginal spears were similarly shaped but were provided with points of hard palm-wood.

Another gig, made in the same manner as the last, but usually with a heavier pole and heavier points, is used for spearing water-turtles, which are fairly abundant here. This gig is called pūtyū'lya, as well as hwe'ska or fe'ska, and the only marked difference between it and the fish-gig just described is that its points have no barbs. It is said by the Indians that it is impossible to pierce the shell of a turtle with a barbed gig, but that the barbless point passes through the shell easily. The terrapins, or land turtles, having harder shells, are always caught by hand.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent canefields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported.

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Cayapa* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the priests visit the *Cayapa*.

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive.

In addition to permanent houses, small temporary ranchos are sometimes built when people are far from home. The houses in the "village" are standard structures, but the church follows Spanish ways: it rests on the ground and has walls.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Although *Cayapa* tradition records a period when the people wore blankets and even ponchos, today their clothes are scanty (pl. 59, *bottom*). The men wear a tight, small, white garment, made like bathing trunks, and a thin gaudy shirt of calico, with short and very tight sleeves. On festive occasions vests of European cut and manufacture are frequently donned over the shirt, and so are felt fedoras.

Women wear a long skirt of native cloth, girded with a narrow fringed belt. As in the Highlands, several skirts of different weights are sometimes worn. Head, shoulders, and chest are usually left bare.

3: Barrett E-5 (1903-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

At an early age the girls are instructed in household duties of all kinds, and often begin to spin and weave, as well as to make pottery, basketry, and other articles, at the age of five or six years. They also take a hand in agriculture when very small. As they grow older and become more proficient in these various arts, they enter more and more into the regular daily work of the home, until they finally marry, which they usually do at an early age, often at about seventeen or eighteen years.

The daily life of the men is also a busy one. They do their share of the work in the fields, besides being industrious hunters and fishermen. They are expert woodworkers, making very excellent canoes, paddles, benches, images used as toys by children, musical instruments, certain cooking utensils, and various other objects of wood. They make and tend the fish corrals as well as set the seines when the water is in a favorable condition to divert fish to certain places. In addition to trapping and netting fish, they also do much fishing with hook and line. They hunt a great deal and procure a very important part of the food supply in that way, for the jungle abounds in many kinds of game. When about the house, they are, like the women, almost always busy at something, as adzing a canoe, weaving a net, or doing some one of the many kinds of work which fall to the man's lot in the Cayapa division of labor. Since the introduction of needles and thread among the Cayapa, the men have taken up sewing and have become very efficient tailors for their simple needs.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

226 The Cayapa make frequent journeys to the ocean, chiefly for the purpose of securing shellfish and crabs, which are abundant along the beaches about the mouth of the river. There are several species of clams and mussels, as well as oysters in large numbers. Also crabs of several species are very abundant, and are captured usually by digging out their burrows. Both the shellfish and the crabs are brought alive up the river, the crabs being confined in coarse baskets. Oysters are usually heated over coals sufficiently to cause the shells to open, and are eaten directly from the shells with a bit of salt or lemon; but clams and mussels are generally boiled. Crabs also are almost always boiled, although sometimes they are roasted.

[182]
252
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226 Inland, along the banks of the Rio Cayapas and its tributaries, are obtained three other foods of the same class. In the wet soil of the jungle live large numbers of a small, bright-red land crab, called nē'lû, or, more specifically, kaia'pa nēlû. This crab has one very large arm, which is the only part used as a food. The crabs are caught in great numbers, and the large arm is removed and roasted. In the waters of these streams are also large numbers of a small species of lobster or crayfish, called pi'cû, which is considered an excellent food. It is caught with a special dip-net, called cia, used almost exclusively for this purpose. The third food of this class is likewise obtained from the rivers. It is a very small bivalve, resembling a miniature mussel such as is found in the ocean, and is gathered at certain points along the streams where the rock walls of the banks or where bedrock affords convenient lodgment.

[252]
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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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Fishing

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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226 When the water has sufficiently subsided so that the

J: Barrett E-5 (1903-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

fish have nearly all returned to the mouth of the estero, 226
the owner of the net, accompanied by all available
members of his family and by any friends present, goes
to the estero with a second net of the same kind. This
net is carried up-stream to a point where the water is
very shallow; it is then placed across the stream and
moved carefully down as a seine, the fish being driven
before it. In this way the fish are at last impounded
between the two nets in a space from twenty to twenty-
five feet long and of the width of the estero. Ordinarily,
in bringing the net down to this point, a considerable
number of fish are caught by hand, for while two or
three persons attend particularly to the moving of the
net, others are diving in the water ahead of it and catch-
ing by hand any fish which may have sought refuge in
hollow logs or in crevices in the banks. Also many are
caught as they strike the seine in an attempt to run
back up-stream. Such a fish will usually push several
times in succession at about the same point in the net,
thus giving to one of the fishermen ample indication
of its whereabouts. As each fish is brought up by a
diver or is caught by one of those tending the seine,
the top of its head or the back of its neck is bitten, thus
stunning it, and it is either thrown into a canoe kept at
hand for the purpose, or cast upon the bank. When
the nets are finally brought close together so that the
remaining fish are impounded in the small space above
mentioned, conical dip-nets are used by the divers to
catch them. As the dip-nets are brought up, they are
passed to a man in the canoe, who empties them of the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

226 fish and kills with a club the larger ones which might
227 flop over the gunwale. Finally, all the fish possible having been taken in this manner, the set-net and the seine are taken up and brought back to the house. 227 Both are carefully washed and cleaned at the river after having the stone sinkers removed, and are then hung up on a long bamboo pole, especially provided for this purpose, over the drying platform at the side of the house. When thoroughly dried these nets are each carefully folded and then compactly twisted, in such fashion as is shown in pl. CXX, 2. The stone sinkers are unwrapped and stored away in a basket until again needed. The floats used on the net here shown measure about four by eight inches by three-quarters of an inch. In many other cases the floats are of various other forms. They are quite often cylindrical.

226 Nets called atcí wa'kû, of the same kind but with
226 smaller meshes, are made for catching certain other species of fish. In general, however, the use of the seine is confined largely to catching shad, as above described.

226 The atarraya, which name is corrupted by the Cayapa
227 into ata'la, is a large conical casting net heavily weighted
226 about its mouth with lead or, when this is not available, with stone sinkers. In pl. CXX, 1, is shown one of these nets weighted with lead sinkers weighing in the aggregate about twenty-five pounds. In this illustration it is shown folded at about its middle, while the upper end or apex of the cone is wrapped around the remainder
224 of the net. To the point of the cone is attached a long, heavy cord, the end of which is held in the hand when

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the net is thrown. To cast this net well requires much practice. It is always done by a man standing in the prow of a canoe propelled by a paddler at the stern. He watches the water and throws the net at any point where the fish appear to be moving or jumping. In making such a cast, the line and the upper part of the net are coiled in the left hand, while one edge of the sinker-lined opening is caught between the teeth. The greater part of the weight of the sinkers is swung by the right hand until a sufficient motion has been secured to give force to the cast. Then the coiled net and cord are liberated by the left hand at the same moment that the right hand throws the heavy weight of sinkers. The edge of the weighted opening is held between the teeth an instant after the cast is made, thus causing the net to open in a wide circle as it descends through the air. The heavy weights sink the entire net very rapidly in the water, thus imprisoning any fish which are within the circumference described by the sinkers and the edge of the net. The net is allowed to sink to the bottom and is then pulled in: this must be done very carefully and in such manner as not to raise the sinkers from the bottom of the stream too suddenly. They must be dragged along until they have all come together in one point, and the fish, if any have been imprisoned, have been driven into the upper part of the net. The net is then carefully pulled up beside the canoe, the sinkers meanwhile holding the opening sufficiently well closed to prevent the escape of the catch. By simply pulling on one side of the net, the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

226 fish are allowed to fall into the bottom of the canoe or into a basket, and the net is then ready for a second cast. This net serves only for taking small fish, and is not very much used by the Cayapa. Apparently their [177] knowledge concerning this form of net was acquired from the negroes. At any rate their knowledge of its use is comparatively recent.

226 227 286 The dip-net, called by the Cayapa cī'a, above referred to, is a small-meshed conical net and is used not only for fishing, as above described, but especially is it employed for catching the small lobster, or crayfish, called by the Cayapa pī'cū or a'bīcū, which is so abundant along the banks of the river and especially along the banks of the esteros tributary to the river. The opening of this dip-net is held in shape by a hoop made of a pliable vine simply bent around and its two ends tied firmly together. Thus one end of the hoop is rounding and the opposite end, the one used as a handle, is fairly sharp-pointed. The dimensions of this opening are perhaps fifteen to twenty inches by thirty to thirty-six inches, and the distance from the rim to the point of the cone of the net itself is from twenty-four to thirty inches.

All nets are made from pita-fiber string, the details of the making of which, as also of net-weaving, are treated in the discussion of cordage and netting.

226 A corral, or impounding trap, such as that shown in pl. LXVII, is used by almost everyone living along the tidewater portion of this river system; and, owing to the level character of this coastal plain, the tidal rise

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

226

IMPOUNDING TRAP FOR SHAD

[p. 126 (1)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

and fall are felt many miles from the river mouth. The success of this form of trap depends particularly on the peculiar habits of the shad. As above stated, this fish subsists entirely on vegetal foods, which it hunts along the river banks at high tide and usually at night, keeping at other times in the deeper midstream waters. At times of flood, as mentioned in speaking of the use of the set-net, the shad abandon the main stream and visit the esteros. Obviously, therefore, the corral is a device suited especially to those parts of the river where the water level rises and falls with the ocean tide, and obviously also it is of no service when the river is in flood.

A point properly protected from strong currents at times of flood, and otherwise suitably situated along the river-bank, is selected, and a pole, to which some plantains or other vegetal foods are attached, is placed in the water near the bank in order to give assurance that the point selected is one specially frequented by shad. The shad come almost exclusively at night, and if it is found that the bait has been taken on several successive nights, it is selected as the site for a corral. Care must be used in selecting such a site, for if it be chosen along a part of the river-bank where the current is rapid, the corral is likely to be carried away during a freshet. A desirable site having been found, two sides are built by setting firmly in the mud bamboo or palm-wood sticks, these being bound firmly together by means of cross-bars running horizontally and braced by others extending diagonally. These two sides proper are

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

●226 usually much wider than the third side, or that which faces the river, and which may be termed the end of the corral. The opposite sides are not parallel, but converge as they leave the bank. The fourth side of the trap is formed by the river-bank. The three sides which project into the water are of sufficient height that they emerge from four to six feet above the surface at high tide. The front side or end of the corral is often very little wider than the gate situated at its bottom. This opening varies in size according to the dimensions of the corral, but it is always at least three feet wide and equally high. Two smooth, straight poles are placed vertically just inside this front wall, and upon these the gate, which is usually made of palm-wood poles bound by pitigua to cross-bars, slides up and down. The gate is always weighted with heavy stones, which cause it to drop quickly, and it is held up and open by a pitigua cord that passes over a rounded transverse bar overhead and then back to a blind on the bank from which the trap is sprung. At a point just outside the gate there is usually placed a vertical pole to which is attached a small amount of bait which serves to entice the fish to the gate itself, through which they later enter the trap where they espy more bait fastened to two or more vertical poles at some distance in from the gate. These poles, being quite slender, shake easily as the fish nibble at the bait, and it is the motion of the upper end of the pole that gives warning of the presence of the fish to the watcher on the bank. The corral is usually watched only at comparatively high tide, for

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

it is then that the shad travel near the bank in search of food. Furthermore, the opening of the trap is ordinarily somewhat above water at low tide, as is shown in the illustration above mentioned, the photograph for which was taken at very low tide and when the whole corral was entirely above the water line. The greatest of care must be exercised in watching one of these corrals, since the fish are easily alarmed and any noise or unusual movement about the corral is likely to frighten them away. Frequently, in order to render the surroundings more realistic and natural, some palm-leaves or some branches of trees are placed in or along the bank about a corral. The trap being sprung, the fish are impounded until the tide ebbs, when they are left in very shallow water, or even in the mud itself, and may be easily taken from the corral. The catch in one of these corrals is, of course, very uncertain, but frequently several fish are taken at one time, and while shad are especially sought, various other fish are impounded as well.

Fish-spears or gigs are of two kinds. That at present in use for large fish is of the ordinary trident form, called a'sta in Cayapa, and is strictly an introduction of civilization. Its head nowadays is made by blacksmiths at the coast. The pole on which this head fits is from ten to fifteen feet in length. One end of the pole is split and the flat tang of the spearhead is inserted, the joint being securely wrapped with pita string, which is water-proofed and protected by means of beeswax. As an additional precaution against loss,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

227 several stout strands of pita cord are fastened securely to the head at the point where the prongs branch off from the tang, and these are attached to the pole at a point a few inches up from the head. Thus in case the head should pull out of its socket it is still securely fastened to the pole and cannot be lost.

The other form of fish-spear, called in Cayapa pūtyū'lya, is made usually with a long, slender, palm-wood pole not more than half an inch in diameter, the prongs being made from heavy fish-hooks which have been straightened out. The point of the pole is fairly flat and about an inch in width. From two to four straightened fish-hooks are bound to this flat point by means of pita cord, which is then thoroughly covered with brea to make it impervious. This form of gig is 226 suitable only for catching very small fish. While the 227 gigs of the present time are thus made of iron, the [177] aboriginal spears were similarly shaped but were provided with points of hard palm-wood.

227 Another gig, made in the same manner as the last, 225 but usually with a heavier pole and heavier points, is used for spearing water-turtles, which are fairly abundant here. This gig is called pūtyū'lya, as well as hwe'ska or fe'ska, and the only marked difference between it and the fish-gig just described is that its points have no barbs. It is said by the Indians that it is impossible to pierce the shell of a turtle with a barbed gig, but that the barbless point passes through the shell easily. The terrapins, or land turtles, having harder shells, are always caught by hand.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

At the present time the hook-and-line is very much used in fishing, though this was introduced by the whites. Strong, slender, fish-poles, called wañgū-tca'lī, seven to ten feet in length, are made from the upper branches of the large bamboo. They are gathered when thoroughly matured but while still green, and are hardened and straightened by heating. The lines, called wañgū-tcū'a, or sañ-dō'a, are made of native pita string and are usually quite fine. The strength of the pita fibers makes it possible to use a very fine line for comparatively large fish. Such a fish-line, provided with a special pottery sinker and an ordinary steel fish-hook, is shown in fig. 9; it is wound in this case on a cylindrical piece of balsa. This line is called tcūndyē'pū and is used in the hand after the fashion of a troll. In case it should be dropped or pulled overboard, it is saved by means of the balsa float. Ordinarily all lines are provided with lead sinkers, but the pottery cylinder especially made as a sinker is an old type and was formerly very much used. Hooks, called weñgō'la, are now obtained from traders at the coast, although it is

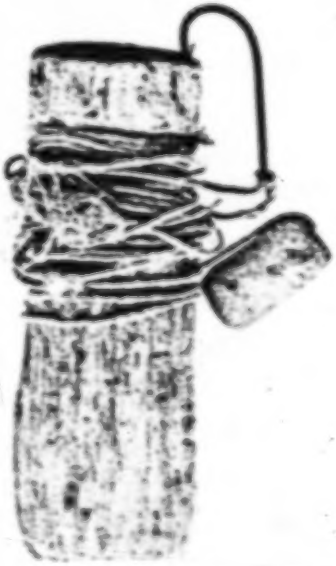

FIG. 9.—Fish-line with pottery sinker

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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said that when this method of fishing was first introduced through contact with the early Spaniards, crude hooks were fashioned by hammering out pieces of iron.

226 At the present time this method of hook-and-line fishing is so much in vogue that almost every man has his special little canoe and a special short paddle which are used almost exclusively for fishing. It is customary to paddle for some distance against the tide or current and then to fish back down with the current along the bank. In this way little effort is required in paddling, and a sculling motion of the paddle with the left hand is sufficient to keep the canoe in its desired course. With [227] a pole and line go a small, hemispherical, calabash dish of angle-worms, a small bottle-shape basket (pl. XCIII, 3) of grasshoppers, or a calabash of a certain small reddish fruit, all of which are used as bait, each according to the kind of fish sought.

On rare occasions the trot-line, called weñgûtcû'a (?), such as that shown in pl. CXIX, 1, is used. The main line, called señgi'ri, is made usually of the coarser string fiber called by the Spanish term cosadera, while the small "leaders," called simply sañdō'a, to which each separate hook is attached, are made of pita string.

War

721 The Cayapa maintain that in ancient times they rarely went to war, and then only on the greatest provocation, as, for instance, when they were harrassed by the former inhabitants of their present domain until forbearance was no longer possible and they descended from their

men, and occasionally only one shotgun is available to share among them. 224

Fishing is an important adjunct to the dietary pattern. Fish are dynamited, netted, speared, trapped, drugged, and hooked. Often a man or boy will work his canoe up-stream and then drift slowly down while he plays his hook and line which are tied to a light pole. The fisherman baits his hook with a lively grasshopper, drops his line into the water, then holds his arm motionless except for a slight movement of his wrist which causes the line to move with a sinusoidal motion. This favorite method can only be used when the river is very low. At these times, in the evening, three men or boys go out in a canoe moving slowly along the bank. One man paddles, another holds a flashlight or a pressure lantern, and the third man stands ready with a fish spear. The light attracts multitudes of fish, and the haul is invariably a huge one. Lobster can also be easily trapped when the river is low. A lobster trap, called catanga is baited with plantain. It is set under water alongside a bank that has some protuberance, such as a pile of driftwood. The mouth of the trap is placed so it faces

226 [262] [825] [416] [373] [824]

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down stream because the lobsters tend to move against the current. The lobster easily enters the mouth which consists of a conical chamber made of pointed bamboo. When the lobster enters the bait chamber, it is prevented from leaving by the pointed ends of the small section of the cone. The trap is tied to a long pole. Traps are set at intervals along the river, and they are visited every morning. There are no restrictions as to site location, but once a trap is set, no one else sets one next to it.

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While the Cayapa derive most of their subsistence from hunting, gathering, fishing, and planting, they are also engaged in commercial planting of bananas and as the market expands the Cayapa are becoming more and more peasant like.

Tribal Peasants

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Wolf in his discussion of "Types of Latin American Peasantry" marks off two main categories, the corporate peasant community characteristic of the highlands and the open peasant community that characterizes the tropical lowland areas.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 from four inches to a foot above the level of the main floor, and are most frequently used as sleeping platforms or as storage places for various articles.

352 In this region where the rainfall is so great and where the sun rarely shines, one of the serious problems is that of keeping clothing and other articles dry. To accomplish this, there is constructed at one side, usually at the rear of the house, or behind that portion in which the fire-box is situated, a drying platform, constructed of large bamboo stems laid side by side, without a roof, and ordinarily on or nearly on a level with the main floor. The convex surface of the bamboo permits the water falling upon it to drain readily to the ground, while the impenetrable outer surface of the bamboo permits no rain to be absorbed by it. Thus, in a few minutes after a rain, this raised platform is usually dry enough to permit the spreading upon it of clothing, or
• [227] of mats for the drying of cacao. At one side of this drying platform is placed a horizontal bamboo pole, usually as long as the platform and raised six or seven feet above it, for use in drying large fish-nets.

[251] On the rafters of the house, and hence high up in the interior, is constructed a platform, or loft (pl. XIV), usually of bamboo, which is used for the storage of old utensils, food, and articles not in daily use. Ordinarily this storage loft does not cover a space equal to more than one-quarter that of the floor of the house itself, and frequently it is much smaller, although always of sufficient capacity to accommodate all the surplus stores of the family.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

226 The Cayapa make frequent journeys to the ocean, chiefly for the purpose of securing shellfish and crabs, which are abundant along the beaches about the mouth of the river. There are several species of clams and mussels, as well as oysters in large numbers. Also crabs of several species are very abundant, and are captured usually by digging out their burrows. Both the shellfish and the crabs are brought alive up the river, the crabs being confined in coarse baskets. Oysters are usually heated over coals sufficiently to cause the shells to open, and are eaten directly from the shells with a bit of salt or lemon; but clams and mussels are generally boiled. Crabs also are almost always boiled, although sometimes they are roasted.

[182] 252 [263]

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

it is then that the shad travel near the bank in search of food. Furthermore, the opening of the trap is ordinarily somewhat above water at low tide, as is shown in the illustration above mentioned, the photograph for which was taken at very low tide and when the whole corral was entirely above the water line. The greatest of care must be exercised in watching one of these corrals, since the fish are easily alarmed and any noise or unusual movement about the corral is likely to frighten them away. Frequently, in order to render the surroundings more realistic and natural, some palm-leaves or some branches of trees are placed in or along the bank about a corral. The trap being sprung, the fish are impounded until the tide ebbs, when they are left in very shallow water, or even in the mud itself, and may be easily taken from the corral. The catch in one of these corrals is, of course, very uncertain, but frequently several fish are taken at one time, and while shad are especially sought, various other fish are impounded as well. 226

Fish-spears or gigs are of two kinds. That at present in use for large fish is of the ordinary trident form, called s'ata in Cayapa, and is strictly an introduction of civilization. Its head nowadays is made by blacksmiths at the coast. The pole on which this head fits is from ten to fifteen feet in length. One end of the pole is split and the flat tang of the spearhead is inserted, the joint being securely wrapped with pita string, which is water-proofed and protected by means of beeswax. As an additional precaution against loss, 227 [11]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

227 several stout strands of pita cord are fastened securely to the head at the point where the prongs branch off from the tang, and these are attached to the pole at a point a few inches up from the head. Thus in case the head should pull out of its socket it is still securely fastened to the pole and cannot be lost.

The other form of fish-spear, called in Cayapa pūtyū'lya, is made usually with a long, slender, palm-wood pole not more than half an inch in diameter, the prongs being made from heavy fish-hooks which have been straightened out. The point of the pole is fairly flat and about an inch in width. From two to four straightened fish-hooks are bound to this flat point by means of pita cord, which is then thoroughly covered with brea to make it impervious. This form of gig is
226 suitable only for catching very small fish. While the
227 gigs of the present time are thus made of iron, the
[77] aboriginal spears were similarly shaped but were provided with points of hard palm-wood.

227 Another gig, made in the same manner as the last,
225 but usually with a heavier pole and heavier points, is used for spearing water-turtles, which are fairly abundant here. This gig is called pūtyū'lya, as well as hwe'ska or hi'ska, and the only marked difference between it and the fish-gig just described is that its points have no barbs. It is said by the Indians that it is impossible to pierce the shell of a turtle with a barbed gig, but that the barbless point passes through the shell easily. The terrapins, or land turtles, having harder shells, are always caught by hand.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

At the present time the hook-and-line is very much used in fishing, though this was introduced by the whites. Strong, slender, fish-poles, called wañgû-tca'll, seven to ten feet in length, are made from the upper branches of the large bamboo. They are gathered when thoroughly matured but while still green, and are hardened and straightened by heating. The lines, called wañgû-tcû'a, or sañ-dû'a, are made of native pita string and are usually quite fine. The strength of the pita fibers makes it possible to use a very fine line for comparatively large fish. Such a fish-line, provided with a special pottery sinker and an ordinary steel fish-hook, is shown in fig. 9; it is wound in this case on a cylindrical piece of balsa. This line is called tcûndyé'pû and is used in the hand after the fashion of a troll. In case it should be dropped or pulled overboard, it is saved by means of the balsa float. Ordinarily all lines are provided with lead sinkers, but the pottery cylinder especially made as a sinker is an old type and was formerly very much used. Hooks, called weñgô'la, are now obtained from traders at the coast, although it is

FIG. 9.—Fish-line with pottery sinker

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

said that when this method of fishing was first introduced through contact with the early Spaniards, crude hooks were fashioned by hammering out pieces of iron.

At the present time this method of hook-and-line fishing is so much in vogue that almost every man has his special little canoe and a special short paddle which are used almost exclusively for fishing. It is customary to paddle for some distance against the tide or current and then to fish back down with the current along the bank. In this way little effort is required in paddling, and a sculling motion of the paddle with the left hand is sufficient to keep the canoe in its desired course. With a pole and line go a small, hemispherical, calabash dish of angle-worms, a small bottle-shape basket (pl. XCIII, 3) of grasshoppers, or a calabash of a certain small reddish fruit, all of which are used as bait, each according to the kind of fish sought.

On rare occasions the trot-line, called weñgūtcū'a (?), such as that shown in pl. CXIX, 1, is used. The main line, called señgi'ri, is made usually of the coarser string fiber called by the Spanish term cosadera, while the small "leaders," called simply sañdō'a, to which each separate hook is attached, are made of pita string.

WAR

The Cayapa maintain that in ancient times they rarely went to war, and then only on the greatest provocation, as, for instance, when they were harrassed by the former inhabitants of their present domain until forbearance was no longer possible and they descended from their

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the floor and the stone inverted over it to keep its grinding surface away from the dogs. When again needed it is cleaned by taking a cooked plantain, grinding it upon the stone, and rolling it around thoroughly over the grinding surface. This process takes up all the fragments of plantain left from the previous grinding, and thoroughly cleanses both the mealing stone and the muller. The ridges on the two sides and one end of the mealing stone help to keep the plantain from flying off during this grinding. The lack of a ridge along the second end, however, is of advantage in grinding green corn, which process has already been described.

Now and then the mealing stone and muller are used for treating other products, such as the inner pulp of the fruit of a tree called ma'iñ-tcī, which is ground and mixed with balsa charcoal to make the black face-paint called ma'lyū.

The only other native stone implement is that used as a sinker on the seine and the casting net. These sinkers are simply waterworn pebbles ranging from two to four inches in length and from an inch to two inches in diameter. They are called cūpū'ka, a general term signifying stone, and appear to have no special name. In large measure these pebbles, unworked, are rolled in the leaf called ū'tya haki and tied directly to the lower edge of the net; but now and then are found sinkers of such form that they are likely to become detached from the net, hence these are provided with rough notches or even surrounding grooves.

Certain smooth stones, and especially black ones, are used in treating the sick.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

If possible some ripe-plantain gruel, called ma'la, is poured into the newly-fired pots, which are returned to the embers where the gruel is soon cooked. This cooking serves to fill the pores of the pottery, rendering it practically impervious. If it is not practicable to boil the gruel immediately, the inner and outer surfaces of the receptacles are later rubbed thoroughly with green plantain for the same purpose. This method, however, is considered inferior to the other. 323

All pottery used for ordinary cooking and serving is completed with the firing and the filling of the pores with plantain. Those pots, however, designed for use in fermenting cane-juice in making rum or for the storage of liquids, rather than for use over the fire, are given a coating of brea, usually inside and out, which renders them impervious. It would be useless to apply the brea to pots that are to be placed over the fire, since it melts at a low temperature and readily ignites. Also, if a pot is not intended for storing liquids, there is no reason why it should be entirely impervious, since all earthenware will hold liquids for a short time without allowing moisture to pass through it to any detrimental extent. 323 415

So far as is known, fired clay serves but one other purpose among the Cayapa, that of making small sinkers, called wengötca'll, for fish-lines. These sinkers are either globose or cylindrical, with perforations through the center, and are fired in the same manner as ordinary pots. A line with its sinker is shown in fig. 9 (page 131). 323 227

[p. 182 is blank]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

any other articles of value he does not deem it safe to leave at home.

These hampers, especially when used in traveling, are tied about the middle with a cord or a woven band, and can be tumbled about without danger to their contents. They are frequently kept filled with articles in storage in the loft of the house, and often are suspended by the above-mentioned cord or band from the rafters or from one of the timbers at the eaves. Sometimes these baskets are made for special purposes. This is the case with the long one shown in pl. XCIII, 2, which was made especially for the storage of spindles, though the usual spindle storage-basket is a long tubular one like those shown in figs. 8 and 12 of the same plate. Another special form is the very small hamper-shape basket, such as those shown in figs. 15–17; these are used as receptacles for trinkets.

The bottle-shape bait basket, tû'ñûtcitci (pl. XCIII, 3), is a very specialized form and, as its name implies, is made for the particular purpose of carrying live insect bait in the canoe while fishing. Its narrow neck is provided with a balsa stopper or with some leaves made into a bundle which serves the same purpose.

Tubular baskets, called tcûrûkû'kû (pl. XCIII, 8, 12), are made especially for the storage of spindles, either full or empty. These baskets are usually from thirty to forty centimeters in length by from seven to fifteen centimeters in diameter. Such a basket is hung by one edge of its opening, so that it hangs at more or less of a slant. It is usually suspended from a rafter or other part of the house-frame near the eaves, within easy

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283
227

TROT-LINE, BUNDLE OF PITA FIBERS, AND CORSAGE

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 278 (2)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283 several other cords are completed, these are added to the braids at the ends. Thus by adding group after group of these braids, when the whole bundle of cords is completed and both its ends are braided it forms a skein of cords which appears like that shown in pl. CXVIII, 3. The skein is kept in this form and the individual cords are extracted from its middle. This tends to pull backward and to loosen the braids at the two ends of the bundle and thus easily to free the ends of the individual cord from the braids.

[824] The other kind of string obtained from the bark of the tree called in Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa sefigi'lya, is made in a manner similar to that employed in making pita string. The fibers used in making this string are obtained by beating out the bark by the method employed in making bark cloth. After being washed, as in the case of bark cloth also, these fibers are dried, folded, and bound into bundles (pl. CXIX, 2). When needed, the sheets are taken from the bundle and the fibers are separated and twisted into a heavy and rather loose cord which serves very well for making a hammock or as the main cable of a trot-line (pl. CXIX, 1), but otherwise is little used. The string bears the same Cayapa name as the tree itself, and its primary use is for hammocks, which are woven with the same technic as are fish-nets, shortly to be described. The meshes are, however, extremely large and are made without the aid of a mesh-stick, being kept sufficiently even by the eye alone.

[352 227]

296

The Cayapa do not splice cords by twisting together the fibers at their ends, as is done by some Indians. An individual pita cord is usually from ten to sixteen feet

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 which the weaving is done. By weaving now evenly along this line without adding more meshes to the succeeding lines, a rectangular net of the desired length is produced. The final corner of the net is made by dropping knots and meshes in the succeeding rows of weaving: in other words, by exactly reversing the process employed in starting the original corner.

[284]

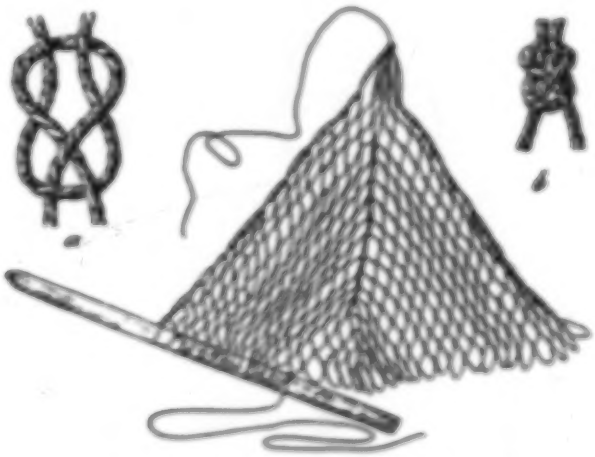

FIG. 27.—Net weaving and detail of knot

All nets are woven with the same type of knot, two details of which are exhibited in fig. 27. In *a* is shown one of these knots opened to a considerable extent, and in *b* this knot is shown as it appears closed and drawn tightly in the net. The use of the mesh-stick is also shown in the figure, which illustrates the beginning of a conical dip-net. The technic of this net differs somewhat from that of the set-net above described, but the knot employed and the use of the mesh-stick are the same.

[227]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 sixty meshes. This number is kept up to the seventh course, where twenty more cords, distributed at regular intervals, are looped in. Hence in the eighth course eighty knots appear. Thus the additions proceed at these regular intervals, twenty new elements being added at every fifth course up to the sixty-second course of knots. Since this process begins at the second course, these additions are made to come on those courses whose numbers end in two and seven—two, seven, twelve, seventeen, etc. Hence, when the sixty-third course is tied there is a total of three hundred knots and meshes, and this number is maintained throughout the remainder of the one hundred and twenty-seven courses of the net. The meshes of this particular net are two centimeters square throughout its length of eight feet, seven inches. As it is cast by a fisherman it easily covers a circle ten or twelve feet in diameter.

227 286 These nets are usually made of fine pita cord in the upper part of the cone and of slightly coarser cord in the last quarter or third near its mouth. The heavier cord is apparently used in this portion of the net because of the greater wear and tear due to the struggles of the entrapped fish and because the net is weighted about its mouth with sinkers. These lead or stone sinkers often aggregate twenty-five to thirty pounds in weight and carry the net quickly to the bottom.

286 [252] The only other netted device made by the Cayapa is the hammock, which is made either of coarse pita string or of the heavy kuna-kuna string. The meshes of such a hammock are very coarse, hence comparatively few cords are required. To start with, the proper number

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

PL. CXX

227
286

FISHING NETS

[p. 284(1)]

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

back an exhaustive account of their subsistence pattern and material culture as well as considerable data on religion and ceremonial life. According to modern interests, the report is weak in life-cycle data and economics, and a serious drawback is the almost complete lack of comparative considerations. Moreover, it describes a culture with marked European influences. Nevertheless, at this writing, it remains one of our most complete accounts of an aboriginal South American group. The remaining titles in the bibliography refer to linguistic treatises, hearsay accounts, and phantasies of hurried travelers.

The inaccessibility of their habitat facilitated the *Cayapa's* survival into the 20th century, but it also prevented most chroniclers from visiting their land. Early references to naked and painted Indians living along the Patia River in large houses on tall poles and wearing gold ornaments might refer to the *Cayapa* or to some other *Chibchan* people. Jijón y Caamaño (1940–45, vol. 2) has reproduced fragments from an unpublished Cabello Balboa chronicle discussing the people of Esmeraldas Province during the 16th century. Among the peoples figuring prominently in Cabello Balboa's report are the *Nigua*, an Indian group inhabiting traditional *Cayapa* territory. Jijón y Caamaño's suggestion (1940–45, vol. 2) that the *Nigua* and *Cayapa* are one people seems tentatively acceptable.

Both peoples claimed to have descended from the Andean Highlands, though it is unclear if they were refugees from the *Inca* or Spanish invasions. As reported by Barrett, this tradition is very strong even now, four centuries after the Conquest, permeating various divergent activities of the *Cayapa*, who date many techniques and artifacts in terms of pre- or post-migration practices. In 1907 Beuchat and Rivet had pointed to toponymic and archeological similarities between Esmeraldas Province and the *Cara* country in the Highlands. Later work by Jijón y Caamaño (1912, 1919, 1940–45, vol. 2) has strengthened the case for *Chibchan* affiliation of the *Cara* language and given a measure of confirmation to native tradition.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Agriculture is the main occupation of the *Cayapa*, although fishing and hunting supply a large percentage of their food. Each house is surrounded by clearings and fields, and additional clearings are customarily made away from the river, in the bush. Most families have fields of plantains, bananas, sugarcane, coca, and sweet manioc (yuca); in addition, cotton, tobacco, maize, yams, and pineapples are frequently cultivated. Many wild plants are encouraged through weeding and other care.

Plantains (pl. 60, *bottom, right*) form the staple food of the *Cayapa*, and each family will have several acres planted to this perennially ripening fruit. Bananas are fed to the hogs and cover an acreage almost as large as that of the plantain.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent canefields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported.

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Cayapa* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the priests visit the *Cayapa*.

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive.

In addition to permanent houses, small temporary ranchos are sometimes built when people are far from home. The houses in the "village" are standard structures, but the church follows Spanish ways: it rests on the ground and has walls.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Although *Cayapa* tradition records a period when the people wore blankets and even ponchos, today their clothes are scanty (pl. 59, *bottom*). The men wear a tight, small, white garment, made like bathing trunks, and a thin gaudy shirt of calico, with short and very tight sleeves. On festive occasions vests of European cut and manufacture are frequently donned over the shirt, and so are felt fedoras.

Women wear a long skirt of native cloth, girded with a narrow fringed belt. As in the Highlands, several skirts of different weights are sometimes worn. Head, shoulders, and chest are usually left bare.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283 285 415 reach from the floor. The Cayapa women are very industrious, and whenever not occupied about the daily routine of their houses and fields, are spinning and weaving. The spinning tripod (pl. CVIII) is always kept in a convenient place at one side of the house, and one or two spindles are usually kept on the small woven shelf near the bottom of the tripod. All extra spindles, whether empty or filled, are, however, kept in these long tubular baskets. When several spindles are filled they are emptied by winding the thread into balls, in which form it is stored until needed.

231 285 One very special form of basket not mentioned in the tabulation above is the large bottle-shape basket shown in pl. XCIII, 7. This unusual basket was made as a cage for a chicken. As a rule, rough baskets of the usual cylindrical form are utilized for this purpose, the opening being closed by binding its edges tightly together with a pitigua cord. This bottle-shape basket was the only one of its kind encountered, and no Cayapa name was given for it.

Basketry Handles

285 Most of the ordinary cylindrical baskets of small or medium size, regardless of technic, are provided with handles or bails such as those shown in pl. XCII, 3, and XCIII, 4. These handles are always of pitigua and are made in several forms.

The simplest handle consists of a plain piece of pitigua of the proper length, usually unsplit, tied at diametrically opposite points through the border of the basket. Usually it is passed through and brought up far enough

of the Cayapa and the Negroes of the area. The extreme humidity of the region, coupled with the saturated, heavy clay soil that predominates, precludes slash and burn cultivation. The Cayapa region is just on the very southern edge of the area marked by a peculiar diagnostic trait: 241 [171] [132]

> . . . slash-mulch cultivation, of probable Indian origin, has survived. Seeds are broadcast and rhizomes and cuttings are planted in an uncleared plot; then the bush is cut; decay of cut vegetable matter is rapid, forming a thick mulch through which the sprouts from the seeds and cuttings appear within a week or ten days (West 1957: 139).

The main food crops are maize /[illegible]/, plantain /[illegible]/, sugar cane /[illegible]/, sweet manioc /[illegible]/, [illegible] (Xanthosoma sagittifolium), a tare-like aroid tuber called /[illegible]/, squash /[illegible]/, pineapple /[illegible]/, beans /[illegible]/, and bananas /[illegible]/. The latter were universally considered to be starvation food, and prior to the recent world market demand for them, were fed to the pigs. There are many fruits such as papaya /[illegible]/, oranges /[illegible]/, lemons /[illegible]/, papaya /[illegible]/, guaba /[illegible]/, chicimus (Q. chacimis). Some sweet potatoes are grown, but they are scarce due to the depredations of 241 262 [439] [281]

Once a year, as a rule,

a groups of Cayapa will band together for protection 249
against the cutthroats and brigands that infest the 476
coastal regions, load their canoes with as much rubber 439
as they have been able to collect, and set off in
small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few [177]
Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner 439
is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colom- [648]
bian goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious
of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to
them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic
product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies [435]
from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the
equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred
pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to [685]
poaching.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be 311
good for raising pigs. Shamstones lessens the possi- 231
bility of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted
by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are 245
chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and sapotas.
Large sections are planted to the tagua palm that, at
one time, was as important economically as the banana [433]
is today. The tagua not is only a minor item in the [262] [342]

97

of witchcraft. Barrett records that very little attention is given to wounds per se beyond the application of hot beeswax or a leaf to keep off the insects; however, a few individuals have specialized in the setting of broken bones. Apparently, this specialty is not taught, but a person who wants to engage in this activity practices by removing the corn kernels from a dry ear of corn and then replaces them in their sockets under cover of the husks. This is said to develop finger dexterity and the sense of touch. With growing competence the neophyte bonesetter practices mending the limbs of domestic animals, and eventually, the first human patient requests his services. Clean fractures seem to be rather easily handled, and it is said that "green-twig" fractures are similarly mended. The price for this service is high, ranging from 500 sucres to over 1,000 sucres.

For illnesses caused by spirit possession or spirit love, a brujo or witch is needed. There are no special requirements for becoming a brujo beyond the desire and money to pay for instruction. As the prophet is seldom honored in his own country, so the Cayapa

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

may be mentioned at least one species of leaf-cutting ant whose peculiarly spiny body presents an interesting appearance, though it is in no way of special importance to the Indians. One very large, black, stinging ant, called cunga in Spanish, and nyū'mi in Cayapa, is much feared by the Indians and others resident in this region, for the reason that its sting produces not only an annoying local irritation, but also a rise in the temperature of one bitten, so that it is commonly said that the sting of the cunga insures two days of fever.

Certain species of small bees are of value to the Indians, particularly in the production of the wax used in calking canoes and pottery, and in painting canoes; it is also employed remedially to a slight extent as a cure for cuts and abrasions. The honey made by these bees is very little sought as a food, and is quite secondary in value to their wax. The Indians recognize four classes of these bees. The pulsa ta'nda is a small black species that lives in trees and makes the best wax which is yellow in color and is produced in larger quantities than that made by any of the other bees. The cifemi'shi, also a small black bee, lives in the ground and produces an inferior black wax which is used only to a limited extent by the Indians. The third of these small black bees is the ta'ndz, which lives in trees but which produces much more honey than wax. The fourth species, anshi a'ma, is a small yellow bee which likewise lives in trees and produces a black wax that is used to a considerable extent.

Certain insects are employed as food. Two of these,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

fresh from the rollers, as well as after boiling, in fact at any stage before it begins to ferment, the juice is called pi' wapû, literally "water guarapo," in contradistinction to the fermented juice, which is called sa'wapû, meaning "sour guarapo." The ollas referred to are especially made for the purpose, and are the most difficult work of the potter, as their size renders them not only inconvenient to form and handle while drying, but makes them also extremely hard to fire. They are almost invariably coated inside and out with leva (Cayapa, amû'ya), the wax of a small bee, which renders them impervious and prevents waste through seepage. The bases of these large vessels are comparatively small, therefore to prevent them from tipping, each is set upon a ring made of refuse cane. When sugar-cane was first introduced among the Cayapa, rum was not made, but the fermented guarapo was much drunk, and even at the present time considerable quantities are so used. To be sure, it is by no means so intoxicating as rum itself, but after it has fermented for two to three weeks it contains a considerable proportion of alcohol. The fermented guarapo is drunk not only about the home and during the process of distillation, but also to a certain extent at fiestas, to which it is brought in large ollas and consumed in place of rum and by some in preference to it.

The guarapo is finally distilled in order to produce the concentrated alcoholic beverage known by the Spanish name aguardiente and called by the Cayapa i'ckala. The still used in this final process is illustrated in pl. LXIII, from a photograph made while the distillation was in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

planting. They are, however, all eaten raw and to a limited extent by the Cayapa whenever obtainable. 245 262

Hunting

In the Cayapa region, where game of various sorts is so abundant, hunting is a practice of considerable importance. This is now done almost entirely with old-fashioned muzzle-loading shotguns, which have supplanted blow-guns almost entirely. In aboriginal times the blow-gun was the chief weapon employed in hunting, and a few of them are still in use, especially by the boys in hunting small birds. In addition to the blow-gun the Cayapa say that they formerly had lances made entirely of the wood of certain hard palms, and that more recently they used the bow and arrow. They maintain that they originally did not know the use of the bow and arrow, but that they became acquainted with these only after coming down from the high mountains to the vicinity of their present abode, which was then occupied by another people. The bow and arrow appear to have been comparatively little used at any time by the Cayapa, but formerly the lance was much used in hunting wild hogs and one or two other species of game. In fact it is still used by some in hunting the guanta, a species of large rodent which lives in burrows. 224 411 [177] [177]

The blow-gun, called by the Cayapa pitcū'ə, is a slender tube varying from about six to nine feet in length, made of palm-wood wrapped with pitigua and the whole covered with brea, the black waterproof wax used especially for calking canoes. The blow-gun tapers [237]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

in his craftsmanship. The less particular artisan simply paints rude designs with a small coconut-bark brush.

The designs, called kū'm bīlya, used upon canoes are varied. They are largely geometric, consisting chiefly of dots, lines, and triangles, although sometimes animal figures are employed. These last, however, appear only on those canoes made by the Cayapa for sale. On pl. LXXII-LXXV are shown most of the designs used by the Cayapa on canoes made for their own use. They bear no special symbolic significance, none of them is typical of any special group of people, and no individual ownership is connected with any of them. In large measure they bear no names other than the generic kū'm bīlya, literally "canoe design."

As before mentioned, brea is the wax made by certain small bees common to the region. It is called amû'ya, and is of two kinds, black and yellow, the latter being much preferred. The particular bees which produce the brea are of four different species. A small black bee, which lives in hollow trees and is called paba ta'nda, makes the wax of the best quality and in greater quantities than any of the others. Another small black species, called ta'nda also, lives likewise in hollow trees and makes much more honey than wax, but a certain amount of its wax is used. A third species is called ciñemi'skī; it is also black, but builds its nest in the ground and its wax is used to a limited extent. The fourth species is a small yellow bee called amûī a'ma; its wax is black.

Brea is obtained by smoking out the bees and chopping

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

237 222 open the log or chopping down the tree. None of these species of bees makes honey of any particular value, hence they are sought almost exclusively for the wax. The bees are very vicious, and therefore a certain amount of danger attends the process of obtaining the brea. In smoking out the bees, ordinarily a wide strip of green bark, about three feet long, or the large blossom bract of a large species of palm, is used as a case in

FIG. 12.—Device for smoking out bees

which to place the green or wet wood and coals used to make the smudge. Near its ends this bundle is securely bound by two pieces of pitigua which project enough to make loops about fifteen inches in length, by which the apparatus may be carried about. When completed, this smudging device (fig. 12) is about ten or twelve inches in diameter and three feet in length. It is taken by a man, who has wound about his head and the other exposed parts of his body handkerchiefs or other pieces of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

cloth, and is placed near the opening at which the bees enter and leave the tree or log. The smudge apparatus is then fanned until a volume of smoke is produced, which in time drives away or stupefies the bees and makes possible the taking of the brea. The wax is found in large blocks, usually at the bottom of the nest, and is cut out with an ax or a machete. It keeps indefinitely, and is stored either in the house or is buried in the ground until needed.

Shortly before or sometimes just after painting the canoe with brea, a hole is cut in the middle of the prow at a point just back of the slightly raised transverse line upon its upper surface, for the cable by which the canoe is moored. This cable, called kondō'pi, consists usually of from two to four strands of carefully selected pitigua twisted together. Such a cable of three strands is shown in pl. xcr, 1. The length of the cable usually varies according to its diameter and the number of its strands, governed by the size of the canoe for which it is made. For very small canoes, frequently a single strand of pitigua is sufficient, but in most cases a two-strand cable is required; very large canoes have three-strand and sometimes even four-strand cables. In making a cable it is necessary first to twist each of the pitigua strands separately, the bark of the strands first having been removed. By means of this twisting the strand is rendered pliable, as well as stronger, since the fibers, which ordinarily would be parallel, are forced to twist around one another. The twisted strand is now wound round a hooked stick, such as that used in cleaning the

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

back an exhaustive account of their subsistence pattern and material culture as well as considerable data on religion and ceremonial life. According to modern interests, the report is weak in life-cycle data and economics, and a serious drawback is the almost complete lack of comparative considerations. Moreover, it describes a culture with marked European influences. Nevertheless, at this writing, it remains one of our most complete accounts of an aboriginal South American group. The remaining titles in the bibliography refer to linguistic treatises, hearsay accounts, and phantasies of hurried travelers.

The inaccessibility of their habitat facilitated the *Cayapa's* survival into the 20th century, but it also prevented most chroniclers from visiting their land. Early references to naked and painted Indians living along the Patia River in large houses on tall poles and wearing gold ornaments might refer to the *Cayapa* or to some other *Chibchan* people. Jijón y Caamaño (1940–45, vol. 2) has reproduced fragments from an unpublished Cabello Balboa chronicle discussing the people of Esmeraldas Province during the 16th century. Among the peoples figuring prominently in Cabello Balboa's report are the *Nigua*, an Indian group inhabiting traditional *Cayapa* territory. Jijón y Caamaño's suggestion (1940–45, vol. 2) that the *Nigua* and *Cayapa* are one people seems tentatively acceptable.

Both peoples claimed to have descended from the Andean Highlands, though it is unclear if they were refugees from the *Inca* or Spanish invasions. As reported by Barrett, this tradition is very strong even now, four centuries after the Conquest, permeating various divergent activities of the *Cayapa*, who date many techniques and artifacts in terms of pre- or post-migration practices. In 1907 Beuchat and Rivet had pointed to toponymic and archeological similarities between Esmeraldas Province and the *Cara* country in the Highlands. Later work by Jijón y Caamaño (1912, 1919, 1940–45, vol. 2) has strengthened the case for *Chibchan* affiliation of the *Cara* language and given a measure of confirmation to native tradition.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Agriculture is the main occupation of the *Cayapa*, although fishing and hunting supply a large percentage of their food. Each house is surrounded by clearings and fields, and additional clearings are customarily made away from the river, in the bush. Most families have fields of plantains, bananas, sugarcane, coca, and sweet manioc (yuca); in addition, cotton, tobacco, maize, yams, and pineapples are frequently cultivated. Many wild plants are encouraged through weeding and other care.

Plantains (pl. 60, *bottom, right*) form the staple food of the *Cayapa*, and each family will have several acres planted to this perennially ripening fruit. Bananas are fed to the hogs and cover an acreage almost as large as that of the plantain.

PLATE 60.—**Colorado and Cayapa Indians.** *Top (left)*: Colorado man, early 20th century. *Top (right)*: Tsáchela (Colorado) man wearing silver nose ornament. *Bottom (left)*: Tsáchela (Colorado) men playing marimba. *Bottom (right)*: Cayapa harvest of plantains. (After Rivet, 1905, opp. p. 178; after Von Hagen, 1939, pls. 7, 10; and after Barrett, 1925, pl. 60.)

[p. 284(D)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
. SD6 Cayapa SD6

At an early age the girls are instructed in household duties of all kinds, and often begin to spin and weave, as well as to make pottery, basketry, and other articles, at the age of five or six years. They also take a hand in agriculture when very small. As they grow older and become more proficient in these various arts, they enter more and more into the regular daily work of the home, until they finally marry, which they usually do at an early age, often at about seventeen or eighteen years.

The daily life of the men is also a busy one. They do their share of the work in the fields, besides being industrious hunters and fishermen. They are expert woodworkers, making very excellent canoes, paddles, benches, images used as toys by children, musical instruments, certain cooking utensils, and various other objects of wood. They make and tend the fish corrals, as well as set the seines when the water is in a favorable condition to divert fish to certain places. In addition to trapping and netting fish, they also do much fishing with hook and line. They hunt a great deal and procure a very important part of the food supply in that way, for the jungle abounds in many kinds of game. When about the house, they are, like the women, almost always busy at something, as adzing a canoe, weaving a net, or doing some one of the many kinds of work which fall to the man's lot in the Cayapa division of labor. Since the introduction of needles and thread among the Cayapa, the men have taken up sewing and have become very efficient tailors for their simple needs.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

few restrictions are placed

upon the children, and punishment is very rarely necessary. The children usually play together amicably, and the considerate care given by elder children to their young brothers and sisters is especially noticeable. The agriculture practised by the Cayapa requires a great deal of labor in connection with the various crops, especially plantains, sugar-cane, and cacao. In this cultivation the whole family joins, the children, even when very small, cheerfully doing their share in clearing away the weeds and brush that grow so rapidly in the tropics, and in harvesting the crops.

The children have various amusements, though no games in the ordinary sense of the term. They have several kinds of toys. Musical tops, such as those shown in pl. LXXXV, 2-5, made of gourds and certain large nuts, are much used. Wooden dolls of various mammal, bird, and human forms, such as those shown in pl. LXXXIV, are also much used. They have toy canoes varying from a few inches to several feet in length, and toy paddles for use with them. These canoes and paddles they use a great deal, especially when swimming, which is a very common and healthful amusement among both sexes.

The children are trained to this canoe life from infancy, and one of the first toys of a child is a paddle. At a very early age children are instructed in its use, so that even at the age of five or six years a child can take a small canoe and paddle along the river for short distances.

The children also play with small baskets, fans, mats,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Food and its Preparation

241 262 The territory of the Cayapa is abundantly supplied by nature with both vegetal and animal foods, the former being the more important. In addition, various introduced vegetal foods are now raised by the natives, the most notable of which are plantains, bananas, sugar-cane, yuca, pineapples, cacao, and sweet potatoes. There are also various introduced fruits, such as guabos, caimitos, sapotin, papayas, and, to a limited extent, coconuts. In addition to these, many species of wild plants and trees yield foods; especially is this true of the palms, such as chonta dura and palma real.

224 262 The jungle abounds in a great variety of mammals and birds, most of which furnish food for the Indians. The mammals mostly used are the guanta and the guatin, two large species of rodents, the peccary, the wild-hog, the deer, the jaguar, the puma, the ocelot, a small species of red squirrel, a large species of wood-rat, the sloth, the ant-eater, and the armadillo. The birds most used as food are two species of grouse, two species of wild turkey, two species of toucan, and several species of dove. The rivers abound in various kinds of fish, several of which are eaten by the Cayapa. A species of lobster is also plentiful in the streams, and there is a very small mussel-like bivalve which is consumed to a limited extent. Reptiles of all kinds are abundant, although the boa and certain other species of large serpents occur in the region. The iguana and its eggs are much prized as food, and numbers of these large lizards are taken in the season when they come down

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

AGRICULTURE

As before stated, the Cayapa practise agriculture to such an extent that it may be considered their chief occupation, for by it are produced their chief food supply and also certain materials used in textiles. Under agriculture should be classed not only the introduced domesticated plants, but also certain indigenous vegetal growths which are cared for to a greater or lesser extent. These various products are in large measure raised for consumption by the Indians themselves, but some are sold in the settlements at the mouth of the river.

The regular Cayapa dwelling, as before stated, is situated near the bank of the river, and is almost always flanked, usually on both sides, by clearings and fields. Plantains, bananas, sugar-cane, cacao, cotton, yuca, zacachera, pineapples, yams, tobacco, corn, coconuts, rubber, and certain herbs are grown by the Indians. The first five of these are almost invariably found in the fields immediately adjacent to the house. Some of the other products mentioned, such as yams, corn, coconuts, and yuca, are not raised by all the Indians, and rubber is more frequently grown at some distance from the house, as it thrives better under special soil conditions. In addition to these nearby fields, frequently a favorable location for more or less extensive plantings in the hills is found along the banks of some estero and at a considerable distance from the river. By some of the Indians it is claimed that the plantain grows better at some distance from the main stream, as does also "pita," the plant which yields the tough

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

241 white fibers used in making one kind of string. In all cases, however, such fields are comparatively near some stream, thus enabling those who cultivate them to travel back and forth in canoes and to transport readily the product of the fields to their homes.

245 The most important vegetal product of the Cayapa fields is the plantain, the uses of which as a food have already been discussed. The plantain, like the banana, is grown from root-stocks, never from seed. After the planting of one of these root-stocks, nine to ten months of growth are required before the first racime of fruit is harvested; but while the stalk bearing this first racime is coming to maturity, several small shoots from the parent root-stock are developing, so that within a few weeks after the harvesting of the first racime a second is matured, and so on indefinitely. Thus when a field of plantain is once established, it practically never needs replanting, provided, of course, it is properly tended and cleared of the rapidly-growing brush and weeds. Each root in such a field will mature a stalk and a racime of fruit about once every four to six weeks the year round, there being practically no seasons or seasonal changes in this region. A stalk bears but a single racime, and this is so heavy that, as the young fruits make their appearance, a prop is always placed against the trunk of the plant upon the side on which the racime hangs. When the fruits are well filled, but while they are yet green, the entire stalk is chopped down with a machete. This is done for the reason that the stalk bears but a single racime and would therefore naturally die after

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ears each. These bunches are then hung from the roof to prevent attacks by rodents. Whenever possible the corn is hung where the heat from the fire will keep it from molding.

The foregoing are the chief agricultural food products of the Cayapa. Excepting the maize and the potato, all were introduced since the Spanish conquest and are now systematically cultivated. In this connection should be mentioned certain palms which provide food of one kind or other, and which, while they cannot be strictly classed under the head of agriculture, since they are not planted and tended as are the other plants mentioned, are of considerable economic importance.

One of these palms is that commonly known by the Spanish name chonta dura and called kanō'tci by the Cayapa. One variety of this produces a cluster of red fruits, another a cluster of yellow fruits. The Cayapa name for the fruit of this palm is ka'imbi. Both ripen in the late summer months and are much esteemed as food. By means of a long hooked bamboo pole, these clusters are torn from just below the crown of the palm, which is usually quite tall. The fruits are boiled in a cooking-pot or kettle; the tough skin is then easily peeled off, leaving the yellowish mealy meat ready to eat. In the center of this, in turn, is a very hard nut which, when cracked, yields a toothsome white meat with a flavor resembling that of ripe coconut. The mealy yellow meat is usually eaten with a little salt, but is especially good when eaten with a thick syrup made from cane juice. It is also frequently boiled in this syrup, the result being a kind of conserved fruit.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

species now used, the one producing a globular fruit called wa'lyū, and the other an ellipsoidal fruit called cā'lya, were introduced here from Colombia. Every house is provided with one or more of these trees, and usually at least one of each of the two species. These large gourd-like fruits are produced in considerable numbers by such a tree and find a variety of uses. They are gathered when just ready to turn from green to ripe and are immediately hollowed out into utensils of several kinds. The details of manufacture and the uses of these utensils are treated on pages 166–173.

Another fruit, some species of which are said to be indigenous and some introduced, which is found abundantly in this region, is what is called by the local Spanish name guabo or guaba. This requires no cultivation, but the trees are carefully guarded against destruction. It is rarely if ever purposely planted, but grows from the accidental dropping of seeds. In the vicinity of almost every house there are several trees of one or more of these species. The fruits, which grow in long pods, are much esteemed and are almost invariably eaten raw. Each variety has its own special name, as follows:

Cayapa	*Spanish*
mactē'-pa cīlyū,	guabo de machetes (machete guabo, so named on account of the shape of the pod).
ni'ñga cīlyū,	guabo de tacoano.
pī' cīlyū,	guabo dulce (sweet guabo). The Cayapa name signifies "water guabo."
sa' cīlyū,	guabo agria (sour guabo). The Cayapa name also signifies "sour guabo."
pū' cīlyū,	guabo.

of the current. Those going up-stream hug the bank as the pilot digs the tip of his oar blade into the bank, or if the channel is shallow enough, into the bed, and then, placing both hands about ten feet up the oar handle, he shoves back, sending the canoe ahead.

Farm land lies at varying distances back from the river. Each house is backed by a clearing which is used for garden crops or sugar cane. The main farm lands extend back from the river from one to three miles. Flat land is at a premium, and the cultivators work up and down the many hills.

Cayapa Physical Appearance. Although no systematic measurements were made, it was apparent from gross observations that Barrett's (1925-[illegible]) measurements are still valid. He described the Cayapas as short:

> . . . the men averaging only 155 cm. and the women only 140 cm. The range of individual variation among the men, as also among the women, is 14 cm. Among the men there are at least a few individuals who appeared to be somewhat taller than the maximum here given, but as a tribe the Cayapa must be considered somewhat below average in stature (Barrett 1925-[illegible]).

They appear to be mostly brachycephalic. The hair is thick, coarse, black and straight; their skin, light

small temporary shelters called by the Spanish term 342
ranchos. In general construction these *ranchos* are
similar to the permanent houses, but they may be only
a foot or two off the ground. As the property holdings 361
of most Cayapa are scattered, many build second permanent 591
houses at other convenient sites and alternate residences [423]
as the farming situation fluctuates. If relatives have a
house in the area already, then a new house need not be
built, and shelter is taken with the kin. It is possible
for a family to have no permanent abode of its own but
rather to shift back and forth between relatives who
happen to live near their property. This, however, is
a very rare occurrence, and in the few cases recorded,
I suspect that it is transitory. A "complete" person [885]
"*ya hombre completo*" to be fully adult should be master
of his own house. Pedrito Alupa, for example, was liv- [754]
ing with relatives, but he was bewitched and suffered
from many illnesses, and in addition his land was
"spoiled" by witchcraft. Despite this, he still felt
that the best thing for him to do was to get some land
elsewhere, and set up an independent household.

Subsistence Activities. Farming is the main occupation 241
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of the Cayapa and the Negroes of the area. The extreme humidity of the region, coupled with the saturated, heavy clay soil that predominates, precludes slash and burn cultivation. The Cayapa region is just on the very southern edge of the area marked by a peculiar diagnostic trait: 241 [171] [132]

> . . . slash-mulch cultivation, of probable Indian origin, has evolved. Seeds are broadcast and rhizomes and cuttings are planted in an uncleared plot; then the bush is cut; decay of cut vegetable matter is rapid, forming a thick mulch through which the sprouts from the seeds and cuttings appear within a week or ten days (West 1957: 129).

The main food crops are maize /pĩ̃ʃu/, plantain /pénda/, sugar cane /éla/, sweet manioc /tʊ́ʃʊ̃u/, Rascadera (Xanthosoma sagittifolium), a taro-like aroid tuber called /tʊ́a/, squash /ú/, pineapple /ʃ̃ĩlʸa/, beans /mʊ́la/, and bananas /seda/. The latter were universally considered to be starvation food, and prior to the recent world market demand for them, were fed to the pigs. There are many fruits such as papaya /papá¹ya/, oranges /lánsa/, lemons /lámo/, sapote /sapóta/, guabo /ʃ̃ĩlʸu/, chirimoya (A. cherimola). Some sweet potatoes are grown, but they are scarce due to the depredations of 241 262 [439] [231]

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pigs who find them especially delectable. The Cayapa seldom plant coconuts, but the Negroes do so whenever possible. Important palms are the *Tagua* and the *Chontadura*. The *tagua* nut was formerly an extremely important economic product; its hard seed was in constant demand on the world market for the manufacture of shirt buttons. With the rapid development of the plastics industry some thirty years ago, the market for *tagua* seeds completely collapsed. The Cayapa still talk nostalgically of the days when money did apparently grow on trees. Though its export value has declined, the *tagua* palm, nevertheless, is still important to the internal economy; the leaves are used extensively for roof thatching, the nut is a minor item in the diet, and when the tree dies, the /mi̇ɛ̃u/, a delectable and very oily grub can be dug out of the trunk. Both men and women may work in the gardens. Generally speaking, however, the men clear the garden and the women plant the seeds or roots. Men and women may harvest the crops.

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The staff of life for the inhabitants of the Pacific Lowland Culture Area is the plantain which is found in many varieties. It may be eaten green or

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position. She generally controls the finances and is consulted before any major purchase is made. If a large sale is made--for example, that of a canoe--she is on hand to count the money. During fiestas she doles out the money to her husband for rum purchases. It is not at all unusual to see a man, already quite drunk, whine, wheedle, threaten, curse, and coax his wife for a few coins. He usually gets it, but ever so begrudgingly. A man and his wife work the fields together and she is adept in the use of a machete. They seem to be in agreement on most things that involve the house and their children. When a child is punished he never seeks aid and comfort from the other parent. Children were never seen playing one parent off against the other. It is doubtful whether this would ever occur to a child. Similarly, parents do not use their children as foils for their own individual advantages.

If grandparents are residing in the home, they are treated with respect by their children and grandchildren. The grandchildren often call them "father" and "mother." Unless they are bedridden, the grandparents do a full share of work, and they continue working until

time this passes. The daughter-in-law is expected to help her mother-in-law when needed, but as both women have to work with and cook for their respective husbands, no onerous burdens are placed on the daughter-in-law. The household has no direction as such. Each nuclear family attends to its own tasks. If asked, they aid in the planting and weeding of the gardens of other non-residents but only if this does not detract from their own work. In temporary work-visits a man works for his in-laws in the following way. A man works with the man who married his sister but not with brothers of his brother-in-law. On the other hand, a man is expected on request, to work for any of the brothers and/or parents of his wife.

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Distant kin who may be referred to just as "family" may be resident in the household for varying periods of time, sometimes for years. No special disabilities are entailed and behavior is as described for close kin.

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<u>Compadrazgo</u>. The indisputable mark of Iberian contact in the New World is in the social institution

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

pared exclusively by boiling. Rascadera and yuca are grown to a much greater extent by the negroes who live along the river than by the Indians.

According to their own tradition, the Cayapa, having been formerly a mountain people, in earlier times subsisted largely on maize or Indian corn (Cayapa, pi′cû), which is still one of the principal foods of practically all the Indians of the higher Andes. On moving to the lower altitudes, the Cayapa brought the maize with them, and even yet a small quantity is grown by them. The plant itself it comparatively small, and the ears are very small, rarely exceeding six or seven inches in length. When gathered for food it is almost always taken green and is prepared in one of three ways. Frequently, the husk having been removed, the ear of green corn is simply roasted over coals, when it is considered quite a delicacy, though it lacks the rich flavor of our sweet corn. The products of the other two methods of preparing it are gruels. The first stages in making both kinds are the same, and the process is as follows: The necessary number of husked ears of green corn having been procured, the women chew the kernels from the cobs, depositing them in a large wooden tray, or batea. Since the introduction of various articles of commerce some households use a large tin grater for removing the kernels from the cobs. The kernels are then placed, handful after handful as needed, upon a mealing stone (pl. LXII, 1, 2) and ground with a stone muller such as the one shown resting on the mealing stone shown in fig. 2 of the plate mentioned, a small amount of water being added from

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

time to time. This thick paste is then placed in a cooking-pot or kettle with the requisite amount of water and boiled, the consistency of the gruel of course depending upon the amount of water added. The thick gruel is eaten with the fingers, or frequently nowadays with a spoon, and is eaten as ordinary food. The thin gruel, which is more frequently made and which usually is sufficiently liquid to be called a beverage rather than a mush, is drunk from small hemispherical calabashes. It is flavored with a little salt, or preferably with sugar. This food is called champo (tcambō'se in Cayapa) and is used almost exclusively at feasts, where it is served in canoe-shape wooden vessels, called tcambō's kūle, made especially for the purpose. These utensils are from two and a half to three and half feet long, their ends are made like the prow and stern of a regular canoe, and they are elaborately ornamented with the same painted designs as are used on large canoes. These little vessels may be set upon the feast table, but often they are carried about among the feasters, in which event one of the masters of ceremony takes the prow and another the stern and pass throughout the house, being careful that everyone is served. On the surface of the beverage float from two to four or five small calabash dippers, or mates, with which the champo is drunk.

A sufficient amount of maize to provide seed for the succeeding year is allowed to ripen on the stalk each season. The ears are gathered, the outer husks bent back, and tied together in bunches of a dozen or more

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

• 243 ears each. These bunches are then hung from the roof to prevent attacks by rodents. Whenever possible the corn is hung where the heat from the fire will keep it from molding.

177 241 262 The foregoing are the chief agricultural food products of the Cayapa. Excepting the maize and the potato, all were introduced since the Spanish conquest and are now systematically cultivated. In this connection should be mentioned certain palms which provide food of one kind or other, and which, while they cannot be strictly classed under the head of agriculture, since they are not planted and tended as are the other plants mentioned, are of considerable economic importance.

222 One of these palms is that commonly known by the Spanish name chonta dura and called kanō'tci by the Cayapa. One variety of this produces a cluster of red fruits, another a cluster of yellow fruits. The Cayapa [262] name for the fruit of this palm is ka'imbi. Both ripen in the late summer months and are much esteemed as food. [413] By means of a long hooked bamboo pole, these clusters are torn from just below the crown of the palm, which is 252 usually quite tall. The fruits are boiled in a cooking-pot or kettle; the tough skin is then easily peeled off, leaving the yellowish mealy meat ready to eat. In the center of this, in turn, is a very hard nut which, when cracked, yields a toothsome white meat with a flavor resembling that of ripe coconut. The mealy yellow meat is usually eaten with a little salt, but is especially good when eaten with a thick syrup made from cane juice. It is also frequently boiled in this syrup, the result being a kind of conserved fruit.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

very little attention until time to gather the fruit, which in this region is of excellent flavor, especially when allowed to ripen thoroughly on the plant.

The fleshy roots of the yuca (Cayapa, kā"tcū) are considerably used as food. The yuca is started by means of cuttings, and requires from seven to nine months to produce the edible roots. These roots are usually boiled in the regular manner when used as an ordinary food, but, as above mentioned, they are also frequently boiled in sugar-cane syrup to make a kind of preserves. The yuca is a very nutritious food, has an excellent flavor, and by many is much preferred to either potatoes or yams. It is never baked.

Potatoes (Cayapa, pū'lyū) do not thrive at this low altitude, owing to the heat and humidity, although they grow well in the valleys of the higher Andes. On rare occasions they are obtained from the Indians of these interior valleys who make journeys to the coast for trading and other purposes. They have also been procured in more recent years from the traders about the mouth of the river, but the Cayapa seldom purchase commodities of this class.

Another food of a similar kind which is grown by the Cayapa to a limited extent is the red yam. It is started by cuttings in the ordinary manner. In preparing them for food, the yams are boiled, but are never roasted, as is so frequently done by aboriginal peoples.

Of this class also is the root-stalk of the rascadera (Cayapa, nū'a), a species of caladium which is grown to a limited extent by a few of the Cayapa. This is also pre-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

pared exclusively by boiling. Rascadera and yuca are grown to a much greater extent by the negroes who live along the river than by the Indians.

According to their own tradition, the Cayapa, having been formerly a mountain people, in earlier times subsisted largely on maize or Indian corn (Cayapa, pī'cū), which is still one of the principal foods of practically all the Indians of the higher Andes. On moving to the lower altitudes, the Cayapa brought the maize with them, and even yet a small quantity is grown by them. The plant itself it comparatively small, and the ears are very small, rarely exceeding six or seven inches in length. When gathered for food it is almost always taken green and is prepared in one of three ways. Frequently, the husk having been removed, the ear of green corn is simply roasted over coals, when it is considered quite a delicacy, though it lacks the rich flavor of our sweet corn. The products of the other two methods of preparing it are gruels. The first stages in making both kinds are the same, and the process is as follows: The necessary number of husked ears of green corn having been procured, the women chew the kernels from the cobs, depositing them in a large wooden tray, or batea. Since the introduction of various articles of commerce some households use a large tin grater for removing the kernels from the cobs. The kernels are then placed, handful after handful as needed, upon a mealing stone (pl. LXII, 1, 2) and ground with a stone muller such as the one shown resting on the mealing stone shown in fig. 2 of the plate mentioned, a small amount of water being added from

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

roof, usually at a point two or three feet down from the ridge-pole. The other ends of these gable rafters are spread fan-like along the end beam (fig. 5, *f*, *f'*) of the superstructure so as to produce a complete frame for the attachment of the thatch of the gable. There is thus left at the top of this gable a small triangular opening, such as that shown in pl. x, which serves as a vent for the smoke from the open fire-box. The thatch is so laid on that it projects about two feet beyond the ends of the side roofs, while the thatch on the gable end just meets the underside of this projection. The projection of the ends of the side roofs in this manner prevents the rain from driving through the thatch along the line upon which the side and gable roofs meet, and it is also sufficient to prevent the entrance of rain through the triangular opening at the extreme top of the gable. The slant of the roof, both gable and side, is usually about forty-five degrees. The slant of the gable is regulated by the length of the short ridge-pole above mentioned. This whole construction of the superstructure of such a building is well illustrated in the unfinished dwelling shown in pl. VII.

The covering of the roof is a thatch of palm-leaves, usually those of the tagua, or ivory-nut palm. The necessity for a constant supply of these leaves, combined with the desire to perpetuate the supply of ivory nuts (since these are a source of considerable wealth), has caused the Cayapa to preserve carefully the groves of these palms. Even single palms growing quite apart from others are conserved. The trees, vines, and under-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

growth of the jungle are cut away from time to time around these palms, and about once a year, usually on the occasion of harvesting leaves for a thatch, the crown of leaves is trimmed. Any drooping dead leaves at the base of the crown are thrown away and the thoroughly mature healthy leaves only are selected for the thatch. Thus there remain at the center of this crown a number of young and more tender leaves which serve the needs of the plant itself and prevent damage to it which might otherwise arise from the loss of the mature leaves.

The tagua is a low-growing species of palm, the upper end of the stem, from which the leaves spring, rarely exceeding sixteen feet above the ground. The leaves are therefore easily gathered by means of a short ladder. This, combined with the fact that the tagua produces a very good quality of leaf, makes it almost the only species used for permanent thatch. While several other species of palm produce leaves of durable quality, they grow to such height that it is not expedient in most cases to gather the leaves except by cutting down the palm itself.

The tagua leaves, which reach an average length of about fourteen feet, have stout leaflets extending from the midrib at an angle of perhaps seventy degrees and for a distance of about three feet on each side of the midrib. To prepare the leaves for use, they are split in two along their midribs. Four of these half-leaves are then laid together so that the natural under-surfaces of the leaflets all face the same direction and the midribs are tied together with pitigua at two points.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925

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PLANTAIN FIELD

[p.79(A)]

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HARVEST OF PLANTAINS

[p. 74(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

241 white fibers used in making one kind of string. In all cases, however, such fields are comparatively near some stream, thus enabling those who cultivate them to travel back and forth in canoes and to transport readily the product of the fields to their homes.

•245 The most important vegetal product of the Cayapa fields is the plantain, the uses of which as a food have already been discussed. The plantain, like the banana, is grown from root-stocks, never from seed. After the planting of one of these root-stocks, nine to ten months of growth are required before the first racime of fruit is harvested; but while the stalk bearing this first racime is coming to maturity, several small shoots from the parent root-stock are developing, so that within a few weeks after the harvesting of the first racime a second is matured, and so on indefinitely. Thus when a field of plantain is once established, it practically never needs replanting, provided, of course, it is properly tended and cleared of the rapidly-growing brush and weeds. Each root in such a field will mature a stalk and a racime of fruit about once every four to six weeks the year round, there being practically no seasons or seasonal changes in this region. A stalk bears but a single racime, and this is so heavy that, as the young fruits make their appearance, a prop is always placed against the trunk of the plant upon the side on which the racime hangs. When the fruits are well filled, but while they are yet green, the entire stalk is chopped down with a machete. This is done for the reason that the stalk bears but a single racime and would therefore naturally die after

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the ripening of the fruit, and also to facilitate harvesting the heavy racime of fruit, which is usually from ten to fifteen feet from the ground. The fruit having been removed, the trunk is chopped up and rolled away from the newly growing shoots. Owing to its succulent character and to climatic conditions, the trunk decays rapidly. 245

Being the chief food of the Cayapa, plantains are grown in considerable quantities, often a single family having a field covering several acres. It appears, however, to thrive better in some places than in others. For instance, in the region about Punta Venado the land is comparatively low and wet, and complaint is made that the plantain does not do well. Along the Rio Onzole, on the other hand, better conditions are said to prevail, the land being somewhat higher and having better drainage.

The fields of plantain are in large measure tended by the women, though the men frequently assist in clearing the fields. The harvesting is done almost entirely by the women, who cut down the stalks as above mentioned. They strip off a wide band of the bark from the midrib of one of the large leaves, which they use as a head-band in carrying the racimes of fruit from the field to the canoe, thence to the house. As before stated, the plantain is always gathered while green. Even if ripe plantain is desired, it is usually gathered green and allowed to ripen indoors. The gathering of the plantain while green is, first of all, a matter of necessity, since if it were left in the field to ripen it would be devoured by parrots,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

rodents, and bats. Furthermore, the plantain has a much superior flavor when gathered green and ripened in a shady and fairly cool place. If allowed to ripen on the plant, the Indians claim that it is insipid.

The banana, which in some respects can hardly be distinguished from the plantain, is cultivated and harvested in precisely the same manner. Of this fruit there are three species: a large yellow, a small yellow, and a small red species; but they are almost never used as human food, being cultivated in nearly as great quantities as are plantains for the purpose of feeding the hogs, of which the Cayapa raise considerable numbers.

Sugar-cane, though introduced, has a native Cayapa name, e'lla, and is one of those products at present most grown by the Indians. Often immediately adjacent to the dwelling, and always within a short distance of it, is a cane-mill and distillery, called tapā'tci ya or ta'pā ya, usually surrounded by comparatively large fields of cane, which thrives especially in low, wet ground. In pls. I, II, are shown cane-mills which are immediately adjacent to the houses of their owners, and to the right in each case glimpses of the adjacent cane-fields may be had. In pl. VI is shown an isolated mill, flanked by its field of young cane. This mill is situated directly across the river from the dwelling of its owner.

After the original planting, a few months only are required before the cane is sufficiently mature to be cut. There are no regular times for the harvesting of the cane, which is usually governed by the necessity for a new

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[279] caldron a second time. If, however, a contrary result has been effected, someone else will usually "try his hand." [771] The whole process of rum-making is one in which the women do fully as much work as the men, and they also have "lucky" and "unlucky" hands in distillation.

Usually the ordinary distillation above described is considered sufficient. If, however, an exceptionally good rum is desired, as for use at certain feasts, a special process of fractionation is resorted to and the product of the ordinary distillation is redistilled. A special flavor is imparted to the rum at this time by putting into the caldron with it several of the large leaves of an aromatic herb which abounds in the region and which possesses an anise-like odor and flavor.

257 As previously stated, the chief use of sugar-cane is for making rum, but, as before described in speaking of foods, the Cayapa occasionally make syrup and also a kind of preserves. On the other hand, they never make 262 sugar, as do the negroes of this region. Much raw cane is also chewed. The fibrous though tender stalk is, of course, not swallowed, but it yields a large quantity of rich, sweet juice which is highly relished. The cane is also frequently roasted in the coals; and in boiling cane-juice to make guarapo for distillation, stalks of raw cane are frequently cut up and thrown into the kettle to boil with the juice. The result of either the roasting or the boiling is a rich food with a flavor resembling that of maple, and is even more palatable than the raw cane.

• 240 Cacao (Cayapa, kaka'bō), from which chocolate is made, is extensively grown by the Cayapa, although

Barrett E-9 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

almost exclusively for the sale of the dried seeds. The planting of a grove of cacao requires considerable care. The seeds are planted in calabashes or boxes at the house, and the young plants are not set into the ground until they have attained a height of from four to six inches. They are carefully protected when first planted in the open ground, a joint of large bamboo being set down around each. This precaution is necessary chiefly on account of the prevalence of ants, which would soon devour the young plants if they were not thus protected. When encased in this tube of bamboo, although it is open at the top, the young plant is rarely molested. From four to five years are required to bring one of these trees into full bearing, but even with the crude Cayapa methods of horticulture, a large tree sometimes produces as much as two or three hundred pounds of dried cacao in a year.

The brown, ovate seeds, which are contained in a large red or yellow egg-shape pod, are each surrounded by a whitish or translucent fleshy covering. The pods are gathered when ripe, brought to the house, and cut open with the machete. The seeds with their fleshy coating are then placed in a large wooden tray, such as that shown in pl. LXIII, *b*, some water is added, and the mass is kneaded and worked thoroughly with the hands, thus removing all the fleshy covering and leaving the seeds ready for drying. As a by-product of this process, the outer coloring of the seeds, when mixed with water, forms a liquid of the consistency of thin gruel and with a pleasant, slightly acid flavor. This liquid is very re-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

222 Of these species the one most commonly found about the houses and the most used is pū' cīlyū, a wide-spreading tree reaching a height of about forty feet. A general view of this species is shown in pl. v, in which the broad, branching top of one of the trees is shown prominently against the sky toward the left of the center of the picture. The habits of growth of the other varieties are similar to this.

247 301 [521] A species of small Compositæ, called la'lyū, which somewhat resembles the marigold, is grown with considerable care, its special use being to provide decorative flowers for fiestas. The flowers are made up into long garlands which are draped about the altar of the church or are worn about the necks of those celebrating the fiesta. They are also sometimes inserted in the hair, over the ears, or about the clothing.

249 Upon the drying platform attached to the house there is almost always a fragment of an old canoe or some broken pots or other utensils in which are grown several of the various species of medicinal herbs, such as limoncillo, or of other plants valued for the scent of their leaves or seeds, or plants used as teas.

245 262 In addition to those already mentioned in greater detail, there are several other introduced fruits, such as the papaya, the caimito, the orange, the lemon, the lime, and the sour sap, which are grown so rarely by the Cayapa as to make them almost negligible in a consideration of the vegetal products of the people. They spring up almost always by the accidental falling of seeds in favorable soil, rather than by intentional

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

planting. They are, however, all eaten raw and to a limited extent by the Cayapa wherever obtainable.

Hunting

In the Cayapa region, where game of various sorts is so abundant, hunting is a practice of considerable importance. This is now done almost entirely with old-fashioned muzzle-loading shotguns, which have supplanted blow-guns almost entirely. In aboriginal times the blow-gun was the chief weapon employed in hunting, and a few of them are still in use, especially by the boys in hunting small birds. In addition to the blow-gun the Cayapa say that they formerly had lances made entirely of the wood of certain hard palms, and that more recently they used the bow and arrow. They maintain that they originally did not know the use of the bow and arrow, but that they became acquainted with these only after coming down from the high mountains to the vicinity of their present abode, which was then occupied by another people. The bow and arrow appear to have been comparatively little used at any time by the Cayapa, but formerly the lance was much used in hunting wild hogs and one or two other species of game. In fact it is still used by some in hunting the guanta, a species of large rodent which lives in burrows.

The blow-gun, called by the Cayapa pitc2's, is a slender tube varying from about six to nine feet in length, made of palm-wood wrapped with pitigua and the whole covered with brea, the black waterproof wax used especially for calking canoes. The blow-gun tapers

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Calabash Implements and Utensils

415 177 245 A class of implements which appear to have come into use since the Cayapa moved to the river valley are made from calabashes, the gourd-like fruit of a tree grown quite commonly along the river. It is said by the Cayapa that in former times pottery was used largely for the many purposes which the various utensils made from the calabash now serve, for the reason that this tree does not grow in their former mountain home. They say that the particular species of calabash which they now grow and use so extensively is an importation from Colombia, but that there is indigenous to this section another and smaller species. The Cayapa maintain that the Indios Bravos, who formerly inhabited this region, used this indigenous calabash and made receptacles similar to those which they themselves now make.

415 245 As before described, there are now grown two different forms of calabash, the one globose (called wa′iyū), the other ellipsoidal (known as cu′lya). These fruits grow to about the size of a man's head, though sometimes they are considerably larger, and a tree produces a large number in the course of a year.

415 The calabash, for whatever purpose it is intended, is always gathered while green, but it is not at its best until it commences to ripen. On the other hand, if allowed to ripen completely it becomes too hard for use. The globose form is much more used than is the ellipsoidal, since the latter yields usually but one type of utensil: the spoon, of which six or eight are obtained from a single

down stream because the lobsters tend to move against the current. The lobster easily enters the mouth which consists of a conical chamber made of pointed bamboo. When the lobster enters the bait chamber, it is prevented from leaving by the pointed ends of the small section of the cone. The trap is tied to a long pole. Traps are set at intervals along the river, and they are visited every morning. There are no restrictions as to site location, but once a trap is set, no one else sets one next to it..

While the Cayapa derive most of their subsistence from hunting, gathering, fishing, and planting, they are also engaged in commercial planting of bananas and as the market expands the Cayapa are becoming more and more peasant like.

Tribal Peasants

Wolf in his discussion of "Types of Latin American Peasantry" marks off two main categories, the corporate peasant community characteristic of the highlands and the open peasant community that characterizes the tropical lowland areas.

except in one instance. The Cayapa of the Rio Camerones have decided that no Indian may sell land to a Negro in the upper reaches of the river. Rumors are constantly reported that Negroes are moving in and there is definite concern that community strength is not sufficient to maintain the boundaries. The meager historical data indicate that in the early nineteenth century the Cayapa were largely self sufficient and were not producing much for cash. By the 1900's their wants and needs had increased and they were now engaged in the small scale production and sale of rubber and Tagua nuts. By the end of the first world war rubber and Tagua were major cash crops in the region. During the second world war rubber boomed and Tagua declined almost to the vanishing point. After the war the rubber market similarly declined. By now the Cayapa were well used to money and the things that money could buy, sewing machines, rifles, shotguns, shot, powder, cloth, watches, rubber boots, ready-made clothing, cosmetics, patent medicines, pressure lamps, rice, sugar, soft drinks, and many other products of our tinsel civilization. After the Second World War, Ecuador became a center of a banana boom and the Cayapa were affected greatly. Like the Negroes,

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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they cut more land for banana production, but unlike Negroes they always maintained a large reserve for subsistence agriculture. They are in the money economy but not yet of it. The Cayapa are not a completely open peasant community. Movement into the Cayapa cultural community is limited to born Cayapa and boundary maintenance is structured in terms of language and culture. A true picture, however, must view the Negro and Indian sectors as parts of a larger unit. The national government views the Cayapa as a corporate body with certain rights which do not pertain to the open peasant Negro communities in the area. The Cayapa are held by the government to be the owners of the land (which is ill-defined and not surveyed) and all outsiders must purchase land from them. This tends to emphasize the commercial character of the open peasant communities and we may be perhaps justified in calling them banana farmers. They must invest capital in farm land to increase production. The Cayapa need not do so. If the Cayapa requires more land, he may buy it to be sure, but he can also cut it out of the forest. However, as yet he tends not to increase his production at the behest of

[P.189]

CHAPTER V

LAND, PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Land is the basis of the Cayapa economy. The region, undefined and unsurveyed, has been deeded to the Cayapa as a tribe. Negroes and Whites who desire land must purchase it from an Indian in order to have a clear title. The title is for the land itself and not just for usufruct. The Cayapa may obtain land by cutting it out of the virgin forest (monte jivaro), he may buy it or he may inherit it. More land is available for subsistence farming than for other purposes. For the cash crop of bananas the land must be of good quality, well drained, and within easy access of a navigable stream that flows into the main river body traveled by La Propaganda, the banana buyers. In addition, the grower must be able to meet the banana boat on schedule. A stand of rubber trees will also increase the value of the land. Rubber is sold in Colombia where, traditionally, the price is higher than in Ecuador and retail prices on consumer items wanted by the Cayapa are cheaper. Once a year, as a rule,

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Once a year, as a rule, groups of Cayapa will band together for protection against the cutthroats and brigands that infest the coastal regions, load their canoes with as much rubber as they have been able to collect, and set off in small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colombian goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to poaching.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be good for raising pigs. (Remoteness lessens the possibility of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and sapotes. Large sections are planted to the tagua palm that, at one time, was as important economically as the banana is today. The tagua nut is only a minor item in the

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diet now, but the leaves are in demand for roofing material. Another cash crop is hardwood trees, but they are not often planted; enterprising individuals cut them out of the unclaimed forest.

Land is seldom held in one large block. It is usually scattered about among other holdings so that, quite often, choice properties are separated by distances involving several day's travel. Many Cayapa have two houses, each built as close as possible to their main holdings. Inevitably, they must spend considerable time away from large sections of their property and, as a result, Negroes often illegally harvest standing crops or, perhaps, plant their own. Negroes may buy land from the Cayapa, but as the banana economy continues to boom, the Indians are more and more reluctant to sell. Sometimes usufruct is rented by the Negro, usually for a share of the profits, but arguments invariably develop. It is said that the Indian is always at a disadvantage in his dealings with the Negro because of the latter's readiness to engage in witchcraft and "spoil" the land for the Indian owner. If several members of an Indian's family sicken or die, after a recent quarrel with a Negro about land, it is assumed that witchcraft has been

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Antonito forfeits his profit by fighting. About 1955, Pedro José planted some calabash trees to mark the boundary between his land and the neighboring land of Antonito Riki. One day, while working near the line, he spotted some cacao plants that had been planted on his side. He said nothing at the time, but some weeks later, during a wake given by Kalía at his daughter's death, Pedro José became drunk and inquired of the group at large, and of Antonito in particular, "Who planted the cacao?" Antonito admitted the act, and an argument began which soon developed into a general fight. Kalía stopped it after a while, stating that he did not want people to fight when he was sad over the death of his daughter. Pedro José wanted forty sucres damages for the blows to his eyes but Antonito, backed up by his mother, refused to pay and Pedro José left the wake with his daughter. Later he uprooted the cacao plants, but nothing more was ever done.

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Although the uprooting of the cacao plants was an act of spite, Pedro José was justified, as the boundary was clear and well-known. Ordinarily, Antonito could have expected to profit from the labor he expended in planting the cacao, but by getting drunk,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

rodents, and bats. Furthermore, the plantain has a much superior flavor when gathered green and ripened in a shady and fairly cool place. If allowed to ripen on the plant, the Indians claim that it is insipid.

The banana, which in some respects can hardly be distinguished from the plantain, is cultivated and harvested in precisely the same manner. Of this fruit there are three species: a large yellow, a small yellow, and a small red species; but they are almost never used as human food, being cultivated in nearly as great quantities as are plantains for the purpose of feeding the hogs, of which the Cayapa raise considerable numbers.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Of these species the one most commonly found about the houses and the most used is pū' cīlyū, a wide-spreading tree reaching a height of about forty feet. A general view of this species is shown in pl. v, in which the broad, branching top of one of the trees is shown prominently against the sky toward the left of the center of the picture. The habits of growth of the other varieties are similar to this.

A species of small Compositæ, called lu'lyū, which somewhat resembles the marigold, is grown with considerable care, its special use being to provide decorative flowers for fiestas. The flowers are made up into long garlands which are draped about the altar of the church or are worn about the necks of those celebrating the fiesta. They are also sometimes inserted in the hair, over the ears, or about the clothing.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

addition to the foregoing food-producing plants, 246
there are various others that are valuable for other materials which they produce. One of these is cotton, called kû'a. The Cayapa are expert weavers and in 286
large measure produce all their own material. Their [439]
textiles are made almost entirely of cotton, the only wool used being that obtained from the Quichua of the higher Andes, or in these days from the yarn of commerce. The yarn used by the Cayapa is always red or blue, and is employed for the sake of the colors, not for the material itself. They grow a white and also a brown cotton, the 248
former being, according to their statements, an intro- [386]
duced species, the latter an indigenous one. These, together with the green and lavender dyes and the two colors of yarn, give them a total of six native colors. Cotton is usually grown from the seed, and requires little attention when once the plants have attained a fair size. Only a few plants of either the white or the brown cotton are grown by any one family, but they bloom perpetually and are sufficient to produce all the raw material needed. The cotton is allowed to mature completely, that is until the bolls have opened and the ripe cotton is nearly ready to fall. It is then gathered (being in the condition shown in pl. CVII, 11), thoroughly dried, and stored away in packages (such as that shown in fig. 12 of the same plate), and wrapped in leaves of the hoja blanca, until needed for spinning. To a limited extent also the [272]
cotton plant is used in making a beverage, the leaves being boiled after the manner of tea.

Tobacco is considerably used by the Cayapa, but never 276

Barrett E-5 (1903-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

these acts, combined with the spraying and smoking, gradually drive the spirits from the locality.

Another important product of this region is pita, called sa nō, by the Cayapa, a plant resembling somewhat the yucca of the Southwestern desert region of the United States, but with leaves which sometimes reach a length of fifteen or sixteen feet. It is usually grown at some distance back from the river, and seems to thrive best in the dense shade of the jungle. When once well started it requires very little attention other than the cutting away of undergrowth and clearing of the field which is incidental to the harvesting of the leaves. These leaves yield long, very strong fibers, called sañ bu'tyū, which are twisted into two-ply strings. These are much used in net-making, in binding the selvage of textiles, for fish-lines, and for a variety of other purposes where very strong cord is required. The leaves are cut close to the ground and brought to the house in bundles such as those illustrated in pl. LXVI, where a large and a small bundle of the freshly cut, long leaves are shown leaning against the side of the house. Each leaf yields a large number of fibers, the laborious preparation of which will be discussed in speaking of string-making.

While pita is the strongest material and is considered the best from all points of view, there is another material, called in the local Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa señgi'lya, which is used especially where string or rope of large diameter and of moderate strength is desired, such as for hammocks. This material is derived from the bark of a tree and is obtained by heating in a manner

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

ends of all the elements are cut off in the same manner as was done in making the end with which the mat was begun.

Mats of this kind are most frequently used by the Cayapa in the hammocks which serve as cradles. A small mat is placed crosswise in the hammock and holds its edges apart; the baby is then laid upon this mat and swung in the hammock as a cradle. Large mats are occasionally used as beds, but for this purpose bark cloth is preferred. An important use for mats also is as a drying surface upon which to spread cacao. In canoeing, a large mat serves as a canopy or sun covering for small children or for an invalid. If its ends are placed just inside the gunwales of the canoe, bow upward, a mat forms a convenient and very serviceable canopy by virtue of its natural stiffness. An instance of such a use is shown in pl. LXXX.

SPINNING

As was mentioned in speaking of agricultural products, the Cayapa raise considerable quantities of cotton, that is to say, all the cotton needed for weaving the cloth used for their mantas and clouts and for the belts used to hold the mantas in place. No one family raises any considerable number of plants, since a single plant produces almost continuously the year round and aggregates in the course of a year a considerable quantity of bolls. These plants are grown in any convenient place near the house or on the edge of a field of cane or of a grove of chocolate trees.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

248 The cotton ordinarily grown in this section is of a brownish color, and it is claimed by the Cayapa that this is indigenous. It must be said, however, that brown cotton rarely grows wild along the river or in the mountains, but is seen almost exclusively about inhabited places or the sites of recently abandoned habitations.

The second variety of cotton is pure white and is also grown by the Cayapa to a limited extent. It is maintained that this is not a native plant, but is a direct importation from the mountain region or from the Rio Esmeraldas territory. In fact, this white cotton is now sometimes purchased by the Cayapa in their trips to the Rio Esmeraldas, because so little of it is grown along their own river.

When the cotton bolls open and the seeds with their covering of fine fibers are almost ready to drop, they are gathered and, if necessary, dried. The contents of two of these fully opened bolls are shown in pl. CVII, 11. It is frequently desirable to store the cotton away in this form for some time, in which event a considerable number of the bolls are made up into a package which is wrapped with a leaf or two of hoja blanca. Such a bundle is usually tied with a piece of pitigua and in this form may be stored for an indefinite period. In the bundle shown in pl. CVII, 12, a section of the wrapping has been torn away in order to show the contents. When it is desired to prepare the cotton for use, the bolls are cleaned of the seeds and of any foreign matter that may have become mixed with the fibers, since the presence of any foreign substance interferes materially with spinning. In this

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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GIRDLES, FILLET, AND SPINNING MATERIALS

[p. 252(A)]

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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HARVESTING CANE

[p. 62(a)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

rodents, and bats. Furthermore, the plantain has a much superior flavor when gathered green and ripened in a shady and fairly cool place. If allowed to ripen on the plant, the Indians claim that it is insipid.

The banana, which in some respects can hardly be distinguished from the plantain, is cultivated and harvested in precisely the same manner. Of this fruit there are three species: a large yellow, a small yellow, and a small red species; but they are almost never used as human food, being cultivated in nearly as great quantities as are plantains for the purpose of feeding the hogs, of which the Cayapa raise considerable numbers.

Sugar-cane, though introduced, has a native Cayapa name, e′lla, and is one of those products at present most grown by the Indians. Often immediately adjacent to the dwelling, and always within a short distance of it, is a cane-mill and distillery, called tapī′tcī ya or ta′pī ya, usually surrounded by comparatively large fields of cane, which thrives especially in low, wet ground. In pls. I, II, are shown cane-mills which are immediately adjacent to the houses of their owners, and to the right in each case glimpses of the adjacent cane-fields may be had. In pl. VI is shown an isolated mill, flanked by its field of young cane. This mill is situated directly across the river from the dwelling of its owner.

After the original planting, a few months only are required before the cane is sufficiently mature to be cut. There are no regular times for the harvesting of the cane, which is usually governed by the necessity for a new

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

supply of rum. When it is deemed best to replenish the rum supply, the whole family goes to the cane-field, and each with a machete and a hooked stick about three feet long, clears the field of all weeds and vines, and cuts as much of the matured cane as is needed. The stalks of cane are always cut close to the ground, and all the leaves are stripped off. The butt end of the stalk is then cut diagonally so as to leave a markedly beveled point, which facilitates its insertion between the rollers in grinding. This beveled cut is well illustrated at the lower end of the stalk of cane shown in pl. xv. This is a picture of Antonio Napa, or Pi′tcū apa according to his Cayapa name, chief of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa, at work in his cane-field, and exhibits a field of cane in process of harvesting. All the cane leaves which are stripped from the stalks, together with the vines and undergrowth, are carried to the side of the field and thrown into the brush, since if they were left on the ground, the vines especially would soon take root and grow as rapidly as before. As the mill is ordinarily immediately adjacent to the field, the cane is carried to it usually upon the shoulders of the harvesters. If, however, it is situated at a distance of several hundred yards, the cane is generally carried to the bank of the river and thence transported by canoe to the mill. The stalks, cut usually into lengths of from four to six feet, are piled in a large rick in front of the rollers used for grinding. As shown in pl. LXIV, the cane may first be corded up on the ground in front of the mill, and later put on the floor in front of the rollers.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[272] freshing and is drunk with much relish by the Indians.
257 The seeds themselves are spread upon mats on the drying platform of the house and are carefully watched during the next couple of weeks to prevent them from being wet by the frequent rains. After this period they are sufficiently dry to be stored away until the next trip down the river, when they are sold to traders. Cacao is [439] one of the most important exports of Ecuador, whose territory is the source of a considerable part of the chocolate of commerce.

274 Although the Cayapa cultivate so much cacao, they
272 drink it only now and then, usually at fiestas. It is prepared by first thoroughly grinding the dried cacao upon a mealing stone such as is used for grinding plantain, and then boiling. For this purpose the Cayapa make a pot of special form, such as that shown in pl. LXXXVII, 9. The boiling chocolate is stirred at intervals with an implement of special form called tcōkōla′*te* tcalī, illustrated in pl. LXI, 6–7. The result of this process is a comparatively thick, very rich and oily liquid, quite unlike the beverage prepared from the ordinary chocolate of commerce, since the chocolate prepared directly from the seeds as above described retains all the natural oil. It may be drunk in this form, but if sugar is available it is usually added.

249 Pineapples (Cayapa, tcī′lya), the only use of which is as
[262] a food, are grown to a limited extent by some of the Cayapa. The green tops of the fruits themselves are planted close together in rows, and from these the plants grow. When once established, such a plant requires

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

very little attention until time to gather the fruit, which in this region is of excellent flavor, especially when allowed to ripen thoroughly on the plant. 249

The fleshy roots of the yuca (Cayapa, kū''tcū) are considerably used as food. The yuca is started by means of cuttings, and requires from seven to nine months to produce the edible roots. These roots are usually boiled in the regular manner when used as an ordinary food, but, as above mentioned, they are also frequently boiled in sugar-cane syrup to make a kind of preserves. The yuca is a very nutritious food, has an excellent flavor, and by many is much preferred to either potatoes or yams. It is never baked. 244 262 [252]

Potatoes (Cayapa, pū'lyū) do not thrive at this low altitude, owing to the heat and humidity, although they grow well in the valleys of the higher Andes. On rare occasions they are obtained from the Indians of these interior valleys who make journeys to the coast for trading and other purposes. They have also been procured in more recent years from the traders about the mouth of the river, but the Cayapa seldom purchase commodities of this class. 244 439 262

Another food of a similar kind which is grown by the Cayapa to a limited extent is the red yam. It is started by cuttings in the ordinary manner. In preparing them for food, the yams are boiled, but are never roasted, as is so frequently done by aboriginal peoples. 244 262 252

Of this class also is the root-stalk of the rascadera (Cayapa, *tū'a*), a species of caladium which is grown to a limited extent by a few of the Cayapa. This is also pre-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

287 imprint of the maul (fig. 6) with which it was beaten as numerous sets of short parallel lines, all at an angle of about forty-five degrees with the perpendicular. Bark cloth is never decorated in any way and is strictly utilitarian. It serves almost exclusively as a sleeping [352 513] mat, and constitutes, together with a mosquito canopy and a thin cotton sheet used as a cover, all that is considered necessary for a bed. It is used occasionally for wrapping a dismantled loom or for some other special purpose.

The beating of the cloth must be done very carefully in order not to cut or tear apart the fibers, thus making holes in the cloth which render it practically worthless. The fibers naturally criss-cross and interlace in such a manner that when the beating is carefully done the result is a cloth which, while very thin, is at the same time very firm. If for any reason, however, a hole does appear in the cloth during the process of beating, it may be mended by simply placing over it a piece of bark of sufficient size to somewhat more than cover it and beating this in. The beating mixes the fibers of the patch with those of the main fabric in such manner as to make the patch almost as firm as the cloth itself.

415 At the present time some of the most characteristic ● 249 utensils of the Cayapa are made from calabashes. They 377 claim that in their former life in the mountains these utensils were of pottery and that the calabash came into use among them only after their arrival on the Rio Cayapas. It is said also that there was originally a calabash tree native to this region, but that the two

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

species now used, the one producing a globular fruit called wa′iyū, and the other an ellipsoidal fruit called cū′lya, were introduced here from Colombia. Every house is provided with one or more of these trees, and usually at least one of each of the two species. These large gourd-like fruits are produced in considerable numbers by such a tree and find a variety of uses. They are gathered when just ready to turn from green to ripe and are immediately hollowed out into utensils of several kinds. The details of manufacture and the uses of these utensils are treated on pages 166–173.

Another fruit, some species of which are said to be indigenous and some introduced, which is found abundantly in this region, is what is called by the local Spanish name guabo or guaba. This requires no cultivation, but the trees are carefully guarded against destruction. It is rarely if ever purposely planted, but grows from the accidental dropping of seeds. In the vicinity of almost every house there are several trees of one or more of these species. The fruits, which grow in long pods, are much esteemed and are almost invariably eaten raw. Each variety has its own special name, as follows:

Cayapa	*Spanish*
mactē′-pa cīlyū,	guabo de macheton (machete guabo, so named on account of the shape of the pod).
ni′ñga cīlyū,	guabo de tacoano.
pī′ cīlyū,	guabo dulce (sweet guabo). The Cayapa name signifies "water guabo."
sa′ cīlyū,	guabo agria (sour guabo). The Cayapa name also signifies "sour guabo."
pū′cīlyū,	guabo.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

222 Of these species the one most commonly found about the houses and the most used is pū′ cīlyū, a wide-spreading tree reaching a height of about forty feet. A general view of this species is shown in pl. v, in which the broad, branching top of one of the trees is shown prominently against the sky toward the left of the center of the picture. The habits of growth of the other varieties are similar to this.

247 301 [527] A species of small Compositæ, called lu′lyū, which somewhat resembles the marigold, is grown with considerable care, its special use being to provide decorative flowers for fiestas. The flowers are made up into long garlands which are draped about the altar of the church or are worn about the necks of those celebrating the fiesta. They are also sometimes inserted in the hair, over the ears, or about the clothing.

249 Upon the drying platform attached to the house there is almost always a fragment of an old canoe or some broken pots or other utensils in which are grown several of the various species of medicinal herbs, such as limoncillo, or of other plants valued for the scent of their leaves or seeds, or plants used as teas.

245 262 In addition to those already mentioned in greater detail, there are several other introduced fruits, such as the papaya, the caimito, the orange, the lemon, the lime, and the sour sap, which are grown so rarely by the Cayapa as to make them almost negligible in a consideration of the vegetal products of the people. They spring up almost always by the accidental falling of seeds in favorable soil, rather than by intentional

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except in one instance. The Cayapa of the Río Camerones have decided that no Indian may sell land to a Negro in the upper reaches of the river. Rumors are constantly reported that Negroes are moving in and there is definite concern that community strength is not sufficient to maintain the boundaries. The meager historical data indicate that in the early nineteenth century the Cayapa were largely self sufficient and were not producing much for cash. By the 1900's their wants and needs had increased and they were now engaged in the small scale production and sale of rubber and Tagua nuts. By the end of the first world war rubber and Tagua were major cash crops in the region. During the second world war rubber boomed and Tagua declined almost to the vanishing point. After the war the rubber market similarly declined. By now the Cayapa were well used to money and the things that money could buy, sewing machines, rifles, shotguns, shot, powder, cloth, watches, rubber boots, ready-made clothing, cosmetics, patent medicines, pressure lamps, rice, sugar, soft drinks, and many other products of our tinsel civilization. After the Second World War, Ecuador became a center of a banana boom and the Cayapa were affected greatly. Like the Negroes,

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[P.189]

CHAPTER V

LAND, PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Land is the basis of the Cayapa economy. The region, undefined and unsurveyed, has been deeded to the Cayapa as a tribe. Negroes and Whites who desire land must purchase it from an Indian in order to have a clear title. The title is for the land itself and not just for usufruct. The Cayapa may obtain land by cutting it out of the virgin forest (monte jivaro), he may buy it or he may inherit it. More land is available for subsistence farming than for other purposes. For the cash crop of bananas the land must be of good quality, well drained, and within easy access of a navigable stream that flows into the main river body traveled by La Propaganda, the banana buyers. In addition, the grower must be able to meet the banana boat on schedule. A stand of rubber trees will also increase the value of the land. Rubber is sold in Colombia where, traditionally, the price is higher than in Ecuador and retail prices on consumer items wanted by the Cayapa are cheaper. Once a year, as a rule,

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Once a year, as a rule, groups of Cayapa will band together for protection against the cutthroats and brigands that infest the coastal regions, load their canoes with as much rubber as they have been able to collect, and set off in small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colombian goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to poaching.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be good for raising pigs. (Remoteness lessens the possibility of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and sapotes. Large sections are planted to the taqua palm that, at one time, was as important economically as the banana is today. The taqua nut is only a minor item in the

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recently been planted without permission by the Cimarrón brothers of Encanto. Ciro and his brother were angry, but said nothing until they became drunk at a party at the home of Gabriel. Harsh words were exchanged, but Gabriel settled the case. He decided that the Cimarrón brothers could use the land for five years without any cost, but then the land would revert to Ciro and his brother, Santiagueño. Ciro did not like the decision and pointed out that the land would have to remain fallow for five years so that he would lose its use for ten years. There were about twenty-five rubber trees on the land, Ciro said, and if the trees were tapped by the Cimarrón brothers he would take the case, not to the /únʸi/, but to the authorities at Limones.

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The Cimarrón brothers claimed that the land did not belong to Ciro and Santiagueño. Ciro claimed that the land belonged to his father. The major issue lay in the fact that Ciro and his brother did not plant crops, but only tapped the rubber trees. Rubber tapping per se involves very little work, and no clearing of bush. It cannot be equated with the work of clearing and planting the land, weeding, and harvesting. Ciro's

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2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent canefields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported.

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Cayapa* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the priests visit the *Cayapa*.

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive.

In addition to permanent houses, small temporary ranchos are sometimes built when people are far from home. The houses in the "village" are standard structures, but the church follows Spanish ways: it rests on the ground and has walls.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Although *Cayapa* tradition records a period when the people wore blankets and even ponchos, today their clothes are scanty (pl. 59, *bottom*). The men wear a tight, small, white garment, made like bathing trunks, and a thin gaudy shirt of calico, with short and very tight sleeves. On festive occasions vests of European cut and manufacture are frequently donned over the shirt, and so are felt fedoras.

Women wear a long skirt of native cloth, girded with a narrow fringed belt. As in the Highlands, several skirts of different weights are sometimes worn. Head, shoulders, and chest are usually left bare.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 from four inches to a foot above the level of the main floor, and are most frequently used as sleeping platforms or as storage places for various articles.

352 In this region where the rainfall is so great and where the sun rarely shines, one of the serious problems is that of keeping clothing and other articles dry. To accomplish this, there is constructed at one side, usually at the rear of the house, or behind that portion in which the fire-box is situated, a drying platform, constructed of large bamboo stems laid side by side, without a roof, and ordinarily on or nearly on a level with the main floor. The convex surface of the bamboo permits the water falling upon it to drain readily to the ground, while the impenetrable outer surface of the bamboo permits no rain to be absorbed by it. Thus, in a few minutes after a rain, this raised platform is usually dry enough to permit the spreading upon it of clothing, or [227] of mats for the drying of cacao. At one side of this drying platform is placed a horizontal bamboo pole, usually as long as the platform and raised six or seven feet above it, for use in drying large fish-nets.

[251] On the rafters of the house, and hence high up in the interior, is constructed a platform, or loft (pl. XIV), usually of bamboo, which is used for the storage of old utensils, food, and articles not in daily use. Ordinarily this storage loft does not cover a space equal to more than one-quarter that of the floor of the house itself, and frequently it is much smaller, although always of sufficient capacity to accommodate all the surplus stores of the family.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

minutes, usually until the leaf covering is largely, if not entirely black. The covering is then removed and the tamale eaten in that form or after being mashed flat upon the mealing stone. When obtainable, a species of large black beetle (*Rhynchophorus palmarum*), called kū′perū, is used as one of the ingredients in the making of these tamales, and it is said by the Indians to be one of the most toothsome of all their foods.

The method usually employed in preparing other vegetal foods, such as yuca, sweet potatoes, etc., is by boiling in the ordinary manner. Meats and fish are generally boiled in pottery vessels without the covering of leaves above mentioned, and they may also be broiled or baked. Broiling is done in the ordinary manner, by simply placing the food over the fire. In baking, however, a special method is employed. After being properly prepared and cut into small pieces, the meat is wrapped in two thicknesses of the tough green leaf above mentioned. The flat package thus formed is then placed upon the coals, and hot ashes and coals are heaped upon it. Several minutes are usually needed for this baking, and sometimes it is necessary to replenish the coals or to turn the package over to insure proper cooking. This method is much employed in cooking all kinds of meats, fish, shellfish, and crabs and other Crustacea.

In this warm, humid climate, where meat keeps but a very short time, drying and smoking over the fire is much employed by the Cayapa when any considerable quantity of meat or fish is on hand. For this purpose

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

special racks are built above the fire-box, where strips of meat, or, if the animals or birds are small, the entire bodies, are placed to dry and smoke. Sometimes there are as many as three of these racks, one above another, each covering the same amount of space as the fire-box itself. Considerable time is necessary for drying meat in this way, and, when once dried, it must be kept either on the racks or near the fire in order to prevent molding. For drying fish there usually is employed the upper half of a large earthenware jar, which is turned down over the fire and the fish laid across the opening upon green sticks. Being thus close to the fire, a shorter time is sufficient to dry and smoke the fish, but when thus cured they also must be kept on the racks above or elsewhere near the fire-box in order to keep them from molding. A few vegetal products, especially medicinal herbs, are dried in a similar manner, as likewise are two vegetal foods. The inner covering of the tagua or ivory nut, which, when dried and then roasted upon the coals, has an excellent flavor, is used as food to a slight extent. Green plantain is cut crosswise into thin sections and dried thoroughly in the sun, when possible, or over the fire when necessary. It is then ground to powder and mixed with water into a thin gruel, which is used as food for babies when the mother is ill or for other reasons is unable to provide a proper supply of milk.

Boiling is employed also in the preparation of certain vegetal foods in cane juice. While practically all the product of the cane-field is used in making rum, some syrup and sweets are occasionally prepared. Yuca and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

work is still more apparent than in the one here referred to, because these composite, wide elements are made to pass under and over one another several times instead of only once. This process is never employed except at the starting point of this form of basket.

In detail the technics employed by the Cayapa in their basketry are as described below. Further, in addition to its use in basketry, twilling is employed in making mats and fans, and wicker is used in certain burden-bands and in fan-handles.

WICKERWORK

Wickerwork, the simplest of the two-element technics, consists of the passing of a single active or woof element over and under successive passive or warp elements. The Cayapa employ this technic almost solely in connection with the material derived from the aerial root called pitigua and for the making of five forms of basketry: a burden-basket, a shallow rectangular basket, a bottle-shape bait basket, a more or less globose basket used in carrying fruits and as a general household utensil, and a long tubular basket used especially as a receptacle for spindles. Examples of burden-baskets are shown in pl. XCII, 4, 7, while the other forms are illustrated respectively in pl. XCIII, 1, 3, 4, 12.

Ordinarily the Cayapa wickerwork is comparatively tightly woven, as is shown in illustrations referred to. There are, however, two special types of wicker basket which are open in their technic. Both are made for the purpose of allowing water to pass readily through them, being used especially as cages for live crayfish which are

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

above tabulation, these several distinct forms of baskets have special uses. The four types of burden-basket are used almost exclusively for carrying heavy loads upon the back. The two types made of hoja de chapil are, as above stated, only for temporary use and are worthless except while the leaves are green. They are also sometimes used, even after they are dry and brittle, by the shamans in their medicine practices. The other two types, which are made of the very durable pitigua, are sometimes used as storage receptacles about the house when not needed for carrying burdens, which is their primary use.

The flaring basket, kû'bi (pl. XCII, 7), is carried by means of a single band provided with a special, wide head-band that passes across the top of the head as the bearer bends forward. This is primarily a woman's burden-basket and is used in the daily home life of the people for bringing fruits and other products from the fields and in a multitude of other ways. It is, however, rarely used in carrying wood, which is so often one of the most important functions of burden-baskets among aboriginal peoples. Wood is usually brought by the canoe-load from some point near the river where a suitable dead tree can be found.

The straight-walled basket, fe' pickalyî (pl. XCII, 6, 8), is made especially for carrying burdens considerable distances, as on long trail journeys into the interior. Within their own territory these baskets are rarely needed by the Cayapa, since practically all travel is by canoe. Such a basket is provided with two burden-bands attached near the top and the bottom respectively,

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent canefields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

In pl. xi is shown the ground-plan of one of the largest of the Cayapa houses. This is the largest of the four dwellings of the chief of the Punta Venado division, and is commonly called "*la casa grande del Gobernador*." This structure is situated on the southwestern bank of the Rio Cayapas, at a point just up-stream from the confluence of the Herradura Grande. The house is occupied usually by at least two families, and can comfortably accomodate as many as forty people if necessary. The structural details of this dwelling are typical of those of Cayapa houses in general, although the others are somewhat smaller. This "casa grande" is 87 feet in extreme length by 41 feet in extreme width. The floor may be divided into two areas by the line *h-i*, which represents that along which the two inner gables meet and where the pambil eaves-trough is placed to prevent the water from running in on the floor. The larger floor area (*a*) is the general living and sleeping room, and is 50 by 35 feet, exclusive of the raised projections (*e*), which extend from six to seven feet in each case. This entire floor area is covered by a single large roof. The smaller area (*b*), about 30 feet square, is, as before stated, at the same level as the larger area, but it is covered by a separate roof, and it is here that the fire-box is situated and where all food is prepared and cooked. The fire-box (*c*) is 6 feet 4 inches by 3 feet 9 inches, and is raised about three feet from the floor. The projection (*d*), about 5 feet 6 inches wide and 19 feet 6 inches long, is at the same level as the main floor, but is made of bamboo. Here

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

252 are kept the water calabashes, and the preparation of
352 food is usually done on or near this space. All houses are provided with a similar place for the storage of the calabashes, although in most cases the space devoted
352 to this purpose is much smaller. Unlike *d*, the several projections marked *e* on the plan are raised from four to twelve inches above the level of the floor. They are from 6 to 7 feet in width, and beginning at the lower left-hand corner of the plan, measure 12½, 8½, 15, 13, 11, and 9 feet, respectively, in length. These serve as storage places and are frequently used at night as
342 places upon which to sleep. The inner edge of each of the areas *d* and *e* is, of course, supported upon the stringers of the main floor, but the outer edge in each case is held by two special posts which rest upon the ground and reach to the roof, which naturally must project beyond the main roof in order to cover the corresponding floor projection. These posts are indicated in the ground-plan by small rectangles, and are usually somewhat smaller than those employed to support the main floor. As shown on the plan, fourteen posts are used to support the main floor, the successive posts along each side being placed from eleven to twelve feet apart. The dimensions of these posts in cross-section are usually about six by nine inches. Access to this house is by means of two ladders (*g*), both of the type shown in fig. 1, *a*. In the case of one of them a special projection (*f*), 3 feet 3 inches by 5 feet 6 inches, has been built as a landing at the top of the ladder.

In pl. XIII is shown an elevation of the same house.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

to the river to lay their eggs. The large eggs of the alligator are also much in favor, and it is said by some that alligator flesh is edible. The eggs and flesh of another and slightly different species of amphibian, called tulicio in the local Spanish, are likewise used for food. In addition to these foods there are certain insects which, either full-grown or in the larval state, are much esteemed.

Various methods are employed in the preparation of these foods. The plantain, the most important food product of the Cayapa, is prepared in a variety of ways. It is almost invariably gathered while green, and is regularly eaten in that condition, though ripe plantain is frequently used for making a kind of gruel, and occasionally it is roasted. The usual method of preparing the green plantains is by boiling, the outer covering of the fruit having first been removed. They are thus cooked for from a half to three-quarters of an hour in a pottery vessel, or nowadays more frequently in an iron or a granite-iron kettle, closely covered with a green leaf called ū′tya hakī, which is very tough and is used in many ways in the preparation of food. It is impossible to cook green plantain so that it is tender, hence the usual mode of preparing it is to beat the hard, cooked fruit with a stone muller upon a mealing stone (pl. LXII, 1, 2), mixing and kneading it meanwhile with the hand. Usually this beaten plantain, which is called bala, is eaten without seasoning, although a little salt may be added; or it may be mixed with dried meat during the pounding. The boiled green plantain is also frequently eaten without

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

pounding. The ripe plantain, on the other hand, is generally prepared, after boiling, by macerating with a wooden masher, matcō'ka, in a wooden bowl, called batea in Spanish. In pls. LXI, LXII these implements are shown, the masher appearing in pl. LXI, 1–5, and the batea in pl. LXII, 4. In this form the plantain will keep for three or four days, and is a nourishing, concentrated food. It is, however, never eaten in this form, but is diluted with water into a very thin gruel, which is drunk more as a refreshment between meals than as a regular food. The plantain mash is also carried on short trips into the mountains or along the river, and is made into gruel as needed.

Both green and ripe plantains are also roasted over coals, the ripe ones generally with the outer covering, the green ones usually without it. When thus cooked also, the green plantain is preferred to the ripe. It is ordinarily roasted until quite dry, when it is mashed on the mealing stone with the muller. The pounding in this case is not the same as in making bala—the plantain is merely mashed flat, without any mixing with the hand.

Still another method of preparing green plantain, but one that is not applicable to the ripe fruit, is the making of a kind of tamales. With a small shell the plantain is scraped to a mushy consistency, and, after the addition always of a little salt and sometimes of pounded meat, fish, or certain species of insects, is rolled into a long, slender cylinder, covered with the tough green leaf, ū'tya hakī, before referred to. This preparation is then roasted before the fire for some

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

minutes, usually until the leaf covering is largely, if not entirely black. The covering is then removed and the tamale eaten in that form or after being mashed flat upon the mealing stone. When obtainable, a species of large black beetle (*Rhymchophorus palmarum*), called kū′perū, is used as one of the ingredients in the making of these tamales, and it is said by the Indians to be one of the most toothsome of all their foods.

The method usually employed in preparing other vegetal foods, such as yuca, sweet potatoes, etc., is by boiling in the ordinary manner. Meats and fish are generally boiled in pottery vessels without the covering of leaves above mentioned, and they may also be broiled or baked. Broiling is done in the ordinary manner, by simply placing the food over the fire. In baking, however, a special method is employed. After being properly prepared and cut into small pieces, the meat is wrapped in two thicknesses of the tough green leaf above mentioned. The flat package thus formed is then placed upon the coals, and hot ashes and coals are heaped upon it. Several minutes are usually needed for this baking, and sometimes it is necessary to replenish the coals or to turn the package over to insure proper cooking. This method is much employed in cooking all kinds of meats, fish, shellfish, and crabs and other Crustacea.

In this warm, humid climate, where meat keeps but a very short time, drying and smoking over the fire is much employed by the Cayapa when any considerable quantity of meat or fish is on hand. For this purpose

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

251 special racks are built above the fire-box, where strips of
352 meat, or, if the animals or birds are small, the entire bodies, are placed to dry and smoke. Sometimes there are as many as three of these racks, one above another, each covering the same amount of space as the fire-box
251 itself. Considerable time is necessary for drying meat in this way, and, when once dried, it must be kept either on the racks or near the fire in order to prevent molding. For drying fish there usually is employed the upper half of a large earthenware jar, which is turned down over the fire and the fish laid across the opening upon green sticks. Being thus close to the fire, a shorter time is sufficient to dry and smoke the fish, but when thus cured they also must be kept on the racks above or elsewhere near the fire-box in order to keep them from
[278] molding. A few vegetal products, especially medicinal herbs, are dried in a similar manner, as likewise are two vegetal foods. The inner covering of the tagua or ivory
[262] nut, which, when dried and then roasted upon the coals, has an excellent flavor, is used as food to a slight extent. Green plantain is cut crosswise into thin sections and dried thoroughly in the sun, when possible, or over the
[853] fire when necessary. It is then ground to powder and mixed with water into a thin gruel, which is used as food for babies when the mother is ill or for other reasons is unable to provide a proper supply of milk.

252 Boiling is employed also in the preparation of certain vegetal foods in cane juice. While practically all the product of the cane-field is used in making rum, some syrup and sweets are occasionally prepared. Yuca and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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MEALING BLOCK AND STONES, AND WOODEN TRAYS

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

plantain or other fruits are cut into fairly small pieces and boiled in the cane juice during the process of reducing it to syrup, thus producing a rich and toothsome conserve. Much labor is entailed in making this delicacy, but it is rarely prepared except as a secondary product of distillation. 252

A rather rare food, and one much prized by the Cayapa, is a large white, brown-headed grub, called kō′mucū, which is found in rotten trunks and stumps of fallen palms. Their presence is easily detected by their low, crunching sound as they eat the tough palm fibers within. Such a log is cut open and the grubs are carefully taken out, along with a considerable quantity of the rotted palm-wood. They are usually placed in burden-baskets and then stored in the house in a closely-covered olla until needed. The grubs have a very tough skin, and contain a considerable quantity of rich fat, resembling lard, which is used by the Indians in several ways. The kō′mucū may be eaten raw, but more frequently it is broken open, placed over the fire in a small pottery vessel, and fried in its own fat, so to speak, resulting in a very rich oily food. Another favorite method of preparing this food is to mash and make into a gruel some boiled ripe plantain, which is stirred into a pot of kō′mucū that has been made to boil with a small quantity of water. Most of the kō′mucū used in making this dish are left whole, but a sufficient number of them are broken to liberate a considerable quantity of fat into the receptacle. The result of this process is a rich food of the consistency of gruel, and it is relished, perhaps, above all others. 262 252

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

226 The Cayapa make frequent journeys to the ocean, chiefly for the purpose of securing shellfish and crabs, which are abundant along the beaches about the mouth of the river. There are several species of clams and mussels, as well as oysters in large numbers. Also crabs of several species are very abundant, and are captured usually by digging out their burrows. Both the shellfish and the crabs are brought alive up the river, the crabs being confined in coarse baskets. Oysters are usually heated over coals sufficiently to cause the shells to open, and are eaten directly from the shells with a bit of salt or lemon; but clams and mussels are generally boiled. Crabs also are almost always boiled, although sometimes they are roasted.

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226 Inland, along the banks of the Rio Cayapas and its tributaries, are obtained three other foods of the same class. In the wet soil of the jungle live large numbers of a small, bright-red land crab, called nē′lū, or, more specifically, kaia′pa nēlū. This crab has one very large arm, which is the only part used as a food. The crabs are caught in great numbers, and the large arm is removed and roasted. In the waters of these streams are also large numbers of a small species of lobster or crayfish, called pī′cū, which is considered an excellent food. It is caught with a special dip-net, called cīa, used almost exclusively for this purpose. The third food of this class is likewise obtained from the rivers. It is a very small bivalve, resembling a miniature mussel such as is found in the ocean, and is gathered at certain points along the streams where the rock walls of the banks or where bedrock affords convenient lodgment.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

very little attention until time to gather the fruit, which in this region is of excellent flavor, especially when allowed to ripen thoroughly on the plant.

The fleshy roots of the yuca (Cayapa, kū''tcū) are considerably used as food. The yuca is started by means of cuttings, and requires from seven to nine months to produce the edible roots. These roots are usually boiled in the regular manner when used as an ordinary food, but, as above mentioned, they are also frequently boiled in sugar-cane syrup to make a kind of preserves. The yuca is a very nutritious food, has an excellent flavor, and by many is much preferred to either potatoes or yams. It is never baked.

Potatoes (Cayapa, pū'lyū) do not thrive at this low altitude, owing to the heat and humidity, although they grow well in the valleys of the higher Andes. On rare occasions they are obtained from the Indians of these interior valleys who make journeys to the coast for trading and other purposes. They have also been procured in more recent years from the traders about the mouth of the river, but the Cayapa seldom purchase commodities of this class.

Another food of a similar kind which is grown by the Cayapa to a limited extent is the red yam. It is started by cuttings in the ordinary manner. In preparing them for food, the yams are boiled, but are never roasted, as is so frequently done by aboriginal peoples.

Of this class also is the root-stalk of the rascadera (Cayapa, *t*ū'a), a species of caladium which is grown to a limited extent by a few of the Cayapa. This is also pre-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

pared exclusively by boiling. Rascadera and yuca are grown to a much greater extent by the negroes who live along the river than by the Indians.

According to their own tradition, the Cayapa, having been formerly a mountain people, in earlier times subsisted largely on maize or Indian corn (Cayapa, pī'cū), which is still one of the principal foods of practically all the Indians of the higher Andes. On moving to the lower altitudes, the Cayapa brought the maize with them, and even yet a small quantity is grown by them. The plant itself it comparatively small, and the ears are very small, rarely exceeding six or seven inches in length. When gathered for food it is almost always taken green and is prepared in one of three ways. Frequently, the husk having been removed, the ear of green corn is simply roasted over coals, when it is considered quite a delicacy, though it lacks the rich flavor of our sweet corn. The products of the other two methods of preparing it are gruels. The first stages in making both kinds are the same, and the process is as follows: The necessary number of husked ears of green corn having been procured, the women chew the kernels from the cobs, depositing them in a large wooden tray, or batea. Since the introduction of various articles of commerce some households use a large tin grater for removing the kernels from the cobs. The kernels are then placed, handful after handful as needed, upon a mealing stone (pl. LXII, 1, 2) and ground with a stone muller such as the one shown resting on the mealing stone shown in fig. 2 of the plate mentioned, a small amount of water being added from

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

time to time. This thick paste is then placed in a cooking-pot or kettle with the requisite amount of water and boiled, the consistency of the gruel of course depending upon the amount of water added. The thick gruel is eaten with the fingers, or frequently nowadays with a spoon, and is eaten as ordinary food. The thin gruel, which is more frequently made and which usually is sufficiently liquid to be called a beverage rather than a mush, is drunk from small hemispherical calabashes. It is flavored with a little salt, or preferably with sugar. This food is called champo (tcambō'se in Cayapa) and is used almost exclusively at feasts, where it is served in canoe-shape wooden vessels, called tcambō's kūle, made especially for the purpose. These utensils are from two and a half to three and half feet long, their ends are made like the prow and stern of a regular canoe, and they are elaborately ornamented with the same painted designs as are used on large canoes. These little vessels may be set upon the feast table, but often they are carried about among the feasters, in which event one of the masters of ceremony takes the prow and another the stern and pass throughout the house, being careful that everyone is served. On the surface of the beverage float from two to four or five small calabash dippers, or mates, with which the champo is drunk.

A sufficient amount of maize to provide seed for the succeeding year is allowed to ripen on the stalk each season. The ears are gathered, the outer husks bent back, and tied together in bunches of a dozen or more

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

243 ears each. These bunches are then hung from the roof to prevent attacks by rodents. Whenever possible the corn is hung where the heat from the fire will keep it from molding.

177 241 262 The foregoing are the chief agricultural food products of the Cayapa. Excepting the maize and the potato, all were introduced since the Spanish conquest and are now systematically cultivated. In this connection should be mentioned certain palms which provide food of one kind or other, and which, while they cannot be strictly classed under the head of agriculture, since they are not planted and tended as are the other plants mentioned, are of considerable economic importance.

222 One of these palms is that commonly known by the Spanish name chonta dura and called kanō′tcī by the Cayapa. One variety of this produces a cluster of red fruits, another a cluster of yellow fruits. The Cayapa [262] name for the fruit of this palm is ka′imbī. Both ripen in the late summer months and are much esteemed as food. [413] By means of a long hooked bamboo pole, these clusters are torn from just below the crown of the palm, which is 252 usually quite tall. The fruits are boiled in a cooking-pot or kettle; the tough skin is then easily peeled off, leaving the yellowish mealy meat ready to eat. In the center of this, in turn, is a very hard nut which, when cracked, yields a toothsome white meat with a flavor resembling that of ripe coconut. The mealy yellow meat is usually eaten with a little salt, but is especially good when eaten with a thick syrup made from cane juice. It is also frequently boiled in this syrup, the result being a kind of conserved fruit.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

262 either be scooped out with the fingers or sipped. The nut is not used as a regular article of food, but more as a confection, its use being much restricted by the supply and the difficulty of opening the bur.

252 Another food derived from the tagua is the yellow, 262 mealy and comparatively thin covering, called pīm būkū, or ya ū'kū, which surrounds the ripe nut itself. This is peeled off and roasted over coals, if it is to be used immediately, or dried on the smoking rack above the fire if to be used later. The flavor of this roasted meat is similar to that of crisp, baked, fresh pork-rind. It is also frequently eaten raw, but in this state it has a rather unpleasant flavor, similar to that of raw acorns.

ooo The gathering, curing, and use of the tagua leaf, which is almost exclusively employed in thatching houses, are described in the discussion of building construction.

222 A very good food is obtained from the palma real, [262] called ūya'-tcī. This is a very large species and in form is perhaps the most beautiful of all the palms. Its very straight trunk, which sometimes reaches a height of seventy-five to a hundred feet, swells considerably at a point about midway of its height and resembles an entasic column surmounted by a huge umbrella-shape crown of leaves which wave gently in the breeze. In a large specimen of this species the trunk is from three to four feet in diameter at its base, swelling uniformly to a diameter perhaps one-third greater at the middle, and again decreasing toward the crown to a diameter somewhat less than that of the base. The mature leaves reach a length as great as twenty feet.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

of small ridges may now serve, however, it seems to have had its origin in a desire to ornament the stirrers, since most of them are plain at that point (as is the one shown in fig. 7), and because various stirrers of this form have carvings at that point which are similar though much smaller and are obviously purely ornamental.

A second form of stirring implement is the food paddle, called kūwi'ñgī, two specimens of which are shown in pl. LXI, 8, 9. These are used for stirring all kinds of foods while cooking, but especially ripe plantain gruel and a kind of gruel or mush made from green corn. In many cases these paddles are perfectly plain, as is the one shown in fig. 9, but now and then they are embellished with notches or incised ornaments as is the case with the one shown in fig. 8.

A utensil in common domestic use is an elliptical wooden bowl, copied after a type made by the whites and negroes of the region and bearing only the Spanish name batea. They vary more or less in their elliptical form, but a typical specimen is shown in pl. LXII, 4. They are always provided with a projection at each end to serve as handles. They are hollowed out from a single piece of wood, and range from a foot to three feet in length. Bateas serve a variety of purposes, but they are used especially for the preparation of certain foods, such as ripe plantain gruel, corn gruel or mush, and the like. They are used also as trays for washing meats or other foods, and frequently are employed in mixing and working clay during the process of pottery-making.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

pottery-making. A shallow wooden tray, like that shown in fig. 3, is sometimes, though much more rarely, made by the Cayapa for similar purposes. It also is called batea.

Somewhat similar in form to the batea is the canoe-shape dish, called tcambōs kū'le, used in serving the drink or gruel called in Spanish champo and in Cayapa tcambō'se, which is made from green corn. This is made exactly after the fashion of a canoe, with the characteristic prow and stern ends, and ordinarily with the painting along the gunwales as well as upon the prow and stern. It is usually from two and a half to three and a half feet in length, and is much wider in proportion than the river canoe, being ordinarily from ten to twelve inches in width. As mentioned in speaking of the uses of corn, the champo dish is used only at fiestas for containing champo and on rare occasions the ripe plantain gruel called ma'la.

Another wooden utensil is a heavy mealing block used especially for pounding green plantain to make the food called in Spanish bala and in Cayapa panda lō'ta. Such a mealing block, shown in pl. LXII, 1, may be compared in form and size with the average stone used for the same purpose. In fact, these blocks are much less frequently used than mealing stones, such as that shown in fig. 2. The mealing blocks are usually more or less elliptical in form and about eighteen inches in length. With such a block is always used a stone muller.

Various other implements are made of wood, but

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

retain the foods which are crushed and pounded upon it. Usually at the opposite end there is no such ridge, the opening serving especially in grinding green corn.

With this mealing stone, and also with the mealing block (pl. LXII, 1), is used a muller consisting usually of a cobblestone from five to seven inches in length, three to four inches in width, and two or three inches in thickness. Sometimes such a muller is shaped artificially. A typical muller is shown in place as it is used on the mealing stone in fig. 2.

The mealing stone and muller are used primarily for making what in Spanish is called bala, boiled green plantain mashed and pounded. From one to half a dozen green plantains are put on the mealing stone, then rolled lightly and mashed with the muller, after which they are pounded with considerable force with the muller held in the right hand while the left is used between strokes to return the fragments of plantain, which have been thrown off by the force of the blows, to the center of the mealing stone. From ten to fifteen strokes of the muller result in a mass of fine-grained but soggy plantain of a light-yellow color. This resembles in texture a piece of half-baked bread-dough and is much esteemed by the Cayapa and also by the negroes. The women and girls usually prepare the bala for the men and boys, and serve it on plates, or, in the more primitive fashion, upon the cooking leaves called ũ'ĩya haki. After the men and boys have been served, the women and girls then make bala for themselves, which they eat directly from the mealing stone. After the meal, the muller is laid upon

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the floor and the stone inverted over it to keep its grinding surface away from the dogs. When again needed it is cleaned by taking a cooked plantain, grinding it upon the stone, and rolling it around thoroughly over the grinding surface. This process takes up all the fragments of plantain left from the previous grinding, and thoroughly cleanses both the mealing stone and the muller. The ridges on the two sides and one end of the mealing stone help to keep the plantain from flying off during this grinding. The lack of a ridge along the second end, however, is of advantage in grinding green corn, which process has already been described.

Now and then the mealing stone and muller are used for treating other products, such as the inner pulp of the fruit of a tree called ma'ifi-tci, which is ground and mixed with balsa charcoal to make the black face-paint called ma'lyû.

The only other native stone implement is that used as a sinker on the seine and the casting net. These sinkers are simply waterworn pebbles ranging from two to four inches in length and from an inch to two inches in diameter. They are called cûpû'ka, a general term signifying stone, and appear to have no special name. In large measure these pebbles, unworked, are rolled in the leaf called û'tya haki and tied directly to the lower edge of the net; but now and then are found sinkers of such form that they are likely to become detached from the net, hence these are provided with rough notches or even surrounding grooves.

Certain smooth stones, and especially black ones, are used in treating the sick.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

286 sixty meshes. This number is kept up to the seventh course, where twenty more cords, distributed at regular intervals, are looped in. Hence in the eighth course eighty knots appear. Thus the additions proceed at these regular intervals, twenty new elements being added at every fifth course up to the sixty-second course of knots. Since this process begins at the second course, these additions are made to come on those courses whose numbers end in two and seven—two, seven, twelve, seventeen, etc. Hence, when the sixty-third course is tied there is a total of three hundred knots and meshes, and this number is maintained throughout the remainder of the one hundred and twenty-seven courses of the net. The meshes of this particular net are two centimeters square throughout its length of eight feet, seven inches. As it is cast by a fisherman it easily covers a circle ten or twelve feet in diameter.

227 286 These nets are usually made of fine pita cord in the upper part of the cone and of slightly coarser cord in the last quarter or third near its mouth. The heavier cord is apparently used in this portion of the net because of the greater wear and tear due to the struggles of the entrapped fish and because the net is weighted about its mouth with sinkers. These lead or stone sinkers often aggregate twenty-five to thirty pounds in weight and carry the net quickly to the bottom.

286 [252] The only other netted device made by the Cayapa is the hammock, which is made either of coarse pita string or of the heavy kuna-kuna string. The meshes of such a hammock are very coarse, hence comparatively few cords are required. To start with, the proper number

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

greatly modified by intrusive religious ideas as have many other features of Cayapa culture. With the coming of the priest, on the occasion of his annual visit, the regular church marriage rite is performed. At this ceremony there is further chastising of the contracting parties by the chief or by some one delegated by him. 585 177

On the occasion of the annual visit of the priest to one of the Cayapa pueblos, usually in August or September, a fiesta of from one to three weeks is held, during which it is customary for couples who have been married between the time of the priest's last visit and the present occasion to celebrate a marriage feast. Should it be inconvenient to celebrate the marriage feast at this particular time, it may be held at any other gathering of the people at the village, or it may even be deferred until the next annual visit of the priest. These marriage feasts are the occasion of much merrymaking. Quantities of food, rum, and tobacco are provided, and the whole village celebrates for a day or two. During the forenoon of the first day, a table, made by spreading upon the floor of the large assembly and dance hall of the chief's house a covering of hoja blanca, is filled with all kinds of food, among them being one special dish of eggs, prepared much after the manner of scrambling. At this feast a most exceptional departure from the rule of the separation of the sexes at public gatherings is observed. At all other feasts, men and boys only are permitted to enter the room in which the feast is held, but on this occasion the bride and her godmother are present. The mother of the bride, however, does not enter. Another interesting feature of this feast is that, 585 [527] [252] 585 527

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

796 A boda held from January seventh to tenth, 1909, was as follows:

At the Christmas fiesta announcement was made that two certain families would give a boda on January seventh. Meanwhile the members of these families commenced to accumulate the provisions for the feasts. Much hunting and fishing and drying of meat were done; rum was distilled; vegetal foods were procured; and, not the least in importance, a trip was made to the ocean to procure shellfish and crabs. On the afternoon of January seventh, accordingly, a considerable number of people assembled, still others coming in on the following day. No feasts or special ceremonies were held until the next day.

First day. January eighth, 1909

At about 9 A.M. a service was conducted in the church, followed by feasts in one of the houses of the village.

The first of these feasts was an ofrenda. While the service was being held in the church, the members of the family, assisted by friends, were placing upon the table all the food which had been prepared the night before. The table, as usual, was prepared by spreading upon a considerable area of the floor a covering of the large leaves of hoja blanca, and upon these were placed all manner of eatables. Liquids or semi-liquids were contained in pottery or calabash dishes, and dry foods were placed directly upon the leaves. There were many of 796 the various mammals, birds, and fishes of the region • 252 dried and smoked until almost jet black; monkeys, 262 guatins, squirrels, zorras, woodrats, and other mammals

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

dried whole; and guantas, deer, jaguars, pumas, armadillos, sloths, and wild hogs, all in dismembered parts. Among the birds were parrots, toucans, doves, grouse, wild turkeys, herons, and egrets, all dried whole. Dried fish of various species, especially the shad, were present. In vegetal foods also there was great variety, as the plantain, yuca, papaya, rascadera, sugar-cane, coconut, guabo, zapote, bread-fruit, orange, chonta dura, and palma real. Care was taken in arranging the table to see that there should be as much display as possible. The dried mammals and birds were in many cases placed in erect poses, and fruits or pieces of other foods were placed in the beaks of the birds and in the mouths or between the paws of the mammals. In one or two instances mammals were so posed as to appear as if fighting.

Directly after the service in the church, to which a small portion of the food was taken in order that by its presence during the service it might receive the blessing for all the food used in the feast, all the people of the village congregated at this particular house. The men and larger boys occupied the room in which the table was spread, and the women, girls, and small boys the room adjoining. The givers of the feast then presented to whomsoever they thought proper various articles from the table, such as a dried mammal, bird, or fish, and some fruit. These were for the recipients personally, and were to be taken home by them. On receiving such a gift, a man always took it personally or sent it to some of the women of his family in the adjoining room. This division of the food took a considerable part of what was

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

upon the table; the rest was divided into small bits, and, after an invocation by the warden of the church, the men and boys, all seated on low benches about the table, proceeded to feast. The women meanwhile partook of a portion of the food that had been sent to the next room to them. Having finished the meal, a benediction was pronounced by the warden and the floor was cleared of all scraps of food and the leaves forming the table.

Immediately fresh leaves were spread as at first, and the boda, the word being here used in its more restricted sense, was served. While an ofrenda has a very elaborate assortment of foods, a boda has only fish, oysters, or meats cooked in ripe plantain in the form of a thick gruel. This is served always in the aboriginal pottery plates of the kind shown in pl. LXXXVII, 4, although for everyday use dishes of European manufacture have almost entirely supplanted the pottery plates formerly used. In this particular case the boda consisted of a single course of plantain and fish, but sometimes other courses are served in order. The feast having been finished, the majority of the people went to their respective abodes in the village or to the house of the chief.

At such gatherings offenders against the law are usually brought before the chief, by whom justice is dispensed and differences between individuals adjudicated. On this particular occasion several matters of this nature demanded the chief's attention. The details of these will show something of the methods of dispensing justice among the Cayapa.

Immediately after the boda on this first day the chief sent some officers to bring before him certain offenders

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 ably due in part to the increased drunkenness, which was apparent throughout the day, but was due more largely to the greed of several negroes present.

264 796 After this feast the floor was cleared of remnants of the meal and of the leaves used to make the table. The second feast, the boda, was then served as usual. This consisted of three courses, each served on the same plate in the case of each individual, care being used in replenishing the supply that the plates of different individuals should not be interchanged. The three courses [162] of these mush-like foods consisted of plantain with fish, plantain with meat, and plantain with oysters. In case any individual did not eat any or all of his portion, it was taken to the next room by the host or by one of the attendants and given to one of the women of his family. The men giving the boda served the guests, while the women attended to filling the plates.

796 In this particular instance the whole of the previous night had been spent by the hostess and her friends in cooking and preparing the plantain mushes used in this boda. While hot they were poured into burden-baskets lined with leaves. When served they were cold and very thick.

796 Immediately following the feasts another refractory pair were brought to justice. In this case the man had forsaken his wife and for three months had been living with his first cousin, who had deserted her husband. Each of the culprits, therefore, was charged with the double crime of desertion of spouse and cohabitation with first cousin. These are considered great breaches of tribal law and are severely punished. As on the previous day,

Other wooden articles

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still made by the Cayapa include the /tǎči wimáso/ 'bark cloth beater,' /mačúka/ 'plantain masher,' and food stirrers of various types. A full listing and description can be had by consulting Barrett (Barrett 1925: 159-161). Elliptical wooden bowls called batea in Spanish, are cut from a single piece of wood, and they serve as trays for the preparation of some foods. [415]

Musical instruments, which are played by the men, include the marimba or /ma^{1}mba/, a large drum called by the Spanish word bombo, and a small free-standing drum that tapers at the base called conunu. The Negroes use the same instruments, but they also use various gourd rattles and bamboo shakers. Guitars are occasionally found among the Negroes but only seldom among the Cayapa. 534 [462] [171]

Pottery. This art is scarcely practiced anymore. In fact I was completely unaware that earthenware pots were in the household inventory at all until I was asked one day if I wished to purchase a small Cayapa-made one for five sucres (.30 U.S.). This was the only pot I ever saw, except for the large cantaras made by the people of the San Miguel section, for the storage of /wápo/, the fermented sugar-cane juice called guarapo in Spanish. 323 [178] [126] [273]

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pigs who find them especially delectable. The Cayapa seldom plant coconuts, but the Negroes do so whenever possible. Important palms are the Taqua and the Chontaduro. The taqua nut was formerly an extremely important economic product; its hard seed was in constant demand on the world market for the manufacture of shirt buttons. With the rapid development of the plastics industry some thirty years ago, the market for taqua seeds completely collapsed. The Cayapa still talk nostalgically of the days when money did apparently grow on trees. Though its export value has declined, the taqua palm, nevertheless, is still important to the internal economy: the leaves are used extensively for roof thatching, the nut is a minor item in the diet, and when the tree dies, the /múšu/, a delectable and very oily grub can be dug out of the trunk. Both men and women may work in the gardens. Generally speaking, however, the men clear the garden and the women plant the seeds or roots. Men and women may harvest the crops.

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The staff of life for the inhabitants of the Pacific Lowland Culture Area is the plantain which is found in many varieties. It may be eaten green or

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ripe, but most often it is boiled green and then pounded on a mortar. Bits of meat and/or fish may be added to the pulp. In this form it is called bala by both Negroes and Cayapa. In the ripe form, it may be boiled and treated as bala, or it may be eaten raw. Children eat enormous amounts of ripe plantain, and they never seem to become satiated. Important adjuncts to the subsistence pattern are the traveling merchants who bring canoe-loads of dried fish, clams, bread, cookies, sugar, and candy as well as smuggled Colombian cloth and clothing, up from the coast.

Hunting is a very important activity, and most Cayapa men spend one or two days a week tracking game. The main animals are large rodents called guanta /walámbu/, a smaller rodent called guatin /kúyu/, peccary /netúšu/, jaguar /kéla/, puma /l^{y}ukéla/, monkey /wášu/, squirrel /yámbu/, and the armadillo /čil^{y}ámbu/. Large birds are shot whenever possible and include toucans /čandútu/, the wild turkey /éle/, and a hawk /huyál^{y}u/. At the present time, hunting is done almost entirely with muzzle-loading shotguns. Hunting is generally a small operation involving no more than three

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

caldron a second time. If, however, a contrary result has been effected, someone else will usually "try his hand." The whole process of rum-making is one in which the women do fully as much work as the men, and they also have "lucky" and "unlucky" hands in distillation.

Usually the ordinary distillation above described is considered sufficient. If, however, an exceptionally good rum is desired, as for use at certain feasts, a special process of fractionation is resorted to and the product of the ordinary distillation is redistilled. A special flavor is imparted to the rum at this time by putting into the caldron with it several of the large leaves of an aromatic herb which abounds in the region and which possesses an anise-like odor and flavor.

As previously stated, the chief use of sugar-cane is for making rum, but, as before described in speaking of foods, the Cayapa occasionally make syrup and also a kind of preserves. On the other hand, they never make sugar, as do the negroes of this region. Much raw cane is also chewed. The fibrous though tender stalk is, of course, not swallowed, but it yields a large quantity of rich, sweet juice which is highly relished. The cane is also frequently roasted in the coals; and in boiling cane-juice to make guarapo for distillation, stalks of raw cane are frequently cut up and thrown into the kettle to boil with the juice. The result of either the roasting or the boiling is a rich food with a flavor resembling that of maple, and is even more palatable than the raw cane.

Cacao (Cayapa, kaka'bō), from which chocolate is made, is extensively grown by the Cayapa, although

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

almost exclusively for the sale of the dried seeds. The planting of a grove of cacao requires considerable care. The seeds are planted in calabashes or boxes at the house, and the young plants are not set into the ground until they have attained a height of from four to six inches. They are carefully protected when first planted in the open ground, a joint of large bamboo being set down around each. This precaution is necessary chiefly on account of the prevalence of ants, which would soon devour the young plants if they were not thus protected. When encased in this tube of bamboo, although it is open at the top, the young plant is rarely molested. From four to five years are required to bring one of these trees into full bearing, but even with the crude Cayapa methods of horticulture, a large tree sometimes produces as much as two or three hundred pounds of dried cacao in a year.

The brown, ovate seeds, which are contained in a large red or yellow egg-shape pod, are each surrounded by a whitish or translucent fleshy covering. The pods are gathered when ripe, brought to the house, and cut open with the machete. The seeds with their fleshy coating are then placed in a large wooden tray, such as that shown in pl. LXII, 4, some water is added, and the mass is kneaded and worked thoroughly with the hands, thus removing all the fleshy covering and leaving the seeds ready for drying. As a by-product of this process, the outer covering of the seeds, when mixed with water, forms a liquid of the consistency of thin gruel and with a pleasant, slightly acid flavor. This liquid is very re-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[272] freshing and is drunk with much relish by the Indians.
257 The seeds themselves are spread upon mats on the drying platform of the house and are carefully watched during the next couple of weeks to prevent them from being wet by the frequent rains. After this period they are sufficiently dry to be stored away until the next trip down the river, when they are sold to traders. Cacao is [439] one of the most important exports of Ecuador, whose territory is the source of a considerable part of the chocolate of commerce.

274 Although the Cayapa cultivate so much cacao, they 272 drink it only now and then, usually at fiestas. It is prepared by first thoroughly grinding the dried cacao upon a mealing stone such as is used for grinding plantain, and then boiling. For this purpose the Cayapa make a pot of special form, such as that shown in pl. LXXXVII, 9. The boiling chocolate is stirred at intervals with an implement of special form called tcōkōla'te tcalī, illustrated in pl. LXI, 6–7. The result of this process is a comparatively thick, very rich and oily liquid, quite unlike the beverage prepared from the ordinary chocolate of commerce, since the chocolate prepared directly from the seeds as above described retains all the natural oil. It may be drunk in this form, but if sugar is available it is usually added.

249 Pineapples (Cayapa, tcī'lya), the only use of which is as [262] a food, are grown to a limited extent by some of the Cayapa. The green tops of the fruits themselves are planted close together in rows, and from these the plants grow. When once established, such a plant requires

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

ends of all the elements are cut off in the same manner as was done in making the end with which the mat was begun.

Mats of this kind are most frequently used by the Cayapa in the hammocks which serve as cradles. A small mat is placed crosswise in the hammock and holds its edges apart; the baby is then laid upon this mat and swung in the hammock as a cradle. Large mats are occasionally used as beds, but for this purpose bark cloth is preferred. An important use for mats also is as a drying surface upon which to spread cacao. In canoeing, a large mat serves as a canopy or sun covering for small children or for an invalid. If its ends are placed just inside the gunwales of the canoe, bow upward, a mat forms a convenient and very serviceable canopy by virtue of its natural stiffness. An instance of such a use is shown in pl. LXXX.

SPINNING

As was mentioned in speaking of agricultural products, the Cayapa raise considerable quantities of cotton, that is to say, all the cotton needed for weaving the cloth used for their mantas and clouts and for the belts used to hold the mantas in place. No one family raises any considerable number of plants, since a single plant produces almost continuously the year round and aggregates in the course of a year a considerable quantity of bolls. These plants are grown in any convenient place near the house or on the edge of a field of cane or of a grove of chocolate trees.

114 back an exhaustive account of their subsistence pattern and material culture as well as considerable data on religion and ceremonial life. According to modern interests, the report is weak in life-cycle data and economics, and a serious drawback is the almost complete lack of comparative considerations. Moreover, it describes a culture with marked European influences. Nevertheless, at this writing, it remains one of our most complete accounts of an aboriginal South American group. The remaining titles in the bibliography refer to linguistic treatises, hearsay accounts, and phantasies of hurried travelers.

The inaccessibility of their habitat facilitated the *Cayapa's* survival into the 20th century, but it also prevented most chroniclers from visiting their land. Early references to naked and painted Indians living along the Patia River in large houses on tall poles and wearing gold ornaments might refer to the *Cayapa* or to some other *Chibchan* people. Jijón y Caamaño (1940–45, vol. 2) has reproduced fragments from an unpublished Cabello Balboa chronicle discussing the people of Esmeraldas Province during the 16th century. Among the peoples figuring prominently in Cabello Balboa's report are the *Nigua*, an Indian group inhabiting traditional *Cayapa* territory. Jijón y Caamaño's suggestion (1940–45, vol. 2) that the *Nigua* and *Cayapa* are one people seems tentatively acceptable.

Both peoples claimed to have descended from the Andean Highlands, though it is unclear if they were refugees from the *Inca* or Spanish invasions. As reported by Barrett, this tradition is very strong even now, four centuries after the Conquest, permeating various divergent activities of the *Cayapa*, who date many techniques and artifacts in terms of pre- or post-migration practices. In 1907 Beuchat and Rivet had pointed to toponymic and archeological similarities between Esmeraldas Province and the *Cara* country in the Highlands. Later work by Jijón y Caamaño (1912, 1919, 1940–45, vol. 2) has strengthened the case for *Chibchan* affiliation of the *Cara* language and given a measure of confirmation to native tradition.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 [311] Agriculture is the main occupation of the *Cayapa*, although fishing and hunting supply a large percentage of their food. Each house is surrounded by clearings and fields, and additional clearings are customarily made away from the river, in the bush. Most families have fields of plantains, bananas, sugarcane, coca, and sweet manioc (yuca); in addition, cotton, tobacco, maize, yams, and pineapples are frequently cultivated. Many wild plants are encouraged through weeding and other care.

241 [262] [230] Plantains (pl. 60, *bottom, right*) form the staple food of the *Cayapa*, and each family will have several acres planted to this perennially ripening fruit. Bananas are fed to the hogs and cover an acreage almost as large as that of the plantain.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent canefields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported.

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Cayapa* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the priests visit the *Cayapa*.

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive.

In addition to permanent houses, small temporary ranchos are sometimes built when people are far from home. The houses in the "village" are standard structures, but the church follows Spanish ways: it rests on the ground and has walls.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Although *Cayapa* tradition records a period when the people wore blankets and even ponchos, today their clothes are scanty (pl. 59, *bottom*). The men wear a tight, small, white garment, made like bathing trunks, and a thin gaudy shirt of calico, with short and very tight sleeves. On festive occasions vests of European cut and manufacture are frequently donned over the shirt, and so are felt fedoras.

Women wear a long skirt of native cloth, girded with a narrow fringed belt. As in the Highlands, several skirts of different weights are sometimes worn. Head, shoulders, and chest are usually left bare.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

136 may be mentioned at least one species of leaf-cutting ant whose peculiarly spiny body presents an interesting appearance, though it is in no way of special importance [825] to the Indians. One very large, black, stinging ant, called conga in Spanish, and nyû'mī in Cayapa, is much feared by the Indians and others resident in this region, for the reason that its sting produces not only an annoying local irritation, but also a rise in the temperature of one bitten, so that it is commonly said that the sting of the conga insures two days of fever.

825 Certain species of small bees are of value to the 136 Indians, particularly in the production of the wax used [237] in calking canoes and pottery, and in painting canoes; [278] it is also employed remedially to a slight extent as a [262] cure for cuts and abrasions. The honey made by these bees is very little sought as a food, and is quite secondary in value to their wax. The Indians recognize four classes of these bees. The paba ta'nda is a small black species that lives in trees and makes the best wax which is yellow in color and is produced in larger quantities than that made by any of the other bees. The ciñemi'ski, also a small black bee, lives in the ground and produces an inferior black wax which is used only to a limited extent by the Indians. The third of these small black bees is the ta'nda, which lives in trees but which produces much more honey than wax. The fourth species, amûi a'ma, is a small yellow bee which likewise lives in trees and produces a black wax that is used to a considerable extent.

136 825 262 Certain insects are employed as food. Two of these,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

which were observed, were a large, black, beaked beetle (*Rhymchophorus palmarum*), called kū′perū by the Cayapa, and a large white larva called kōmu′cū by them.

Certain other insects, though of no special economic importance, are of interest to the Indians. One in particular is a large beetle (*Euchroma goliath* L. & G.) whose iridescent wing-covers are employed in making necklaces. There are also large, beautifully colored butterflies, dragonflies, and a large firefly (*Pyrophorus pellucens*), besides a host of other species of insects of greater or lesser interest.

Insects

English	Spanish	Cayapa
beetle (*Rhymchophorus palmarum*)		kū′perū
beetle (*Euchroma goliath* L. & G.)	cucaron	kabē′′tsū
firefly (*Pyrophorus pellucens*)		mū′lūkū
bees		paba ta′nda ciñemi′skī ta′nda amūī a′ma
ant (a large, black, stinging ant)	conga	nyû′mī
larva (a large white larva)		kō′mucū
larva	cogoyo	avī′
a worm or caterpillar	hualpe	tcīlī′lī

MINERALS

Among the natural resources of the country should be mentioned its minerals, certain of which are found

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

173 in large measure they found to be the same as it is now; but the Cayapa did not take possession of the former territory of the Indios Bravos until conditions had first been more or less changed. For instance, while the Indios Bravos had fields of plantains and bananas as do the Cayapa at present, they were not utilized directly by the conquerors, but the roots were dug up and replanted. Similarly all other products of the labor of the Indios Bravos were changed, thus removing any danger to the Cayapa from using them.

[262] In those days also, the sabalo, the fish most prized by the Cayapa, existed only in the main streams of the rivers: it never came into the small esteros as it does now. On going into the country of the Indios Bravos the Cayapa placed near the mouth of each estero a row of palm-wood posts which had the magic power of rising from the ground to their full height during full moon and of sinking into the mud out of sight during the dark of the moon. These posts are said to have had a direct effect on this particular species of fish and on their passing up and down the estero. Some of these posts are said to be found even now at the mouths of certain esteros.

173 There are, of course, no means of fixing the exact
174 date of the migration of the Cayapa either to Pueblo Viejo or to their present location, and their tradition cannot be taken too literally. However, it seems probable that the essential features of the tradition in large measure are based on historical facts.

Whatever the reasons for their move, and whatever

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Food and its Preparation

241 •262 The territory of the Cayapa is abundantly supplied by nature with both vegetal and animal foods, the former being the more important. In addition, various introduced vegetal foods are now raised by the natives, the most notable of which are plantains, bananas, sugar-cane, yuca, pineapples, cacao, and sweet potatoes. There are also various introduced fruits, such as guabos, caimitos, sapotis, papayas, and, to a limited extent, coconuts. In addition to these, many species of wild plants and trees yield foods; especially is this true of the palms, such as chonta dura and palma real.

224 262 The jungle abounds in a great variety of mammals and birds, most of which furnish food for the Indians. The mammals mostly used are the guanta and the guatin, two large species of rodents, the peccary, the wild-hog, the deer, the jaguar, the puma, the ocelot, a small species of red squirrel, a large species of wood-rat, the sloth, the ant-eater, and the armadillo. The birds most used as food are two species of grouse, two species of wild turkey, two species of toucan, and several species of dove. The rivers abound in various kinds of fish, several of which are eaten by the Cayapa. A species of lobster is also plentiful in the streams, and there is a very small mussel-like bivalve which is consumed to a limited extent. Reptiles of all kinds are shunned, although the boa and certain other species of large serpents occur in the region. The iguana and its eggs are much prized as food, and numbers of these large lizards are taken in the season when they come down

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

to the river to lay their eggs. The large eggs of the alligator are also much in favor, and it is said by some that alligator flesh is edible. The eggs and flesh of another and slightly different species of amphibian, called tulicio in the local Spanish, are likewise used for food. In addition to these foods there are certain insects which, either full-grown or in the larval state, are much esteemed.

Various methods are employed in the preparation of these foods. The plantain, the most important food product of the Cayapa, is prepared in a variety of ways. It is almost invariably gathered while green, and is regularly eaten in that condition, though ripe plantain is frequently used for making a kind of gruel, and occasionally it is roasted. The usual method of preparing the green plantains is by boiling, the outer covering of the fruit having first been removed. They are thus cooked for from a half to three-quarters of an hour in a pottery vessel, or nowadays more frequently in an iron or a granite-iron kettle, closely covered with a green leaf called ü'tya hakî, which is very tough and is used in many ways in the preparation of food. It is impossible to cook green plantain so that it is tender, hence the usual mode of preparing it is to beat the hard, cooked fruit with a stone muller upon a mealing stone (pl. LXII, 1, 2), mixing and kneading it meanwhile with the hand. Usually this beaten plantain, which is called bala, is eaten without seasoning, although a little salt may be added; or it may be mixed with dried meat during the pounding. The boiled green plantain is also frequently eaten without

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

special racks are built above the fire-box, where strips of meat, or, if the animals or birds are small, the entire bodies, are placed to dry and smoke. Sometimes there are as many as three of these racks, one above another, each covering the same amount of space as the fire-box itself. Considerable time is necessary for drying meat in this way, and, when once dried, it must be kept either on the racks or near the fire in order to prevent molding. For drying fish there usually is employed the upper half of a large earthenware jar, which is turned down over the fire and the fish laid across the opening upon green sticks. Being thus close to the fire, a shorter time is sufficient to dry and smoke the fish, but when thus cured they also must be kept on the racks above or elsewhere near the fire-box in order to keep them from molding. A few vegetal products, especially medicinal herbs, are dried in a similar manner, as likewise are two vegetal foods. The inner covering of the tagua or ivory nut, which, when dried and then roasted upon the coals, has an excellent flavor, is used as food to a slight extent. Green plantain is cut crosswise into thin sections and dried thoroughly in the sun, when possible, or over the fire when necessary. It is then ground to powder and mixed with water into a thin gruel, which is used as food for babies when the mother is ill or for other reasons is unable to provide a proper supply of milk.

Boiling is employed also in the preparation of certain vegetal foods in cane juice. While practically all the product of the cane-field is used in making rum, some syrup and sweets are occasionally prepared. Yuca and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

plantain or other fruits are cut into fairly small pieces and boiled in the cane juice during the process of reducing it to syrup, thus producing a rich and toothsome conserve. Much labor is entailed in making this delicacy, but it is rarely prepared except as a secondary product of distillation.

A rather rare food, and one much prized by the Cayapa, is a large white, brown-headed grub, called kō'mucū, which is found in rotten trunks and stumps of fallen palms. Their presence is easily detected by their low, crunching sound as they eat the tough palm fibers within. Such a log is cut open and the grubs are carefully taken out, along with a considerable quantity of the rotted palm-wood. They are usually placed in burden-baskets and then stored in the house in a closely-covered olla until needed. The grubs have a very tough skin, and contain a considerable quantity of rich fat, resembling lard, which is used by the Indians in several ways. The kō'mucū may be eaten raw, but more frequently it is broken open, placed over the fire in a small pottery vessel, and fried in its own fat, so to speak, resulting in a very rich oily food. Another favorite method of preparing this food is to mash and make into a gruel some boiled ripe plantain, which is stirred into a pot of kō'mucū that has been made to boil with a small quantity of water. Most of the kō'mucū used in making this dish are left whole, but a sufficient number of them are broken to liberate a considerable quantity of fat into the receptacle. The result of this process is a rich food of the consistency of gruel, and it is relished, perhaps, above all others.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

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272 drink it only now and then, usually at fiestas. It is prepared by first thoroughly grinding the dried cacao upon a mealing stone such as is used for grinding plantain, and then boiling. For this purpose the Cayapa make a pot of special form, such as that shown in pl. LXXXVII, 9. The boiling chocolate is stirred at intervals with an implement of special form called tcōkōla'*te* tcalī, illustrated in pl. LXI, 6–7. The result of this process is a comparatively thick, very rich and oily liquid, quite unlike the beverage prepared from the ordinary chocolate of commerce, since the chocolate prepared directly from the seeds as above described retains all the natural oil. It may be drunk in this form, but if sugar is available it is usually added.

249 Pineapples (Cayapa, tcī'lya), the only use of which is as
[262] a food, are grown to a limited extent by some of the Cayapa. The green tops of the fruits themselves are planted close together in rows, and from these the plants grow. When once established, such a plant requires

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

very little attention until time to gather the fruit, which in this region is of excellent flavor, especially when allowed to ripen thoroughly on the plant. 249

The fleshy roots of the yuca (Cayapa, kû"tcû) are considerably used as food. The yuca is started by means of cuttings, and requires from seven to nine months to produce the edible roots. These roots are usually boiled in the regular manner when used as an ordinary food, but, as above mentioned, they are also frequently boiled in sugar-cane syrup to make a kind of preserves. The yuca is a very nutritious food, has an excellent flavor, and by many is much preferred to either potatoes or yams. It is never baked. 244 262 [252]

Potatoes (Cayapa, pû'lyû) do not thrive at this low altitude, owing to the heat and humidity, although they grow well in the valleys of the higher Andes. On rare occasions they are obtained from the Indians of these interior valleys who make journeys to the coast for trading and other purposes. They have also been procured in more recent years from the traders about the mouth of the river, but the Cayapa seldom purchase commodities of this class. 244 439 262

Another food of a similar kind which is grown by the Cayapa to a limited extent is the red yam. It is started by cuttings in the ordinary manner. In preparing them for food, the yams are boiled, but are never roasted, as is so frequently done by aboriginal peoples. 244 262 252

Of this class also is the root-stalk of the rascadera (Cayapa, *t*û'a), a species of caladium which is grown to a limited extent by a few of the Cayapa. This is also pre-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

pared exclusively by boiling. Rascadera and yuca are grown to a much greater extent by the negroes who live along the river than by the Indians.

According to their own tradition, the Cayapa, having been formerly a mountain people, in earlier times subsisted largely on maize or Indian corn (Cayapa, pi'cû), which is still one of the principal foods of practically all the Indians of the higher Andes. On moving to the lower altitudes, the Cayapa brought the maize with them, and even yet a small quantity is grown by them. The plant itself it comparatively small, and the ears are very small, rarely exceeding six or seven inches in length. When gathered for food it is almost always taken green and is prepared in one of three ways. Frequently, the husk having been removed, the ear of green corn is simply roasted over coals, when it is considered quite a delicacy, though it lacks the rich flavor of our sweet corn. The products of the other two methods of preparing it are gruels. The first stages in making both kinds are the same, and the process is as follows: The necessary number of husked ears of green corn having been procured, the women chew the kernels from the cobs, depositing them in a large wooden tray, or batea. Since the introduction of various articles of commerce some households use a large tin grater for removing the kernels from the cobs. The kernels are then placed, handful after handful as needed, upon a mealing stone (pl. LXII, 1, 2) and ground with a stone muller such as the one shown resting on the mealing stone shown in fig. 2 of the plate mentioned, a small amount of water being added from

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ears each. These bunches are then hung from the roof to prevent attacks by rodents. Whenever possible the corn is hung where the heat from the fire will keep it from molding.

The foregoing are the chief agricultural food products of the Cayapa. Excepting the maize and the potato, all were introduced since the Spanish conquest and are now systematically cultivated. In this connection should be mentioned certain palms which provide food of one kind or other, and which, while they cannot be strictly classed under the head of agriculture, since they are not planted and tended as are the other plants mentioned, are of considerable economic importance.

One of these palms is that commonly known by the Spanish name chonta dura and called kanō'tci by the Cayapa. One variety of this produces a cluster of red fruits, another a cluster of yellow fruits. The Cayapa name for the fruit of this palm is ka'imbi. Both ripen in the late summer months and are much esteemed as food. By means of a long hooked bamboo pole, these clusters are torn from just below the crown of the palm, which is usually quite tall. The fruits are boiled in a cooking-pot or kettle; the tough skin is then easily peeled off, leaving the yellowish mealy meat ready to eat. In the center of this, in turn, is a very hard nut which, when cracked, yields a toothsome white meat with a flavor resembling that of ripe coconut. The mealy yellow meat is usually eaten with a little salt, but is especially good when eaten with a thick syrup made from cane juice. It is also frequently boiled in this syrup, the result being a kind of conserved fruit.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

While the fruit of the chonta dura is never eaten raw, there is another palm that produces a fruit similar in form but of a grayish yellow color, which is considerably esteemed in its raw state. Neither of these species of palm is purposely planted by the Cayapa, but when found they are carefully protected, and the fruits are harvested year after year.

One other species of palm, a very tall, slender one, produces a fruit which it eaten raw. To secure this the palm is usually cut down with a machete, which is always carried by everyone going into the jungle.

One of the most important of the natural products of this part of Ecuador is the tagua, or ivory nut. These palms, called ti′ñ tcī or tī′mō būlō, are scattered throughout the jungle and are carefully conserved by the Indians, especially where a grove of them is found near a dwelling. The importance of this palm applies both to the Indians and to the negroes and whites. The ripe nuts, tīmbū pū′ka, or *t*imō pōka, are an article of commerce, and their exportation to the United States and to Europe, where they are extensively used in making buttons, is an important industry. To the Indians, however, the tagua serves at least three other uses. When its green burs approach maturity, they are gathered and taken to the house, where they are cut crosswise with a machete. These burs are covered by an outer shell, called ha′ñda kīka. They are very hard and can be cut only with difficulty. Each of the nuts in this stage of its development is an almost transparent gelatinous substance, called tcapī *t*a′ka, which may

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

262 either be scooped out with the fingers or sipped. The nut is not used as a regular article of food, but more as a confection, its use being much restricted by the supply and the difficulty of opening the bur.

252 Another food derived from the tagua is the yellow,
262 mealy and comparatively thin covering, called pīm būkū, or ya ū'kū, which surrounds the ripe nut itself. This is peeled off and roasted over coals, if it is to be used immediately, or dried on the smoking rack above the fire if to be used later. The flavor of this roasted meat is similar to that of crisp, baked, fresh pork-rind. It is also frequently eaten raw, but in this state it has a rather unpleasant flavor, similar to that of raw acorns.

ooo The gathering, curing, and use of the tagua leaf, which is almost exclusively employed in thatching houses, are described in the discussion of building construction.

222 A very good food is obtained from the palma real,
[262] called ūya'-tcī. This is a very large species and in form is perhaps the most beautiful of all the palms. Its very straight trunk, which sometimes reaches a height of seventy-five to a hundred feet, swells considerably at a point about midway of its height and resembles an entasic column surmounted by a huge umbrella-shape crown of leaves which wave gently in the breeze. In a large specimen of this species the trunk is from three to four feet in diameter at its base, swelling uniformly to a diameter perhaps one-third greater at the middle, and again decreasing toward the crown to a diameter somewhat less than that of the base. The mature leaves reach a length as great as twenty feet.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The crisp, pure white, young leaves from the center of the crown of this palm are much esteemed as a food by the Cayapa. To secure these, however, it is necessary to cut down the whole plant, which is done with a machete or preferably an ax. The large, mature leaves of the crown are cut and pried away until the inner part of the trunk is reached. These outer, old leaves of the crown are even more fibrous and resistant than the trunk itself, and as it is almost impossible to cut them away with a machete, an ax is usually necessary. Owing to their great weight, and especially to the interlacing of the hard and very strong fibers at the bases of the leaves, a couple of chisel-pointed sticks, six feet or so in length, are needed to pry away the outer leaves after the mid-ribs have once been cut through with the ax. This inner trunk and those inner leaves which have already begun to unfold are next cut away, until the very young, succulent leaves, which as yet have not commenced to unfold and which appear in the form of a solid, slender cone of pure white, are reached. This cone often measures at its base as much as ten to fifteen inches in diameter, and may be even ten or twelve feet in length. It is a solid mass of crisp white matter, finer in texture than the innermost part of a head of cabbage and with a flavor resembling that of almonds. It is ordinarily eaten raw, either with or without salt, although a very good dish is also prepared by boiling it.

The palma real yields another useful product. The tough fibers, called niñtcū'a, which grow along the sides of the base of the mid-rib of the mature leaf, and which,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

as above mentioned, interlace with the fibers of adjoining leaves in such manner as to make it necessary to pry the leaves apart with wooden bars, are strong and pliable, and are woven into burden-bands by which heavy loads are carried. These fibers often attain a length of about four feet and are possessed of tensile strength sufficient to enable their use as strings on the wooden harp which is now made to a very limited extent by the Cayapa. This instrument was borrowed by them from the Indians of the interior, who in turn copied it from the Spanish conquerors.

Another palm, found to a limited extent along the river, is the coconut, called after the Spanish, kō'kō-tci. It does not, however, thrive at any considerable distance from the ocean, consequently few palms are found even at so short a distance up the Rio Cayapas as the mouth of the Onzole. Pl. CXXXI presents a view looking up-stream at the confluence of the Rio Onzole with the Rio Cayapas, and, upon the projection of land between them, the hacienda of one of the more prosperous of the negroes of the region. Several coconut palms appear in front of the house. Coconuts grow well along the immediate coast, and there are here large groves, the nuts being shipped to nearby villages and to points even as far away as Esmeraldas. They are purchased to a certain extent by the Indians, by whom they are used in very limited quantities as food, more especially for the so-called coconut-milk which is made from the ripe nuts.

In addition to the foregoing food-producing plants,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

species now used, the one producing a globular fruit called wa'ĭyû, and the other an ellipsoidal fruit called cā'lya, were introduced here from Colombia. Every house is provided with one or more of these trees, and usually at least one of each of the two species. These large gourd-like fruits are produced in considerable numbers by such a tree and find a variety of uses. They are gathered when just ready to turn from green to ripe and are immediately hollowed out into utensils of several kinds. The details of manufacture and the uses of these utensils are treated on pages 166–173.

Another fruit, some species of which are said to be indigenous and some introduced, which is found abundantly in this region, is what is called by the local Spanish name guabo or guaba. This requires no cultivation, but the trees are carefully guarded against destruction. It is rarely if ever purposely planted, but grows from the accidental dropping of seeds. In the vicinity of almost every house there are several trees of one or more of these species. The fruits, which grow in long pods, are much esteemed and are almost invariably eaten raw. Each variety has its own special name, as follows:

Cayapa	*Spanish*
mactē'-pa cîlyû,	guabo de macheton (machete guabo, so named on account of the shape of the pod).
nĭ'ñga cîlyû,	guabo de tacoano.
pā' cîlyû,	guabo dulce (sweet guabo). The Cayapa name signifies "water guabo."
sa' cîlyû,	guabo agria (sour guabo). The Cayapa name also signifies "sour guabo."
pû' cîlyû,	guabo.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Of these species the one most commonly found about the houses and the most used is pū′ cīlyū, a wide-spreading tree reaching a height of about forty feet. A general view of this species is shown in pl. v, in which the broad, branching top of one of the trees is shown prominently against the sky toward the left of the center of the picture. The habits of growth of the other varieties are similar to this.

A species of small Compositæ, called lu′lyū, which somewhat resembles the marigold, is grown with considerable care, its special use being to provide decorative flowers for fiestas. The flowers are made up into long garlands which are draped about the altar of the church or are worn about the necks of those celebrating the fiesta. They are also sometimes inserted in the hair, over the ears, or about the clothing.

Upon the drying platform attached to the house there is almost always a fragment of an old canoe or some broken pots or other utensils in which are grown several of the various species of medicinal herbs, such as limoncillo, or of other plants valued for the scent of their leaves or seeds, or plants used as teas.

In addition to those already mentioned in greater detail, there are several other introduced fruits, such as the papaya, the caimito, the orange, the lemon, the lime, and the sour sap, which are grown so rarely by the Cayapa as to make them almost negligible in a consideration of the vegetal products of the people. They spring up almost always by the accidental falling of seeds in favorable soil, rather than by intentional

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

planting. They are, however, all eaten raw and to a limited extent by the Cayapa whenever obtainable. 245 262

Hunting

In the Cayapa region, where game of various sorts is so abundant, hunting is a practice of considerable importance. This is now done almost entirely with old-fashioned muzzle-loading shotguns, which have supplanted blow-guns almost entirely. In aboriginal times the blow-gun was the chief weapon employed in hunting, and a few of them are still in use, especially by the boys in hunting small birds. In addition to the blow-gun the Cayapa say that they formerly had lances made entirely of the wood of certain hard palms, and that more recently they used the bow and arrow. They maintain that they originally did not know the use of the bow and arrow, but that they became acquainted with these only after coming down from the high mountains to the vicinity of their present abode, which was then occupied by another people. The bow and arrow appear to have been comparatively little used at any time by the Cayapa, but formerly the lance was much used in hunting wild hogs and one or two other species of game. In fact it is still used by some in hunting the guanta, a species of large rodent which lives in burrows. 224 411 [177] [177]

The blow-gun, called by the Cayapa pitcū'ə, is a slender tube varying from about six to nine feet in length, made of palm-wood wrapped with pitigua and the whole covered with brea, the black waterproof wax used especially for calking canoes. The blow-gun tapers [237]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 A boda held from January seventh to tenth, 1909, was as follows:

At the Christmas fiesta announcement was made that two certain families would give a boda on January seventh. Meanwhile the members of these families commenced to accumulate the provisions for the feasts. Much hunting and fishing and drying of meat were done; rum was distilled; vegetal foods were procured; and, not the least in importance, a trip was made to the ocean to procure shellfish and crabs. On the afternoon of January seventh, accordingly, a considerable number of people assembled, still others coming in on the following day. No feasts or special ceremonies were held until the next day.

First day. January eighth, 1909

At about 9 A.M. a service was conducted in the church, followed by feasts in one of the houses of the village.

The first of these feasts was an ofrenda. While the service was being held in the church, the members of the family, assisted by friends, were placing upon the table all the food which had been prepared the night before. The table, as usual, was prepared by spreading upon a considerable area of the floor a covering of the large leaves of hoja blanca, and upon these were placed all manner of eatables. Liquids or semi-liquids were contained in pottery or calabash dishes, and dry foods were placed directly upon the leaves. There were many of the various mammals, birds, and fishes of the region dried and smoked until almost jet black; monkeys, guatins, squirrels, zorras, woodrats, and other mammals

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

dried whole; and guantas, deer, jaguars, pumas, armadillos, sloths, and wild hogs, all in dismembered parts. Among the birds were parrots, toucans, doves, grouse, wild turkeys, herons, and egrets, all dried whole. Dried fish of various species, especially the shad, were present. In vegetal foods also there was great variety, as the plantain, yuca, papaya, rascadera, sugar-cane, coconut, guabo, zapote, bread-fruit, orange, chonta dura, and palma real. Care was taken in arranging the table to see that there should be as much display as possible. The dried mammals and birds were in many cases placed in erect poses, and fruits or pieces of other foods were placed in the beaks of the birds and in the mouths or between the paws of the mammals. In one or two instances mammals were so posed as to appear as if fighting.

Directly after the service in the church, to which a small portion of the food was taken in order that by its presence during the service it might receive the blessing for all the food used in the feast, all the people of the village congregated at this particular house. The men and larger boys occupied the room in which the table was spread, and the women, girls, and small boys the room adjoining. The givers of the feast then presented to whomsoever they thought proper various articles from the table, such as a dried mammal, bird, or fish, and some fruit. These were for the recipients personally, and were to be taken home by them. On receiving such a gift, a man always took it personally or sent it to some of the women of his family in the adjoining room. This division of the food took a considerable part of what was

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

upon the table; the rest was divided into small bits, and, after an invocation by the warden of the church, the men and boys, all seated on low benches about the table, proceeded to feast. The women meanwhile partook of a portion of the food that had been sent to the next room to them. Having finished the meal, a benediction was pronounced by the warden and the floor was cleared of all scraps of food and the leaves forming the table.

Immediately fresh leaves were spread as at first, and the boda, the word being here used in its more restricted sense, was served. While an ofrenda has a very elaborate assortment of foods, a boda has only fish, oysters, or meats cooked in ripe plantain in the form of a thick gruel. This is served always in the aboriginal pottery plates of the kind shown in pl. LXXXVII, 4, although for everyday use dishes of European manufacture have almost entirely supplanted the pottery plates formerly used. In this particular case the boda consisted of a single course of plantain and fish, but sometimes other courses are served in order. The feast having been finished, the majority of the people went to their respective abodes in the village or to the house of the chief.

At such gatherings offenders against the law are usually brought before the chief, by whom justice is dispensed and differences between individuals adjudicated. On this particular occasion several matters of this nature demanded the chief's attention. The details of these will show something of the methods of dispensing justice among the Cayapa.

Immediately after the boda on this first day the chief sent some officers to bring before him certain offenders

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

ably due in part to the increased drunkenness, which was apparent throughout the day, but was due more largely to the greed of several negroes present.

After this feast the floor was cleared of remnants of the meal and of the leaves used to make the table. The second feast, the boda, was then served as usual. This consisted of three courses, each served on the same plate in the case of each individual, care being used in replenishing the supply that the plates of different individuals should not be interchanged. The three courses of these mush-like foods consisted of plantain with fish, plantain with meat, and plantain with oysters. In case any individual did not eat any or all of his portion, it was taken to the next room by the host or by one of the attendants and given to one of the women of his family. The men giving the boda served the guests, while the women attended to filling the plates.

In this particular instance the whole of the previous night had been spent by the hostess and her friends in cooking and preparing the plantain mushes used in this boda. While hot they were poured into burden-baskets lined with leaves. When served they were cold and very thick.

Immediately following the feasts another refractory pair were brought to justice. In this case the man had forsaken his wife and for three months had been living with his first cousin, who had deserted her husband. Each of the culprits, therefore, was charged with the double crime of desertion of spouse and cohabitation with first cousin. These are considered great breaches of tribal law and are severely punished. As on the previous day,

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of the Cayapa and the Negroes of the area. The extreme humidity of the region, coupled with the saturated, heavy clay soil that predominates, precludes slash and burn cultivation. The Cayapa region is just on the very southern edge of the area marked by a peculiar diagnostic trait:

> . . . slash-mulch cultivation, of probable Indian origin, has evolved. Seeds are broadcast and rhizomes and cuttings are planted in an uncleared plot; then the bush is cut; decay of cut vegetable matter is rapid, forming a thick mulch through which the sprouts from the seeds and cuttings appear within a week or ten days (West 1957: 129).

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The main food crops are maize /pí$\tilde{e}$u/, plantain /pánda/, sugar cane /éla/, sweet manioc /xi$^{y}\tilde{e}$u/, Rascadera (Xanthosoma sagittifolium), a taro-like aroid tuber called /tóa/, squash /ki/, pineapple /$\tilde{c}$íl^{y}a/, beans /mílu/, and bananas /seda/. The latter were universally considered to be starvation food, and prior to the recent world market demand for them, were fed to the pigs. There are many fruits such as papaya /papí^{i}ya/, oranges /lénaa/, lemons /lémo/, zapote /sapóta/, guabo /$\tilde{e}$íl^{y}u/, chirimoya (a. cherimola). Some sweet potatoes are grown, but they are scarce due to the depredations of

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pigs who find them especially delectable. The Cayapa seldom plant coconuts, but the Negroes do so whenever possible. Important palms are the Tagua and the Chontaduro. The tagua nut was formerly an extremely important economic product; its hard seed was in constant demand on the world market for the manufacture of shirt buttons. With the rapid development of the plastics industry some thirty years ago, the market for tagua seeds completely collapsed. The Cayapa still talk nostalgically of the days when money did apparently grow on trees. Though its export value has declined, the tagua palm, nevertheless, is still important to the internal economy: the leaves are used extensively for roof thatching, the nut is a minor item in the diet, and when the tree dies, the /müšu/, a delectable and very oily grub can be dug out of the trunk. Both men and women may work in the gardens. Generally speaking, however, the men clear the garden and the women plant the seeds or roots. Men and women may harvest the crops.

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The staff of life for the inhabitants of the Pacific Lowland Culture Area is the plantain which is found in many varieties. It may be eaten green or

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ripe, but most often it is boiled green and then pounded on a mortar. Bits of meat and/or fish may be added to the pulp. In this form it is called bala by both Negroes and Cayapa. In the ripe form, it may be boiled and treated as bala, or it may be eaten raw. Children eat enormous amounts of ripe plantain, and they never seem to become satiated. Important adjuncts to the subsistence pattern are the traveling merchants who bring canoe-loads of dried fish, clams, bread, cookies, sugar, and candy as well as smuggled Colombian cloth and clothing, up from the coast.

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Hunting is a very important activity, and most Cayapa men spend one or two days a week tracking game. The main animals are large rodents called guanta /walámbu/, a smaller rodent called guatin /kúyu/, peccary /netúšu/, jaguar /kála/, puma /lʸukála/, monkey /wášu/, squirrel /yámbu/, and the armadillo /čilʸámbu/. Large birds are shot whenever possible and include toucans /čandétu/, the wild turkey /ála/, and a hawk /buyálʸu/. At the present time, hunting is done almost entirely with muzzle-loading shotguns. Hunting is generally a small operation involving no more than three

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men, and occasionally only one shotgun is available to share among them.

Fishing is an important adjunct to the dietary pattern. Fish are dynamited, netted, speared, trapped, drugged, and hooked. Often a man or boy will work his canoe up-stream and then drift slowly down while he plays his hook and line which are tied to a light pole. The fisherman baits his hook with a lively grasshopper, drops his line into the water, then holds his arm motionless except for a slight movement of his wrist which causes the line to move with a sinusoidal motion. This favorite method can only be used when the river is very low. At these times, in the evening, three men or boys go out in a canoe moving slowly along the bank. One man paddles, another holds a flashlight or a pressure lantern, and the third man stands ready with a fish spear. The light attracts multitudes of fish, and the haul is invariably a huge one. Lobster can also be easily trapped when the river is low. A lobster trap, called _catanga_ is baited with plantain. It is set under water alongside a bank that has some protuberance, such as a pile of driftwood. The mouth of the trap is placed so it faces

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Father's si. so. da. /ʌhpunáʔma/
Father's mo. br. son /ʌhpúyu/ w.s., /ʌhd̃iyu/ m.s.
Mother's br. son's wife /sʌ̃ya/
Husband's fa. si. son /apípi/
Mother's br. son's son /apínʔa/ m.s.
Father's father's si. son /apíku/ m.s.
Mother's br. so. daughter /unʔunátacúhki/

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Pregnancy and Birth. The Cayapa understand that there is a connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy but believe that repeated intercourse is necessary for conception. A woman is known to be pregnant when the menstrual period ceases and the areolae and nipples /čukápa/ become enlarged and darker. There do not seem to be any abnormal food cravings nor are there any food taboos. There is some feeling of "shame" concerning pregnancy, and a woman never tells her husband or anyone else that she is pregnant. It will soon be obvious to everyone anyway.

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The woman continues her normal routine until she is well advanced in her pregnancy, at which time she remains in the house where she eventually gives birth. Children have been born at fiestas, and I was a partial witness to such a birth at a fiesta at Sapello Grande. The party was an ofrenda given by Marianito Añapa in honor of his parents, who had died

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If the mother should die first, then no attempt is made to remove the child. Births that result in death are said to have been caused by witchcraft. Insofar as I was able to determine, no counter measures are taken for revenge. 845 [754]

When labor pains begin, the woman is given a hot drink of rum, lemon, and sulfur. Some women claim to have had painless births, and others claim it hurt each time. After the delivery the mid-wife cuts the umbilical cord /pesíl^{y}i/ with a metal knife. The mid-wife buries the umbilical cord under the house about two hours following the birth. It is said that if the cord should be thrown away, then a malignant spirit would get it, and turn it into an animal that kills people. Also, if the cord were not properly buried, then the mother might die of hemorrhage. 844 [278] [412] 846 [776]

After the delivery the mother remains at home for two months. She does light tasks about the house, but she does not go to work in the fields. She observes some food taboos during this period such as being forbidden to eat crabs, clams, or meat. If the taboo is broken, it is believed that she will lose her [262] [784]

blood and die. The father is under no food restriction. 846
The infant is given the breast very shortly after birth 853
and is permitted to drink the colostrum /išpi/: /iš-/ 'clear' /pi/ 'water' 'liquid.' For the first month, the child is given only the breast. He is fed "on demand" providing it is convenient to the mother; for example, if the infant is being held at the time he wishes to be nursed, he is indulged. If, however, the child should be crying while his mother is engaged in some task that requires standing or the use of both hands, his cries are ignored. Also, if the mother is busy in another part of the room, the infant is likewise required to wait for the fulfillment of his needs.

By the end of the second month the mother may 846
do some light work in the monte. The infant is never [854]
taken along when the mother goes to work outside; instead, he is left in the care of a sibling or older female relative. The child is fed kulada which is 853
prepared from crushed, dried, green plantain, sugar, [262]
and water. If a lactating woman is present, she may give the infant her breast. The child may be nursed 862
for three years unless he is usurped from the breast

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[The Negroes, however, wean their children after one year, and some Cayapa women are beginning to imitate them.] Weaning is accomplished by shaming or ridiculing the child, or frightening him with stories of cannibalistic ogres, or applying bitter tasting substances to the nipple.

The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that arise from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. This stems in major part from the fact that the child is generally kept within the confines of the home at these ages. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls; it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. Consequently his movements within the house are restricted and he is effectively blocked off from direct sunlight and on canoe trips he is usually placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

seldom brought home to the confined child; the adults eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors at the riverside. During his fifth year when he is permitted to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit, the incidence of skin disease decreases and his rickety appearance disappears.

Children are wanted and beloved. As an example of permissiveness, they are allowed to indulge in cookies, candies, sugar and soft drinks, but conversely an element of teasing often enters the picture. To illustrate, a small child will be offered a goody, which, when he reaches for it, will be snatched away. Reactions to this affront vary: some children cry; others just sit looking forlorn. The adults seem to enjoy this teasing. An impressive example of contrastive behavior presented itself one day as a group of Indian women and their children came to visit us. Everyone was seated on the floor in a circle, and the conversation was desultory. Finally, a woman took a piece of candy and handed it to my son who was sitting on his mother's lap. As he reached out eagerly for the tidbit, the woman brought her hand back. At this everyone laughed, but the child

Once a year, as a rule,

groups of Cayapa will band together for protection against the cutthroats and brigands that infest the coastal regions, load their canoes with as much rubber as they have been able to collect, and set off in small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colombian goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to poaching.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be good for raising pigs. (Remoteness lessens the possibility of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and zapotes. Large sections are planted to the tagua palm that, at one time, was as important economically as the banana is today. The tagua nut is only a minor item in the

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diet now, but the leaves are in demand for roofing material. Another cash crop is hardwood trees, but they are not often planted; enterprising individuals cut them out of the unclaimed forest.

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Land is seldom held in one large block. It is usually scattered about among other holdings so that, quite often, choice properties are separated by distances involving several day's travel. Many Cayapa have two houses, each built as close as possible to their main holdings. Inevitably, they must spend considerable time away from large sections of their property and, as a result, Negroes often illegally harvest standing crops or, perhaps, plant their own. Negroes may buy land from the Cayapa, but as the banana economy continues to boom, the Indians are more and more reluctant to sell. Sometimes usufruct is rented by the Negro, usually for a share of the profits, but arguments invariably develop. It is said that the Indian is always at a disadvantage in his dealings with the Negro because of the latter's readiness to engage in witchcraft and "spoil" the land for the Indian owner. If several members of an Indian's family sicken or die, after a recent quarrel with a Negro about land, it is assumed that witchcraft has been

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

until the child is about four years of age. The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that stem from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. [Prior to this time the child may have been extremely healthy.] During the period of confinement to the house he is effectively blocked off from sunlight within the house and on canoe trips he is placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is seldom brought home to the confined child; the adults eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors at the river side. The child is permitted, indeed encouraged to eat refined sugar by the fist full and to drink soda pop. During his fifth year when he is permitted to leave the confines of the house he is able to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit; then the incidence of skin diseases decreases and his rickety appearance disappears.

The low sexual drive of the adult male Cayapa is best reflected in his replies to questions on the frequency of coitus. Recalling that sexual prowess is admired, married men in their late twenties and early

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

to the river to lay their eggs. The large eggs of the alligator are also much in favor, and it is said by some that alligator flesh is edible. The eggs and flesh of another and slightly different species of amphibian, called tulicio in the local Spanish, are likewise used for food. In addition to these foods there are certain insects which, either full-grown or in the larval state, are much esteemed.

Various methods are employed in the preparation of these foods. The plantain, the most important food product of the Cayapa, is prepared in a variety of ways. It is almost invariably gathered while green, and is regularly eaten in that condition, though ripe plantain is frequently used for making a kind of gruel, and occasionally it is roasted. The usual method of preparing the green plantains is by boiling, the outer covering of the fruit having first been removed. They are thus cooked for from a half to three-quarters of an hour in a pottery vessel, or nowadays more frequently in an iron or a granite-iron kettle, closely covered with a green leaf called ũ'tya hakĭ, which is very tough and is used in many ways in the preparation of food. It is impossible to cook green plantain so that it is tender, hence the usual mode of preparing it is to beat the hard, cooked fruit with a stone muller upon a *mealing stone (pl. LXXV, 1, 2)*, mixing and kneading it meanwhile with the hand. Usually this beaten plantain, which is called bala, is eaten without seasoning, although a little salt may be added; or it may be mixed with dried meat during the pounding. The boiled green plantain is also frequently eaten without

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

pounding. The ripe plantain, on the other hand, is generally prepared, after boiling, by macerating with a wooden masher, matcó'ka, in a wooden bowl, called batea in Spanish. In pls. LXI, LXII these implements are shown, the masher appearing in pl. LXI, 1–5, and the batea in pl. LXII, 4. In this form the plantain will keep for three or four days, and is a nourishing, concentrated food. It is, however, never eaten in this form, but is diluted with water into a very thin gruel, which is drunk more as a refreshment between meals than as a regular food. The plantain mash is also carried on short trips into the mountains or along the river, and is made into gruel as needed.

Both green and ripe plantains are also roasted over coals, the ripe ones generally with the outer covering, the green ones usually without it. When thus cooked also, the green plantain is preferred to the ripe. It is ordinarily roasted until quite dry, when it is mashed on the mealing stone with the muller. The pounding in this case is not the same as in making bala—the plantain is merely mashed flat, without any mixing with the hand.

Still another method of preparing green plantain, but one that is not applicable to the ripe fruit, is the making of a kind of tamales. With a small shell the plantain is scraped to a mushy consistency, and, after the addition always of a little salt and sometimes of pounded meat, fish, or certain species of insects, is rolled into a long, slender cylinder, covered with the tough green leaf, ú'tya haki, before referred to. This preparation is then roasted before the fire for some

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

226 The Cayapa make frequent journeys to the ocean, chiefly for the purpose of securing shellfish and crabs, which are abundant along the beaches about the mouth of the river. There are several species of clams and mussels, as well as oysters in large numbers. Also crabs of several species are very abundant, and are captured usually by digging out their burrows. Both the shellfish and the crabs are brought alive up the river, the crabs being confined in coarse baskets. Oysters are usually heated over coals sufficiently to cause the shells to open, and are eaten directly from the shells with a bit of salt or lemon; but clams and mussels are generally boiled. Crabs also are almost always boiled, although sometimes they are roasted.

226 Inland, along the banks of the Rio Cayapas and its tributaries, are obtained three other foods of the same class. In the wet soil of the jungle live large numbers of a small, bright-red land crab, called nē′lū, or, more specifically, kaia′pa nēlū. This crab has one very large arm, which is the only part used as a food. The crabs are caught in great numbers, and the large arm is removed and roasted. In the waters of these streams are also large numbers of a small species of lobster or crayfish, called pī′cū, which is considered an excellent food. It is caught with a special dip-net, called cīa, used almost exclusively for this purpose. The third food of this class is likewise obtained from the rivers. It is a very small bivalve, resembling a miniature mussel such as is found in the ocean, and is gathered at certain points along the streams where the rock walls of the banks or where bedrock affords convenient lodgment.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

time to time. This thick paste is then placed in a cooking-pot or kettle with the requisite amount of water and boiled, the consistency of the gruel of course depending upon the amount of water added. The thick gruel is eaten with the fingers, or frequently nowadays with a spoon, and is eaten as ordinary food. The thin gruel, which is more frequently made and which usually is sufficiently liquid to be called a beverage rather than a mush, is drunk from small hemispherical calabashes. It is flavored with a little salt, or preferably with sugar. This food is called champo (tcambō'se in Cayapa) and is used almost exclusively at feasts, where it is served in canoe-shape wooden vessels, called tcambō's kūle, made especially for the purpose. These utensils are from two and a half to three and half feet long, their ends are made like the prow and stern of a regular canoe, and they are elaborately ornamented with the same painted designs as are used on large canoes. These little vessels may be set upon the feast table, but often they are carried about among the feasters, in which event one of the masters of ceremony takes the prow and another the stern and pass throughout the house, being careful that everyone is served. On the surface of the beverage float from two to four or five small calabash dippers, or mates, with which the champo is drunk.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

retain the foods which are crushed and pounded upon it. Usually at the opposite end there is no such ridge, the opening serving especially in grinding green corn.

With this mealing stone, and also with the mealing block (pl. xxm, 1), is used a muller consisting usually of a cobblestone from five to seven inches in length, three to four inches in width, and two or three inches in thickness. Sometimes such a muller is shaped artificially. A typical muller is shown in place as it is used on the mealing stone in fig. 2.

The mealing stone and muller are used primarily for making what in Spanish is called bala, boiled green plantain mashed and pounded. From one to half a dozen green plantains are put on the mealing stone, then rolled lightly and mashed with the muller, after which they are pounded with considerable force with the muller held in the right hand while the left is used between strokes to return the fragments of plantain, which have been thrown off by the force of the blows, to the center of the mealing stone. From ten to fifteen strokes of the muller result in a mass of fine-grained but soggy plantain of a light-yellow color. This resembles in texture a piece of half-baked bread-dough and is much esteemed by the Cayapa and also by the negroes. The women and girls usually prepare the bala for the men and boys, and serve it on plates, or, in the more primitive fashion, upon the cooking leaves called ó'tya haki. After the men and boys have been served, the women and girls then make bala for themselves, which they eat directly from the mealing stone. After the meal, the muller is laid upon

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the floor and the stone inverted over it to keep its grinding surface away from the dogs. When again needed it is cleaned by taking a cooked plantain, grinding it upon the stone, and rolling it around thoroughly over the grinding surface. This process takes up all the fragments of plantain left from the previous grinding, and thoroughly cleanses both the mealing stone and the muller. The ridges on the two sides and one end of the mealing stone help to keep the plantain from flying off during this grinding. The lack of a ridge along the second end, however, is of advantage in grinding green corn, which process has already been described.

Now and then the mealing stone and muller are used for treating other products, such as the inner pulp of the fruit of a tree called ma'ih-tci, which is ground and mixed with balsa charcoal to make the black face-paint called ma'lyū.

The only other native stone implement is that used as a sinker on the seine and the casting net. These sinkers are simply waterworn pebbles ranging from two to four inches in length and from an inch to two inches in diameter. They are called cūpū'ka, a general term signifying stone, and appear to have no special name. In large measure these pebbles, unworked, are rolled in the leaf called ū'tya haki and tied directly to the lower edge of the net; but now and then are found sinkers of such form that they are likely to become detached from the net, hence these are provided with rough notches or even surrounding grooves.

Certain smooth stones, and especially black ones, are used in treating the sick.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The woman was then brought forward and received ten strokes, or fifty lashes. Her case, however, was different from that of the man, and she was not then set at liberty. By living with the man she signified her desire to marry, hence it was determined that a husband should be found for her. She was therefore placed under a guard of three officers for the night, while the officials set about to find a man who would consent to take her as his wife. She was thus held in custody until January eleventh. Meantime an old man living on the Rio Camarones was found who was willing to marry her. As a matter of fact, her relatives had tried to arrange the same marriage some months before, but as she was unwilling to marry the old man, the priest had refused on his last visit to the village in October, to perform the ceremony. When the boda ended on the afternoon of January tenth the woman was given into the custody of the chief's wife, being held in the chief's house until the following morning, when a commission of three officers called for her and delivered her to the old man who was supposedly destined to become her husband. As a matter of fact, she remained with him only a few days, when she and her paramour stole away to parts unknown.

796 627 587

Second day. January ninth, 1909

A short service was held as usual in the church, followed by another ofrenda. This was marked by disorder in dividing the food, everyone grabbing for what he considered a proper share. This was in very bad taste, according to Cayapa etiquette, and was loudly condemned by the older men. This misbehavior was prob-

796 [264]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 ably due in part to the increased drunkenness, which was apparent throughout the day, but was due more largely to the greed of several negroes present.

264 796 After this feast the floor was cleared of remnants of the meal and of the leaves used to make the table. The second feast, the boda, was then served as usual. This consisted of three courses, each served on the same plate in the case of each individual, care being used in replenishing the supply that the plates of different individuals should not be interchanged. The three courses of these mush-like foods consisted of plantain with fish, plantain with meat, and plantain with oysters. In case any individual did not eat any or all of his portion, it was taken to the next room by the host or by one of the attendants and given to one of the women of his family. The men giving the boda served the guests, while the women attended to filling the plates.

[262]

796 252 In this particular instance the whole of the previous night had been spent by the hostess and her friends in cooking and preparing the plantain mushes used in this boda. While hot they were poured into burden-baskets lined with leaves. When served they were cold and very thick.

796 627 634 Immediately following the feasts another refractory pair were brought to justice. In this case the man had forsaken his wife and for three months had been living with his first cousin, who had deserted her husband. Each of the culprits, therefore, was charged with the double crime of desertion of spouse and cohabitation with first cousin. These are considered great breaches of tribal law and are severely punished. As on the previous day,

the last. The grandmother will often remain behind taking care of the young children while the parents are out working. She may punish the children either by admonition or by slapping them. Generally, there seems to be more roughhouse behavior among the children of the household when the grandparent(s) are present than when are just the parents.

When the in-laws and/or other relatives are resident in the house the same atmosphere tends to prevail. Each nuclear family occupies a section of the house. Sometimes a cubicle is built for sleeping and storing purposes. Meals are prepared separately and consumed individually. No one eats together as a group. The men are served first. One may be in a hammock, another seated on a bench, yet another may be standing off by himself at the front of the house watching the river. They eat where they are. The women and children eat after the men have eaten. They tend to form more of a group because of the proximity of the cooking area and they converse more together while they are eating than the men do.

Newcomers to the household group such as a new son or daughter-in-law, tend to be shy and quiet. In

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 village of Punta Venado is such a rancho, built with its floor of bamboo resting almost upon the ground. On the other hand, ranchos that are built for regular temporary shelters such as those above mentioned, have their floors raised from two to four feet from the ground. This rancho in the plaza of the village is shown in pls. CXXXII-CXXXIV. In the background of pl. CXXXII and pl. CXXXIII distant views are illustrated, and pl. CXXXIV shows it in detail and indicates its special and interesting use. During one day only of the year is 796 this rancho occupied. At the fiesta held during Easter [351] week the entire plaza is carefully cleared of its dense 778 growth of weeds, grass, and vines, thus making access to the rancho possible. Before dawn on Easter Sunday itself, all dancing in the village ceases. The musical instruments are transferred to this rancho and a procession is formed which brings some of the images of saints from the church to the rancho, where they sit in state, as it were, throughout the day, while music is played before them almost constantly. It is said that this is the one day of the year when these saintly images can drink as human beings, and they are frequently offered [272] guarapo, a calabash of this cane juice being placed to [764] their lips as if they were in the act of drinking. During this time people are prohibited from drinking rum in the presence of the images, though they may drink as much guarapo as they desire.

348 The cane-mill, which is itself an important and a permanent building, is constructed in exactly the same manner as a regular dwelling. It is usually situated

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

252 pounding. The ripe plantain, on the other hand, is generally prepared, after boiling, by macerating with a wooden [145] masher, matcō'ka, in a wooden bowl, called batea in Spanish. In pls. LXI, LXII these implements are shown, the masher appearing in pl. LXI, 1-5, and the batea in pl. LXII, 4. In this form the plantain will keep for three or four days, and is a nourishing, concentrated food. [264] It is, however, never eaten in this form, but is diluted [272] with water into a very thin gruel, which is drunk more as a refreshment between meals than as a regular food. The plantain mash is also carried on short trips into the mountains or along the river, and is made into gruel as needed.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

almost exclusively for the sale of the dried seeds. The 245
planting of a grove of cacao requires considerable care. The seeds are planted in calabashes or boxes at the house, and the young plants are not set into the ground until they have attained a height of from four to six inches. They are carefully protected when first planted in the open ground, a joint of large bamboo being set down around each. This precaution is necessary chiefly on account of the prevalence of ants, which would soon devour the young plants if they were not thus protected. When encased in this tube of bamboo, although it is open at the top, the young plant is rarely molested. From four to five years are required to bring one of these trees into full bearing, but even with the crude Cayapa methods of horticulture, a large tree sometimes produces as much as two or three hundred pounds of dried cacao in a year.

The brown, ovate seeds, which are contained in a large 257
red or yellow egg-shape pod, are each surrounded by a whitish or translucent fleshy covering. The pods are gathered when ripe, brought to the house, and cut open with the machete. The seeds with their fleshy coating are then placed in a large wooden tray, such as that shown in pl. LXII, 4, some water is added, and the mass is kneaded and worked thoroughly with the hands, thus removing all the fleshy covering and leaving the seeds ready for drying. As a by-product of this process, the outer covering of the seeds, when mixed with water, forms 272
a liquid of the consistency of thin gruel and with a pleasant, slightly acid flavor. This liquid is very re-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[272] freshing and is drunk with much relish by the Indians.
257 The seeds themselves are spread upon mats on the drying platform of the house and are carefully watched during the next couple of weeks to prevent them from being wet by the frequent rains. After this period they are sufficiently dry to be stored away until the next trip down the river, when they are sold to traders. Cacao is [439] one of the most important exports of Ecuador, whose territory is the source of a considerable part of the chocolate of commerce.

274 Although the Cayapa cultivate so much cacao, they
272 drink it only now and then, usually at fiestas. It is prepared by first thoroughly grinding the dried cacao upon a mealing stone such as is used for grinding plantain, and then boiling. For this purpose the Cayapa make a pot of special form, such as that shown in pl. LXXXVII, 9. The boiling chocolate is stirred at intervals with an implement of special form called tcōkōla'te tcalī, illustrated in pl. LXI, 6–7. The result of this process is a comparatively thick, very rich and oily liquid, quite unlike the beverage prepared from the ordinary chocolate of commerce, since the chocolate prepared directly from the seeds as above described retains all the natural oil. It may be drunk in this form, but if sugar is available it is usually added.

249 Pineapples (Cayapa, tcī'lya), the only use of which is as
[262] a food, are grown to a limited extent by some of the Cayapa. The green tops of the fruits themselves are planted close together in rows, and from these the plants grow. When once established, such a plant requires

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

time to time. This thick paste is then placed in a cooking-pot or kettle with the requisite amount of water and boiled, the consistency of the gruel of course depending upon the amount of water added. The thick gruel is eaten with the fingers, or frequently nowadays with a spoon, and is eaten as ordinary food. The thin gruel, which is more frequently made and which usually is sufficiently liquid to be called a beverage rather than a mush, is drunk from small hemispherical calabashes. It is flavored with a little salt, or preferably with sugar. This food is called champo (tcambô'se in Cayapa) and is used almost exclusively at feasts, where it is served in canoe-shape wooden vessels, called tcambô's kûle, made especially for the purpose. These utensils are from two and a half to three and half feet long, their ends are made like the prow and stern of a regular canoe, and they are elaborately ornamented with the same painted designs as are used on large canoes. These little vessels may be set upon the feast table, but often they are carried about among the feasters, in which event one of the masters of ceremony takes the prow and another the stern and pass throughout the house, being careful that everyone is served. On the surface of the beverage float from two to four or five small calabash dippers, or mates, with which the champo is drunk.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

there are various others that are valuable for other materials which they produce. One of these is cotton, called kū'a. The Cayapa are expert weavers and in large measure produce all their own material. Their textiles are made almost entirely of cotton, the only wool used being that obtained from the Quichua of the higher Andes, or in these days from the yarn of commerce. The yarn used by the Cayapa is always red or blue, and is employed for the sake of the colors, not for the material itself. They grow a white and also a brown cotton, the former being, according to their statements, an introduced species, the latter an indigenous one. These, together with the green and lavender dyes and the two colors of yarn, give them a total of six native colors. Cotton is usually grown from the seed, and requires little attention when once the plants have attained a fair size. Only a few plants of either the white or the brown cotton are grown by any one family, but they bloom perpetually and are sufficient to produce all the raw material needed. The cotton is allowed to mature completely, that is until the bolls have opened and the ripe cotton is nearly ready to fall. It is then gathered (being in the condition shown in pl. cvii, 11), thoroughly dried, and stored away in packages (such as that shown in fig. 12 of the same plate), and wrapped in leaves of the hoja blanca, until needed for spinning. To a limited extent also the cotton plant is used in making a beverage, the leaves being boiled after the manner of tea.

Tobacco is considerably used by the Cayapa, but never

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

used especially for crushing ripe plantains in making the gruel already described. Some of these mashers are perfectly plain, consisting of a cylindrical stick with a large flat end (fig. 4), but most of them are more or less ornate, especially at the upper end. The simplest type of this ornamentation is that shown in fig. 2, in which the upper end of the masher is of a form similar to that of the lower end, but is considerably smaller. Various other forms of ornamental ends, with or without notches, are made; two of these are shown in figs. 1 and 3. Occasionally also some ornamentation is found along the handle, and especially toward its lower end, as shown in fig. 5.

Another wooden implement of special use is the chocolate stirrer, called tcōkōla'*te* tca'lī, two specimens of which are shown in pl. LXI, 6, 7. These stirrers always are provided with lateral projections at their lower ends, by means of which the stirring is done, the implement being twisted rapidly back and forth—between the palms of the hands. Chocolate is rarely used by the Cayapa, but when prepared as a beverage it is usually boiled in a pot somewhat similar to that shown in pl. LXXXVII, 9. The chocolate stirrers also are sometimes ornamented at the upper extremity, as shown in fig. 7, or directly above the four lateral projections at the lower extremity, as in the one illustrated in fig. 6. In the latter case the ring of small ridges projects almost if not quite as far as do the four lateral projections, hence the ridges serve to stir the chocolate as well as do the projections. Whatever useful purpose this ring

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

415 pottery-making. A shallow wooden tray, like that shown in fig. 3, is sometimes, though much more rarely, made by the Cayapa for similar purposes. It also is called batea.

[272] Somewhat similar in form to the batea is the canoe-shape dish, called tcambŏs kû'le, used in serving the drink or gruel called in Spanish champo and in Cayapa tcambŏ'se, which is made from green corn. This is made exactly after the fashion of a canoe, with the characteristic prow and stern ends, and ordinarily with the painting along the gunwales as well as upon the prow and stern. It is usually from two and a half to three and a half feet in length, and is much wider in proportion than the river canoe, being ordinarily from ten to twelve inches in width. As mentioned in speaking of the uses of corn, the champo dish is used only at fiestas for containing champo and on rare occasions the ripe plantain gruel called ma'la.

[252] Another wooden utensil is a heavy mealing block used especially for pounding green plantain to make the food called in Spanish bala and in Cayapa panda lŏ'ta. Such a mealing block, shown in pl. LXII, 1, may be compared in form and size with the average stone used for the same purpose. In fact, these blocks are much less frequently used than mealing stones, such as that shown in fig. 2. The mealing blocks are usually more or less elliptical in form and about eighteen inches in length. With such a block is always used a stone muller.

Various other implements are made of wood, but

352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
442 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cook-
ing utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunt-
622 ing and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who
rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
796 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes
sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not
interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful
Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

589 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
583 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father
turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the
young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible,
consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They
will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price
for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from
what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted
with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
[611] family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows,
i.e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to
kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting
feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take
place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who
will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but
also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these.
It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to
undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique
will administer a hundred blows (well-counted on fingers and toes)
with the whip. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but
bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his
teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the
test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
[678] can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will
be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato
(corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
[615] ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent cane fields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported.

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Cayapa* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the priests visit the *Cayapa*.

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive.

In addition to permanent houses, small temporary ranchos are sometimes built when people are far from home. The houses in the "village" are standard structures, but the church follows Spanish ways: it rests on the ground and has walls.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Although *Cayapa* tradition records a period when the people wore blankets and even ponchos, today their clothes are scanty (pl. 59, *bottom*). The men wear a tight, small, white garment, made like bathing trunks, and a thin gaudy shirt of calico, with short and very tight sleeves. On festive occasions vests of European cut and manufacture are frequently donned over the shirt, and so are felt fedoras.

Women wear a long skirt of native cloth, girded with a narrow fringed belt. As in the Highlands, several skirts of different weights are sometimes worn. Head, shoulders, and chest are usually left bare.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

Death.—Death is not considered to be a natural phenomenon but is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body. A dead man's soul hovers around his house, which is usually abandoned, though it may be dismantled and sold. The corpse is buried in a coffin in a Catholic-style cemetery near the church. The dead man's possessions are usually given away, but it is not known who inherits his fields and clearings.

AESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The great range of designs used by the *Cayapa* in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (*fajas*).

Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

Canoe paddles and wooden seats are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

Music and dancing.—Holidays, weddings, and other feasts are accompanied by much dancing and drinking. As elsewhere along the coast, the European marimba is widely used, as are panpipes, flutes, drums, and rattles. In recent years the Highland San Juan dance has been gaining in popularity. Also of immediate Highland provenience may be the small European wooden harp with palm-fiber strings.

Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. *Guarapo*, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

RELIGION

Native *Cayapa* religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are said for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

fresh from the rollers, as well as after boiling, in fact at any stage before it begins to ferment, the juice is called pĭ' wapû, literally "water guarapo," in contradistinction to the fermented juice, which is called sa'wapû, meaning "sour guarapo." The ollas referred to are especially made for the purpose, and are the most difficult work of the potter, as their size renders them not only inconvenient to form and handle while drying, but makes them also extremely hard to fire. They are almost invariably coated inside and out with brea (Cayapa, amû'ya), the wax of a small bee, which renders them impervious and prevents waste through seepage. The bases of these large vessels are comparatively small, therefore to prevent them from tipping, each is set upon a ring made of refuse cane. When sugar-cane was first introduced among the Cayapa, rum was not made, but the fermented guarapo was much drunk, and even at the present time considerable quantities are so used. To be sure, it is by no means so intoxicating as rum itself, but after it has fermented for two to three weeks it contains a considerable proportion of alcohol. The fermented guarapo is drunk not only about the home and during the process of distillation, but also to a certain extent at fiestas, to which it is brought in large ollas and consumed in place of rum and by some in preference to it.

The guarapo is finally distilled in order to produce the concentrated alcoholic beverage known by the Spanish name aguardiente and called by the Cayapa i'ckala. The still used in this final process is illustrated in pl. LXIII, from a photograph made while the distillation was in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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SCRAPERS, TORCH, LANCE, AND HOOK

[p. 274 (8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the offenders were placed in the stocks, remonstrated with by relatives and friends, and finally whipped. In this case the man received a hundred and seventy-five lashes, or thirty-five strokes of the cat-o'-nine-tails, and in addition was required to pay a fine in money amounting to about fifteen or twenty sucres. The woman's punishment was a hundred and twenty-five lashes, or twenty-five strokes. The greater severity of the punishment in the cases of these two offenders was due to the fact that they were first cousins, which relationship prohibits marriage under any consideration. 796 627 684

Another example of punishment was witnessed late in the afternoon. A young man had imbibed freely and while in his cups ran amuck in two or three houses. Others endeavored to quiet him, and to hold him and prevent serious trouble, but he seemed crazed with the rum and determined to fight, until finally it became necessary for officers to take him in hand. After a struggle he was carried to the stocks and secured by one foot. He fought desperately to release himself, but finally fell asleep and after several hours awoke in a much better mood. 796 627 273

In this instance was shown a good example of the devotion of the Cayapa women. Throughout his drunken frenzy the young man's mother had endeavored to quiet him, and for her trouble been struck by him repeatedly. Nevertheless, as soon as he quieted down in the stocks she took up her station beside him and fanned him almost continuously during the time he slept. Such instances are very common. It is not considered a disgrace for anyone, either man or woman, to become intoxicated,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

796 and the care of those who are sober is to see that a person
627 does no serious damage while in that state. The rum
•273 used produces a cycle of symptoms, beginning with
jollity and loquacity, passing through a desire to display
skill, such as bending hands with an opponent, and
ending with a frenzied desire to fight. It is then that
the women usually take a hand and try to pacify the
men. Sometimes several women are required to hold
a drunken man and prevent serious trouble.

In the case of the young man above mentioned, no further punishment was inflicted. When he awoke in a fairly sober state he was taken before the chief, who lectured him on the error of his ways, and warned that if he repeated the offense he would be castigated and fined.

Third day. January tenth, 1909

796 A brief church service, preceded and followed by a
procession about the plaza, was held in the forenoon as
on the two previous days, and was followed by an ofrenda
and a boda. Whereas on the two previous days the
ofrendas had been more for the dead in general, in this
case there was a feast for a person who recently had died.
This fact brought out another interesting custom. After
[785] the feasting (both the ofrenda and the boda) was finished,
the sub-chief took his position at one end of the hall and
administered a stroke or two with the cat-o'-nine-tails
to each member of the family who had given the feast,
and many others presented themselves for similar castigation, but it was compulsory only with the members
of the immediate family and their relatives.

Other wooden articles

still made by the Cayapa include the /tǎčí wimáso/ 'bark cloth beater,' /mašíka/ 'plantain masher,' and food stirrers of various types. A full listing and description can be had by consulting Barrett (Barrett 1925: 159-161). Elliptical wooden bowls called bates in Spanish, are cut from a single piece of wood, and they serve as trays for the preparation of some foods. 322 [412] [252] [415]

Musical instruments, which are played by the men, include the marimba or /ma'mba/, a large drum called by the Spanish word bombo, and a small free-standing drum that tapers at the base called [illegible]. The Negroes use the same instruments, but they also use various gourd rattles and bamboo shakers. Guitars are occasionally found among the Negroes but only seldom among the Cayapa. 534 [462] [171]

Pottery. This art is scarcely practiced anymore. In fact I was completely unaware that earthenware pots were in the household inventory at all until I was asked one day if I wished to purchase a small Cayapa-made one for five sucres (.20 U.S.). This was the only pot I ever saw, except for the large [illegible] made by the people of the San Miguel section, for the storage of /wápa/, the fermented sugar-cane juice called guarapo in Spanish. 323 [178] [126] [273]

instances, it was done with a joking air. There was some laughter as the Cayapa were whipping themselves, but it was restrained. As the official went about looking for more people, they kept stating, "Everyone has to be whipped, everyone." This practice very likely was brought in by Catholic missionaries at a very early period.

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In general, the description of a fiesta given by Barrett applies, with one major exception. The passion play described by Barrett was no longer being performed. In its place a group of fiesteros set up a marimba, small hand drums and several bass drums in a small rancho between the church and the main house of the chief. During the evening of Easter Sunday, they played with such gusto that sometime between one and two in the morning the structure collapsed. Concurrently with all of these activities, the chief dispensed justice, marriages were arranged, marriages were celebrated, Negro funerals were conducted, fisticuffs were engaged in, people drank, also passed out, woke up, and the band played on. This continued for six days and nights.

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Christmas was similar, except that there were no nighttime processions around the church. Ideally, seven sponsors are chosen for the Christmas fiesta, and they are expected to supply rum, tobacco, and guarapo, and perfumed toilet water which is used to douse the fiestera during the evening following the church services on the twenty-fifth. The families of the sponsors distribute the goods to all comers until the supply is exhausted. This is expensive, and the outlay in cash may run to over five hundred sucres. While it is said to be an honor to be a sponsor, no one apparently accepts the honor willingly. Sour corn meal is prepared several days before Christmas and mixed with water. This drink, called cangu is put in small canoe-like containers on the evening of the 25th. Two to twelve containers are divided up and blessed by the chief who makes the sign of the cross. The drink is then carried around and people dip gourds of it and drink. During the Christmas fiesta, the chief wandered around for hours arguing with men who claimed that they were too busy or too poor to become a sponsor for the next Christmas fiesta. Finally, the chief lost his temper and

harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several cannes in Somerville. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is one undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayuga will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

than as a personal, phenomenon. That is, there are no family shrines within the home. Individuals do not pray. It is only on festive occasions when many families come together that the trappings of religion are brought forth. The statues of the saints will be displayed in a makeshift shrine within the home which is being used as the gathering place. Some candles are lit; the chief makes the sign of the cross, and the drinking begins. As it progresses, the saints will be turned to the wall "because they do not like to see so much drinking."

The ceremonial centers with their cemeteries, Churches, and fiesta activities give the Cayapa a much needed sense of self-awareness and identity. If a priest is present, so much the better; if not, the Cayapa know that they are doing the right thing, that they are moral, and that they are Catholic.

Supernaturals. The Cayapa have a large inventory of spirits and devils (Barrett 1933:360-381). Two that are not mentioned by Barrett seem to reflect a feeling of fear on the part of the Cayapa toward the Negro: The first of these is duende; he lives at the headwaters of

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by snakes and also by design. Women frequently die 761
in childbirth; tuberculosis runs rampant, and periodi- 165
cally whooping cough and measles decimate the popula- [845]
tion. People die from spirit possession, soul loss, [164]
witchcraft, illness, and accidents; however, very old
people "just die." People are afraid of death although
it is maintained that no one dies because of his sins.
Punishment takes place after death, and everyone must 775
be purified of his sins by punishment after his demise.
It is believed that when the Whites die their souls go
to the white clouds while those of the Negroes go to
the black clouds. Only the Cayapa may enter heaven.

When death strikes, all relatives within a few 763
hours' travel are notified. The immediate family 764
clean the body, if necessary, and place it on a mat.
Water is boiled and then poured over the area where
the body lay last. Two or three men of the neighbor-
hood are asked to prepare a coffin; this coffin which
is made of bamboo is said to be the "canoe of the
soul" and is called /ûhkuŋgûle/. Its construction in- [461]
volves four or five hours' work, and when it is com- [465]
pleted, the parent or spouse of the deceased offers [273]

the coffinmakers a gift of two or three liters of rum which is consumed on the spot. If the deceased is a woman, her husband goes through her belongings and sets aside items that are especially attractive and/or expensive, and these are later auctioned off at the funeral. The money received in this manner is used to pay for special masses for the dead. Finally when all is in readiness, the body is placed in the coffin. The funeral is held at a house that is on the main river to facilitate the final removal of the body to the ceremonial center for burial. The coffin is placed in a canoe which is piloted by a close male relative: father, husband, brother, etcetera. The pilot sets out alone with the corpse for the funeral site.

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One day I received word that the wife of Aurelio Añapa had just died from the bite of a venomous snake. She had been attended by a brujo for a period of four days to no avail. The following morning at about two o'clock, we heard faintly the mourning chant of the Cayapa. Slowly the sound came closer, and far up the river a light was moving steadily. Finally, after what appeared to us to be an interminably long time, Aurelio

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now." "Who will take care of the children now that my wife, their mother, has died?" The wailing lasts for some twenty minutes, and then new mourners replace the old who go off and tend children, sleep, talk, and, above all, drink. As these sounds begin to be heard by the people who are waiting up and down the river, they begin to drift in to the funeral house. The women and girls arrange themselves on one side of the room while the men congregate near the drums and marimba. Some begin to play the musical instruments while the "owner" of the dead offers rum to everyone. The music becomes livelier and conversation becomes animated as this goes on, and all this while the mourning continues by the coffin. Games begin to be played by the men and boys, and this is the only time that organized amusements are practiced by the Cayapa. There are at least nine kinds of games engaged in at funerals although they may not all be pursued at any one occasion. One activity, /pánda lúĭi/ 'plantain money,' however, is always included. A description of this is as follows: Five pieces of plantain are cut into slices which are said to be money /lušĭ/, and one

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the participants begin to hit each other's hand with great force as they pass the domino along the circle. Finally, the sport ends, and the plantain money is handed over to the "owner" of the deceased who accepts it in exchange for some bottles of rum. The /pánda lúši/ is then placed in the coffin, and it is said that it becomes "transformed into real money in heaven."

Another activity often indulged in is called /úliŋgayéči kánu/ 'the game of linking arms.' It is as follows: People form a circle by locking hands tightly and then lock arms for a few seconds. This is followed by the participants grasping each other's crossed arms. Following this they line up for a "tug of war" with the man in the middle bearing the brunt of the opposing sides.

In the contest called /čaʔna kénu/ [no gloss], a cloth is twisted and used as a whip. The players form a circle as they face inward. The cloth is placed on the neck of one of the men. As this is done, the recipient of the cloth grabs it and runs after the man who placed it on his neck and hits him with the cloth. The one who was hit rejoins the circle, and the second

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'getting yucca.' A group of men and boys seat themselves in a line. Then four men come and choose one of the players who will be the yucca. This yucca is picked up bodily with one man holding each extremity, and he is then offered for "sale." He is "sold" for /pánda lūši/.[5] After the purchase the yucca remains beside his buyer for a few minutes after which the "money" is placed in the coffin. After this gesture the "owner" of the dead sets up a round of drinks for the players.

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/ayalánu/ 'fishing' is still another entertainment that involves the use of /pánda lūši/. One man tosses out a "line" made of a small piece of cloth among a group of seated "fish." Every now and then one bites and is hauled in and "killed" with a piece of wood. The fish is then weighed by being hefted bodily and is then sold for plantain money.

Another pastime is known as /čupípi/ 'chicken' and is very rough. A man or boy pretends to be a chicken hawk and attempts to steal a "chicken." The "hens" try to prevent this, and few holds are barred.

There is also a diversion called /stukása kénu/

[i.e. "plantain money" - Analyst]

considered to be gambling. Nevertheless, everyone enjoys them. Even the mourners come over to watch when they are not wailing at the coffin. 764 [526] [524]

It is important that life and gaiety go on, and, for this reason, people struggle not to fall asleep. If the noise, laughter, and music were to cease, the soul of the deceased "could exact vengeance." Finally, about four o'clock in the morning a silence falls over the assembled mourners and celebrants; it is the time of the /mulúta kénu/, the last farewell. Everyone stands, and one man known to have a good voice sings out in a Spanish-Cayapa mixture: "mamay ya se fué muluta yeye llegue muluta talatʸumbi iʷkéande." At this, all of the assembled men except for the "owners" of the deceased sing the same phrase in unison. Now the coffin is carried down to the raft for the trip to the ceremonial center. Not everyone goes to the burial; some family members remain behind to take care of the children if there any, and others may be too drunk to make the trip. Three or four people are generally all that go to the cemetery. [775] [191] [273]

Adults and children are buried in a cemetery 600

spirit is said to reside in each piece. Black stone axes are especially potent, as are pieces of crystal that have been purchased in town. Tobacco is part of every curing; the smoke wafts the illness away from the body. A considerable amount of alcohol is used as well. The witch takes a mouthful of /iškala/, 'rum,' and sprays it out of his mouth with a loud "whoosh" at the patient's back; a considerable amount of rum fails to compress as spray, and the witch finishes the curing in an advanced state of inebriation! In general, the manner of effecting a cure is as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:344-352). However, I participated in one that differed considerably. I was told one day that a curing session was in progress at a point not too distant from my house. When I arrived, the cure had apparently been going on for some time. A middle-aged man lay on a reed mat that had been placed on the ground. Alejandro of Encanto sat off to one side leaning back against two parallel sticks that had been thrust into the ground to serve as a backrest. From time to time he alternately whistled short stretches of staccato sounds, that had a decided "blues" quality.

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and chanted a curious mixture of Spanish and what may have been unintelligible magical Quechua words. The Spanish element predominated, but not as connected discourse. The manner of chanting made comprehension extremely difficult for me, but the sequence may be described as stretches of humming, interspersed with unintelligibility, peaked by the words "negro . . . indio bravo . . . enfermidad . . . brujo . . . ." that is, "Negro . . . wild Indian . ... sickness . . . witch . . . ." From time to time there were straight Spanish incantations: "This man is sick, I know, I know, cure, cure, Negro." The Negro is included in the list of powerful words because it is felt that Negroes often practice black magic against the Indian; similarly, the Indio Bravos were a powerful people whose very stone and pottery artifacts retain their ancient power. The witch is included for obvious reasons, and Spanish is used probably because it connotes power. A man who controls Spanish controls the outside forces to a degree impossible for a monolingual Cayapa.

On occasion, Alejandro would take a mouthful of rum and blow it out in the direction of the patient.

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While this was going on, Gerardo, a minor brujo who is also Alejandro's father, rolled up some hoja blanca leaves in the shape of a cone, and placed it on the head of the patient who, by now, was sitting up. The old man then ran both of his hands up the patient's body toward the head. When he reached the forehead he squeezed tightly, quickly gathered up the conical "dunceCap," and ran off into the jungle where he threw it away. He had brought out some of the malignant spirits through the patient's head and into the hat. As this was going on, the patient kept looking at me out of the corner of his eye; finally he said to Gerardo, while pointing his lips at me, "He's real big;" at this, Gerardo asked if I would like to try removing some of the illness. I agreed with alacrity, and as I placed my hands along the patient's sides and began massaging upwards, he cried out: "/úra, úra/, which means "good, good." Gerardo and I worked together, and used up four cone hats. Throughout all of this activity, Alejandro kept humming and chanting, and taking long pulls at the rum bottle, and occasionally spraying some in our direction.

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At the conclusion of the curing ceremony, the

After assuming office he merely continued his usual drinking behavior which apparently was the culturally normal pattern. A normally intoxicated Cayapa cannot settle disputes adequately nor can he maintain law and order effectively. An important point also is that the sober Cayapa feels absolutely no guilt or shame for his behavior while drunk. His work routine has not been disrupted, his family is not neglected, no one points a scornful finger at him. For the Gabriel, the situation was quite different. The instant he became the /ʌnʸi/ he was expected to change a lifetime of habit formation. Political behavior involving the shift of support from one authority to another entered a phase of psychological warfare. A new authority was to be created and the old one destroyed psychologically. The new authority was to be created in the image of what the people felt an /ʌnʸi/ should be like. The lack of congruence between the people's expectation of authority and their actual perception of authority created a situation of intense ambiguity wherein Gabriel was being culturally defined as an alcoholic. The ambiguous nature of his position,

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the presence of very heavy, culturally-approved drinking, and the constant moralizing and expressions of political disaffection brought Gabriel to the inexorable cycle that began to isolate him as the only apparent alcoholic in a society of heavy drinkers. It may be that as Gabriel begins to succumb to addictive alcoholism, the individual pressures exerted politically will begin to meld his personality in a new direction; as the gap between expected and observed authority progressively narrows, political behavior will progressively decrease, and the Cayapa governmental system will approach a measure of stability.

Not only was Gabriel's authority on probation within the Punta Venado group but it was completely rejected by the people of the other tribal sections. Gabriel felt that as the senior /[illegible]/ he should be in charge of all Cayapa affairs. Barrett reported that during his stay, Gabriel's father was in effective control of all of the Cayapa sections, leaving to the other chiefs only minor matters (Barrett 1960: personal communication).

Gabriel attempted to assert some measure of

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marriage, and she accepted. Lorenzo claimed that he never consulted the girl's mother [her father was dead], so he was ashamed and afraid of her. Because Lorenzo's parents were dead, he moved into his mother-in-law's house. After several years the young couple was married by the Catholic priest in Punta Venado.

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After the death of his first wife, Lorenzo lived in his mother-in-law's house for about five years. He stated that after his wife died, her mother told him that he was no longer her son-in-law. Thereafter, apparently she either did not prepare his food or did not do so properly. Lorenzo says that he did not argue with her but continued living there for five years, nevertheless!

587

One night Lorenzo attended a party given at the home of Antonio Largo. He saw his present wife there for the first time and was immediately attracted to her. While the men and women are somewhat separated at fiestas, the women serve the men guarapo /wápu/, a fermented sugar cane drink, and at these times some conversation may be had. Lorenzo told her that he wanted her to come away with him "immediately."

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who will be most annoyed and an argument most certainly will follow. If the prospective bridegroom is doubtful, the man talk to him earnestly of the pleasures of married life while the woman, very wisely, says nothing, but sits very still with downcast eyes--"very still and very quiet." Most often she is accepted.

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Many times a man has a definite woman in mind for marriage but is not at all sure that he can get her by means of any of the techniques so far discussed. Then, too, it may be that another person has a particular woman in mind for a certain man, and, similarly, is not too sure that he can bring off the marriage. In either case a commission is formed, consisting of two Indians who are usually related to the man under consideration and two Negroes. The Indian members of the commission are not paid except with a few drinks. The Negroes receive some money and two or three gallons of home-distilled rum which, as Barrett once correctly remarked, "is clear in color and vile in taste."

[465]
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The Indians on the commission are first to enter the house of the prospective bride. They present

by Pablo himself. Pablo was furious with rage and beat both his wife and Chapiro. After being thrashed, Chapiro ran away. Pablo's wife left for her father's house to advise him of the event. Her father, Lorenzo Martin is one of the officials or /tá tala/ of the community. As an official, he was empowered to settle disputes and to order. He went to Pablo's house to obtain more details. Pablo demanded punishment for Chapiro. About four days later, Lorenzo brought Chapiro to the house of Pablo's elder brother, and charged him with the crime. Chapiro said nothing in his defense thus tacitly admitting his guilt. Lorenzo ordered one hundred and twenty strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, but Beverico who is Chapiro's father's brother's son [just cousin] claimed that the punishment was too severe, whereupon the sentence was reduced to one hundred lashes to be applied by Lorenzo. Following the punishment, everyone got drunk except Chapiro, who left right after the whipping.

In the Cayapa view, a conflict of interest in the person of Lorenzo, the father of the seduced woman, and Lorenzo, the official, does not exist. The facts

of the case were clear, and a witness was present. It is of interest that Pablo's wife seems to have convinced everyone of her innocence in the affair and that she had been truly hoodwinked. Chapiro's reputation was of course, well known, and guilt was held to be his alone. Even though justice prevailed, Chapiro was disgruntled and left without drinking. This in itself would be sufficient to mark him as a deviant, for Reeuwe's observations are still very much applicable.

> . . . leur seul vice est de rendre un culte trop fréquent à Bacchus, auquel ils font des libations d'ichrala, ou eau-de-vie de canne, qu'ils fabriquent eux-mêmes . . . (Reeuwe 1894:408).

In marked contrast to many Cayapa men, Chapiro has always been more interested in sexual pursuits than in drinking and the married men in the area were beginning to view him as a real threat. In instances like this it is felt that the best way to remove the threat is to marry him off, forcibly, if need be. In the case of Chapiro events came to a head after he had seduced Gabriel's daughter.

The seduction of Gabriel's daughter. Chapiro was

as though they were having the time of their lives, dash- 684
ed out and returned very shortly, dragging a set of 696
stocks that had been stored under the lots /[illegible]/. Arrilio's, house. Evidently the woman was going to be displayed as a horrible example! She kept up a running argument with the officials and denied the charge. Her husband backed her up, but to no avail. She was to be whipped fifty lashes. As the charge was completely unexpected, the woman had not prepared her ceremonial [291]
skirts and only wore a thin red rayon dress. With the first blow, she yelped in pain and turned to argue with the castigator. After a pause, another blow landed with the same results. After each blow, there were long intervals, probably out of consideration for the woman's pain. While the punishment was in progress, the castigator offered the culprit a bottle of rum from which to 684
drink. However, a woman in the audience kept exhorting 696
him to apply the lash heavily. In addition, she shook 279
her fist at the rum drinking culprit, shouting that she had caught her with her husband in flagrante delicto. The malefactor's husband made a gesture of annoyance at the woman and told her to keep quiet. When she continued

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the barangue, the husband walked over to her and pushed her roughly away. The shouts, the shoves, and the punishment continued for about an hour. The woman alternately drank from the rum bottle, rubbed her buttocks for a few seconds, assumed the appropriate position, and received the inevitable blow. Her husband kept urging lighter and fewer blows. Suddenly, the /[illegible]/, who had been sprawled in his hammock, drunk and seemingly oblivious to what was going on, leaped to his feet, livid with rage; he berated the castigator for taking so long. It was decided therefore, to reduce the number of lashes. By the time the punishment was completed, the woman was quite drunk and consequently feeling little pain. Unexpectedly, a man shouted from the audience that there was too much leniency and this evil doer should receive the full sentence. An 'uncle' of the woman quickly retorted that she had been punished sufficiently. The two men exchanged angry words and fought briefly. The woman's husband, who by now was quite drunk too, took his wife by the arm, and the two of them began cavorting around the room.

Given the facts as described, one wonders if the

woman had really been punished. Certainly, initially the intention was present, but the proceedings soon became a travesty as all of the participants became progressively drunker. It is of interest to note that only the woman was tried, and no mention at all was made of the man or men involved. It seems to have been generally accepted that she had been taking the initiative in her sexual adventures. For the Cayapa, extra-marital sexual behavior is sinful, and at the root of all sin are women. Assigning initial guilt to women sometimes requires a certain amount of mental gymnastics which is quite ludicrous as in the following instance.

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[837] [783] [562]

The blame is placed on the woman because she did not say no. A 'nephew' of Arcilio was single. He made love to the wife of Arcilio's son and they were seen by the /ún^{y}i/. Arcilio, however, was "ashamed" and said nothing then but charged them during the Easter fiesta at Punta Venado. The woman blamed the man, but he in turn said that it was all her fault because all she had to do was to refuse his advances. They were both punished with eighty lashes.

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[P 216]

CHAPTER VI

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSION

The basic personality of the Cayapa is marked by anxiety, suspicion, and lack of confidence. Cooperation is minimal, and social cohesion is maintained through the use of alcohol. Cayapa culture is marked by extremely heavy permissive drinking patterns. The Cayapa drink to get drunk: they drink at weddings and funerals; they drink for joy and sorrow; they drink out of fear when an earthquake appears to threaten the end of the world; and they drink to screw up enough courage to bring litigation before the chief. While they are not at all addicted to alcohol, they are to some extent dependent upon it. The dependency arises out of a deep-rooted basic anxiety that is manifested by a generalized fear of others, an inability to maintain friendships, low male sex drive, female sexual forwardness and latent homosexuality. Following Kardiner (Kardiner et al. 1939; 1945), it will be posited that there is a connection between the primary institution of child rearing, the Basic Personality Structure, and the system of law and government as their derivatives

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the system of law and government as their derivatives.

Dependency on alcohol is generally recognized as a means of reducing anxiety, although specific interpretations may differ as to the nature of the anxiety. My analysis of drinking in Cayapa culture is based on psychoanalytic theory as the data seem to fit best within that framework.

> Addictive alcoholism is classified as an oral perversion. This perversion results from traumas that occurred during the earliest stage of psychosexual development, at the time when the individual's means of achieving security and release from tension was through stimulation of the oral cavity (Chafetz and Demone, Jr. 1962: 21).

Cayapa infancy and childhood may be seen as classic examples of oral fixation derived from a traumatic blocking of normal psychosexual development. Drinking is also related to homosexuality. "Since the fixation at the oral stage is so early, in psychosexual development, the alcoholic has never achieved a genital level of differentiation and is so desirous of receiving love, he does not differentiate the sex of the provider" (Chafetz and Demone, Jr. 1962:41). Although no overt homosexuality is observed among the Cayapa, a great deal of

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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homoerotic play is evident during fiestas and, because of the low male sex drive, may be the substitute.

During Cayapa infancy and early childhood, children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training long before the zonal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely. The coincidence of the harsh toilet training and the availability of the breast leads to an intensification of oral gratification and a positive psychosexual fixation at this stage. We have already described the toilet training of the Cayapa infant and child, and discussed the extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces on the part of adolescents. The fact that the child is often permitted almost immediately to suck the nipple after having gone through a truly frightening experience involving defecation as described above, structures the peculiarly poignant oral fixation of the Cayapa infant and gives a heightened intensity. The oral fixation derived from anal frustration at such a very early period, is the psychological equivalent of oral frustration and is later intensified by the weaning practices. Weaning is accomplished by

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shaming, ridicule, the application of bitter tasting substances, or frightening the child with stories of cannibalistic ogres.7 Thus, within the psychoanalytic framework, the seeds of dependency drinking are sown and begin to develop.

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> . . . oral frustrations in the infant result in cannibalistic fantasies toward the mother's breast and her total person. Because the child projects its feelings and fantasies, it also views the external world as cannibalistic and develops fears of objects in it. This results in an unconscious fear of being devoured by the love object. The vagina, which is unconsciously equated with the mouth, comes to represent the castrating, devouring organ. Such anticipations result in avoidance of the heterosexual object . . . (Bieber 1962:6-7).

For the Cayapa, the equation of vagina:mouth is not at all unconscious. The vagina dentata motif is clearly present, and sexual intercourse is spoken of as the vagina eating the penis. As for cannibalistic fantasies, they still exist in the stories that the Cayapa tell of the wild Indians who lived in the area before them; these Indians were cannibals and preyed on the Cayapa. The fantasies are also used to manipulate events. When I first explored the Cayapa area up to the Río Tigre, I decided to do my work among the Cayapa of the San

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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your vagina is delicious," but the matter is resolved differently for girls.

> . . . owing to the fact that a girl's 'graspiness' does not need to remain fixated in the mouth . . . . it can normally shift to the vagina and pass for genital behavior (Erickson 1950:80).

The sexual forwardness of the women [forward only in comparison with the backwardness of the males], is not true genital behavior but rather an expression of incorporative fixation, and is psychologically equivalent to the heavy dependency drinking of the Cayapa male. Cayapa women also drink and get drunk, but their drinking is only the palest reflection of the drinking behavior of the men; the psychological needs of the women, it is quite clear, are satisfied more genitally.

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Affiliative Behavior. Affiliative behavior is characteristic of many animal orders, and especially of the primate. On the human level, affiliative needs are intensified by the peculiarly human process of socialization, and the general dyadic patterns of 'Me-You,' 'Them-Us,' as learned behavior, becomes formed in the cultural expectancies that mark an individual's psycho-

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the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense interpersonal relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in three different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa:Cayapa, Cayapa:Negro, and Cayapa:White.

> . . . anxiety acquired in childhood might be generalized to other people . . . because of their similarity to the persons responsible for the frustration and punishment of the child--their similarity, above all, to the child's parents (Whiting and Child 1962:267).

Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa--much more so than Negroes and Whites.

The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by avoidance or

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highly restrictive interpersonal involvements. When in their canoes, which pass each other quickly, they can easily and effectively avoid each other. Where they cannot pass by rapidly, as at the weeklong fiestas at the ceremonial centers, heavy drinking is required to get the law-jobs done, arrange the marriages, and to maintain a minimum of social integration and interaction. With the increase in social integration and interaction brought about by liberal amounts of alcohol, a new factor can be noticed. For some, latent homosexuality comes close to the surface in the form of homoeroticism. Young boys may be seen on the floor wrapped in each other's arms, and young men may be seen seated in the same hammock, facing each other, holding hands. It must be emphasized that this is not homosexual per se, but erotic in the sense of a transfer of libininal affect to another male. I have only witnessed this behavior at the fiestas. If the Cayapa have strong latent homosexual tendencies where the generalized fear of others may be seen "as a defense against sexual anxieties . . . against homosexual tendencies" (Whiting and Child 1962:269), why then do we not find it in its sexual

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just as I was leaving, with my canoe dangerously overloaded with Indians. He asked to go along. It was pointed out that there was absolutely no room, whereupon he suggested that I eject someone to make room for him. When this was refused, he went into a fit of pouting. Reverend Glenn, the missionary in the Sapallo Grande area, reports that Cayapa whom he consider to be friends, will come to the dispensary long after hours, or when there is a long line and demand to be taken first. The demand is always refused and pouting always follows.

Friendship in the western sense does not really exist in Cayapa life and culture, except in embryonic form. The complex of friendship that is offered to them by the surrounding population, more often than not, leaves the Indian either in debt, defrauded, and/or, as he believes, bewitched. This, coupled with the tenuous diminishing of the fear of others, leads to a dyadic relationship that requires constant testing and probing, that is neurotically destructive of the relationship itself. The strong committment to alcohol alleviates the fears of other people, the self-doubts, the personal and sexual inadequacies, the basic anxiety of Cayapa life.

[177]

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[192]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

near the permanent dwelling, and is almost always surrounded by cane-fields. The cane-mill is equipped with what may be termed the mill proper, consisting of a pair of large and very heavy rollers with a large hand-wheel used in turning them, the large storage pots for fermenting the cane juice, and the fireplace and pottery still used in distilling the rum made from the fermented juice. The similarity which such a mill bears to an ordinary dwelling is shown in pls. I, II, in each of which the structure to the right is the mill, and that to the left the dwelling. These two illustrations show also how close together the mill and the dwelling are sometimes built. In pl. VI is shown an isolated mill, with a field of young cane in the background. The dwelling of the owner of this cane-mill, illustrated in pl. V, is situated directly opposite on the bank of the river.

The three classes of buildings described are generally isolated from others. The continuously inhabited dwellings are never assembled into villages, but are scattered at intervals along the banks of the stream. There are, however, within the Cayapa territory, three villages, each consisting of a church and a number of houses. These villages are used by the people only when they come together for religious feasts and on other festival occasions. The houses in these villages are never occupied regularly except at such times, though they are constructed in every way like the dwellings occupied permanently by the people as homes.

The church, which of course is a modern institution, having existed only since the time of the Spanish con-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

rodents, and bats. Furthermore, the plantain has a much superior flavor when gathered green and ripened in a shady and fairly cool place. If allowed to ripen on the plant, the Indians claim that it is insipid.

The banana, which in some respects can hardly be distinguished from the plantain, is cultivated and harvested in precisely the same manner. Of this fruit there are three species: a large yellow, a small yellow, and a small red species; but they are almost never used as human food, being cultivated in nearly as great quantities as are plantains for the purpose of feeding the hogs, of which the Cayapa raise considerable numbers.

Sugar-cane, though introduced, has a native Cayapa name, e'lla, and is one of those products at present most grown by the Indians. Often immediately adjacent to the dwelling, and always within a short distance of it, is a cane-mill and distillery, called tapī'tcī ya or ta'pī ya, usually surrounded by comparatively large fields of cane, which thrives especially in low, wet ground. In pls. I, II, are shown cane-mills which are immediately adjacent to the houses of their owners, and to the right in each case glimpses of the adjacent cane-fields may be had. In pl. VI is shown an isolated mill, flanked by its field of young cane. This mill is situated directly across the river from the dwelling of its owner.

After the original planting, a few months only are required before the cane is sufficiently mature to be cut. There are no regular times for the harvesting of the cane, which is usually governed by the necessity for a new

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

supply of rum. When it is deemed best to replenish the rum supply, the whole family goes to the cane-field, and each with a machete and a hooked stick about three feet long, clears the field of all weeds and vines, and cuts as much of the matured cane as is needed. The stalks of cane are always cut close to the ground, and all the leaves are stripped off. The butt end of the stalk is then cut diagonally so as to leave a markedly beveled point, which facilitates its insertion between the rollers in grinding. This beveled cut is well illustrated at the lower end of the stalk of cane shown in pl. xv. This is a picture of Antonio Napa, or Pi′tcū apa according to his Cayapa name, chief of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa, at work in his cane-field, and exhibits a field of cane in process of harvesting. All the cane leaves which are stripped from the stalks, together with the vines and undergrowth, are carried to the side of the field and thrown into the brush, since if they were left on the ground, the vines especially would soon take root and grow as rapidly as before. As the mill is ordinarily immediately adjacent to the field, the cane is carried to it usually upon the shoulders of the harvesters. If, however, it is situated at a distance of several hundred yards, the cane is generally carried to the bank of the river and thence transported by canoe to the mill. The stalks, cut usually into lengths of from four to six feet, are piled in a large rick in front of the rollers used for grinding. As shown in pl. LXIV, the cane may first be corded up on the ground in front of the mill, and later put on the floor in front of the rollers.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

274 The mill proper, called tapī′tcī, from the Spanish trapiche consists of two heavy rollers, usually about fifteen inches in diameter by thirty inches in length. These rollers, which are called by the same name as the entire mill, are set horizontally in a heavy upright frame and are usually at a height of about four feet from the floor. The upper roller is the continuation of a heavy squared shaft, from ten to fifteen feet in length, at the opposite end of which is a large wheel, called tapī′tcī lyú′mī, sometimes as great as sixteen feet in diameter. This wheel as a whole really consists of two wheels of equal diameter which are set at a distance, along the horizontal bar, of from two to three feet from each other. Each of the separate wheels comprising the large wheel consists of spokes in the form of cross-bars that pass through the squared shaft and at right angles to it, and of a rim made from one of the many species of large vines common to the region. The rims of these component wheels are joined by many horizontal bars which complete the wheel as a whole and which serve as hand-holds in propelling the wheel. The upper and lower rollers have in turn each a set of cogs by means of which, when the upper roller is turned by the force exerted upon the wheel, the lower one is turned correspondingly in the opposite direction, thus drawing the cane between them and crushing it. Usually several persons are required at the wheel in order to drive the rollers. One person, usually a woman or a child, feeds the cane into the rollers, and another receives the cane on the opposite side. A single stalk of cane is fed at a

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

274 ●
415

UTENSILS FOR MAKING RUM

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 84(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

274

PL. LXIV

SUGAR-CANE STACKED BESIDE THE MILL

[p. 84-(n)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

time, and each is followed immediately by the beveled point of the next stalk. Below the rollers and between the uprights which support the whole mechanism is placed a large canoe-shape wooden trough such as that shown in pl. LXIII, or in pl. LXV, into which the cane-juice flows. In case there is no such special wooden trough at hand, or the regular trough is otherwise in use, a small canoe is carefully washed out and used instead. When necessary, leaves of the hoja blanca or of the plantain are placed at the sides of this receptacle in order to prevent the juice from falling or splashing outside. These leaves are especially necessary when, as occasionally happens, a large pot instead of a trough or a canoe is used as a receptacle for the juice; in such an event a funnel is usually built up with leaves above the mouth of the pot.

When the whole rick of cane-stalks has been ground in this manner, the motion of the rollers is reversed, wedges are driven into spaces above the bearings of the uppermost roller in order to bring the two rollers more closely together, and the cane is rolled a second time. During this part of the process, however, two or three of the previously crushed stalks are placed one upon another and almost as much juice is pressed from each as was obtained in the first rolling. As the stalks are received from the rollers the second time, they are quite devoid of juice and are thrown out on the ground. Thus in front of each mill is heaped a large mound of cane trash, such as that shown in front of the mill in pl. VI.

During the grinding of the cane a large copper kettle,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

called pai'la, is kept filled upon a fire in another part of the building, and the juice is here boiled as rapidly as it comes from the rollers. This boiling is allowed to continue for from ten to twenty minutes, during which time the froth which rises to the top is skimmed frequently with a special perforated dipper or skimmer, usually attached to a long handle and called ci'cûlya, or with a large calabash spoon called ci'ê-kûtcada, the latter part of which term is from the Spanish cuchara, "spoon." When the juice has reached the stage where it boils without producing froth, this part of the process is considered finished; it is then dipped out of the kettle with a long-handled calabash dipper like that resting across the end of the canoe-shape wooden trough shown in pl. LXIII, and that in pl. LXV, and called sê'mbê or i'ckala pi cûlnuntsûmi, and is placed in one of the large canoe-shape wooden receptacles above mentioned, where it is allowed to cool for several hours. When thoroughly cooled it is put away to ferment in large pottery vessels, or ollas, of the form shown in pl. LXXXVII, 11. Several thicknesses of the leaf of hoja blanca are placed over the opening of such a pot and tightly bound about the rim. The juice is then allowed to ferment for from two to three weeks, when it is ready for distillation. The boiling and subsequent cooling of the juice before placing it in the ollas is said to be necessary to prevent souring.

Usually a sufficient quantity of the juice, called by the Spanish name guarapo, rendered wa'pû in Cayapa, is prepared at one time to fill several large ollas. While

STILL, CANOE-SHAPE DISH, AND DIPPER

[p. 86(a)]

274
415

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

fresh from the rollers, as well as after boiling, in fact at any stage before it begins to ferment, the juice is called pī′ wapū, literally "water guarapo," in contradistinction to the fermented juice, which is called sa′wapū, meaning "sour guarapo." The ollas referred to are especially made for the purpose, and are the most difficult work of the potter, as their size renders them not only inconvenient to form and handle while drying, but makes them also extremely hard to fire. They are almost invariably coated inside and out with brea (Cayapa, amū′ya), the wax of a small bee, which renders them impervious and prevents waste through seepage. The bases of these large vessels are comparatively small, therefore to prevent them from tipping, each is set upon a ring made of refuse cane. When sugar-cane was first introduced among the Cayapa, rum was not made, but the fermented guarapo was much drunk, and even at the present time considerable quantities are so used. To be sure, it is by no means so intoxicating as rum itself, but after it has fermented for two to three weeks it contains a considerable proportion of alcohol. The fermented guarapo is drunk not only about the home and during the process of distillation, but also to a certain extent at fiestas, to which it is brought in large ollas and consumed in place of rum and by some in preference to it.

The guarapo is finally distilled in order to produce the concentrated alcoholic beverage known by the Spanish name aguardiente and called by the Cayapa i′ckala. The still used in this final process is illustrated in pl. LXIII, from a photograph made while the distillation was in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

progress, and in pl. LXV from a drawing so made as to show the wooden "worm" as well as the outside of the still. Such a still is composed of five parts. Three of these consist of (1) a large olla of the form shown in pl. LXXXVII, 7, which serves as a caldron and which is supported over the fire by three stones; (2) a second olla or vaporizer which surmounts the caldron and which is of the form shown in fig. 10 of the same plate; and (3) a flat, inverted cone of copper which rests in turn upon the vaporizer. This copper top, called i'ckala lanō pai'la, as also the large copper kettle used in reducing the cane juice by boiling, is obtained through trade. These appliances are manufactured chiefly by metal-workers in Quito, and both are highly valued by the Cayapa largely because of the difficulties of transportation from Quito to the Rio Cayapas. The upper olla, or vaporizer, called kandyī-hū'lū, is without a bottom and therefore forms a large chamber into which the vapor from the boiling guarapo in the caldron below rises and comes into contact with the inverted copper cone, which is kept constantly cool by frequently changing the water in it. The vapor condenses on the under surface of this copper vessel, runs down to the point of the cone, and drips on a flat grooved board, called kandēlē'hō or kandyīhūlū ta''pa, which forms the fourth element of the still, and which serves in a way the same function as the worm in the still used by civilized peoples. Its position and its relation to other parts of the still are well shown by the drawing in pl. LXV. This "worm" conducts the liquid out through an opening in the side of the vaporizer and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

part way through a bamboo tube, called i'ckala lanō pa'kkī, the fifth element of the still, down which the liquid finally runs to a small bit of cotton at its outer opening. This cotton is brought to a point at its lower end and serves to conduct the liquid directly to a receptacle, usually a bottle, below. Quite naturally it is necessary that the entire apparatus have joints which are practically air-tight in order that the vapor shall not escape. To effect this, all the joints are filled with scraped, green plantain, which, becoming heated as the caldron begins to boil, firmly cements the parts of the still together.

This apparatus for distillation requires constant attention. The fire must be kept carefully under the caldron and must be neither too hot nor too cool. If too hot, the guarapo will boil up into the vaporizer and pass out through the tube; thus in a few seconds a bottle of rum may easily be spoiled by being mixed with a small quantity of the guarapo. Also, the water in the copper top must be changed frequently in order to keep the top itself cool enough to condense the vapor on its surface. Water is kept usually in a large canoe-shape wooden receptacle near the fire-box, as shown in pl. LXV. The long-handled calabash dipper, above mentioned, is used to remove the heated water from the copper top and to replenish it with cold. When care is exercised in the boiling and the cold water is replenished at proper intervals, the rum passes down the cotton tip into the receptacle in a small but constant stream. A caldron containing from ten to fifteen gallons of guarapo yields from four to six quarts of clear liquor and requires from

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

274 two to three hours in its distillation. This liquor is as clear as water, has a very pungent odor, a vile flavor, and contains from ten to twenty per cent of alcohol. The distillation of four or five caldrons of quarapo is considered a good day's work.

According to Cayapa belief, the success of a distillation does not depend entirely on the care with which the boiling is done. In transferring the guarapo from the storage pots to the caldron, a small pot, such as that on the fire-box shown in pl. LXV, with a capacity of a gallon to a gallon and a half, is used. With a hemispherical calabash dipper, or mate, such as that shown in fig. 13, the guarapo is first dipped from the storage pot into this smaller vessel and is then carried to the caldron. The pouring of it into the caldron, however, is a most important matter, since certain people have "much better hands" than others. That is to say, if the guarapo is poured into the caldron by a person with a "good hand," the yield of that caldron may be increased even as much as two or three quarts of rum over the yield resulting if it is poured by someone else. It is a common practice to honor a guest who happens to come during a distillation by inviting him to pour the guarapo into the caldron. Especially is this done if he has the reputation of having a "good hand." In such a case it is customary to bring the pots of guarapo to him. He receives them at the caldron and pours in the contents.

As before stated, the rum is usually caught from the spout in bottles, although it is almost immediately poured into a large storage vessel, usually a demijohn,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

of from five to ten gallons capacity. To use the large demijohn as a receptacle directly at the spout would endanger a large quantity of rum, for whenever a caldron boils over it is necessary to return the mixed rum and guarapo to the next caldron to be distilled.

When the boiling of a caldron first begins, the product is much purer than later in the process. No fixed length of time can be given for the distillation of a caldron, since the strength of the rum must be determined by testing each bottle as it is filled at the spout. The whole process, therefore, is one of fractional distillation, the strongest of the rum coming off in the first bottle taken from any given caldron. When at last the rum becomes sufficiently weak, it is considered that the distillation of that particular caldron has proceeded far enough and it must then be refilled with fresh guarapo.

Before refilling the caldron, the fire is first drawn from under it. A mouthful of water is then spurted in a small stream upon the now hard and dry plantain which cements the parts of the still together, thus softening it and permitting the parts of the still to be separated. The copper top is given a thorough cleaning and is scoured with ashes until bright, and the upper pot, or vaporizer, is also cleaned if necessary. The guarapo remaining in the caldron is dipped out with a long-handled dipper, and the caldron is finally refilled with fresh guarapo. If the result of the last distillation has been very successful, it is believed that the hand of the person who poured the guarapo into the caldron still holds its "luck," and he is usually expected to fill the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

caldron a second time. If, however, a contrary result has been effected, someone else will usually "try his hand." The whole process of rum-making is one in which the women do fully as much work as the men, and they also have "lucky" and "unlucky" hands in distillation.

Usually the ordinary distillation above described is considered sufficient. If, however, an exceptionally good rum is desired, as for use at certain feasts, a special process of fractionation is resorted to and the product of the ordinary distillation is redistilled. A special flavor is imparted to the rum at this time by putting into the caldron with it several of the large leaves of an aromatic herb which abounds in the region and which possesses an anise-like odor and flavor.

As previously stated, the chief use of sugar-cane is for making rum, but, as before described in speaking of foods, the Cayapa occasionally make syrup and also a kind of preserves. On the other hand, they never make sugar, as do the negroes of this region. Much raw cane is also chewed. The fibrous though tender stalk is, of course, not swallowed, but it yields a large quantity of rich, sweet juice which is highly relished. The cane is also frequently roasted in the coals; and in boiling cane-juice to make guarapo for distillation, stalks of raw cane are frequently cut up and thrown into the kettle to boil with the juice. The result of either the roasting or the boiling is a rich food with a flavor resembling that of maple, and is even more palatable than the raw cane.

Cacao (Cayapa, kaka'bō), from which chocolate is made, is extensively grown by the Cayapa, although

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

freshing and is drunk with much relish by the Indians. The seeds themselves are spread upon mats on the drying platform of the house and are carefully watched during the next couple of weeks to prevent them from being wet by the frequent rains. After this period they are sufficiently dry to be stored away until the next trip down the river, when they are sold to traders. Cacao is one of the most important exports of Ecuador, whose territory is the source of a considerable part of the chocolate of commerce.

Although the Cayapa cultivate so much cacao, they drink it only now and then, usually at fiestas. It is prepared by first thoroughly grinding the dried cacao upon a mealing stone such as is used for grinding plantain, and then boiling. For this purpose the Cayapa make a pot of special form, such as that shown in pl. LXXXVII, 9. The boiling chocolate is stirred at intervals with an implement of special form called tcōkōla′te tcalī, illustrated in pl. LXI, 6–7. The result of this process is a comparatively thick, very rich and oily liquid, quite unlike the beverage prepared from the ordinary chocolate of commerce, since the chocolate prepared directly from the seeds as above described retains all the natural oil. It may be drunk in this form, but if sugar is available it is usually added.

Pineapples (Cayapa, tcī′lya), the only use of which is as a food, are grown to a limited extent by some of the Cayapa. The green tops of the fruits themselves are planted close together in rows, and from these the plants grow. When once established, such a plant requires

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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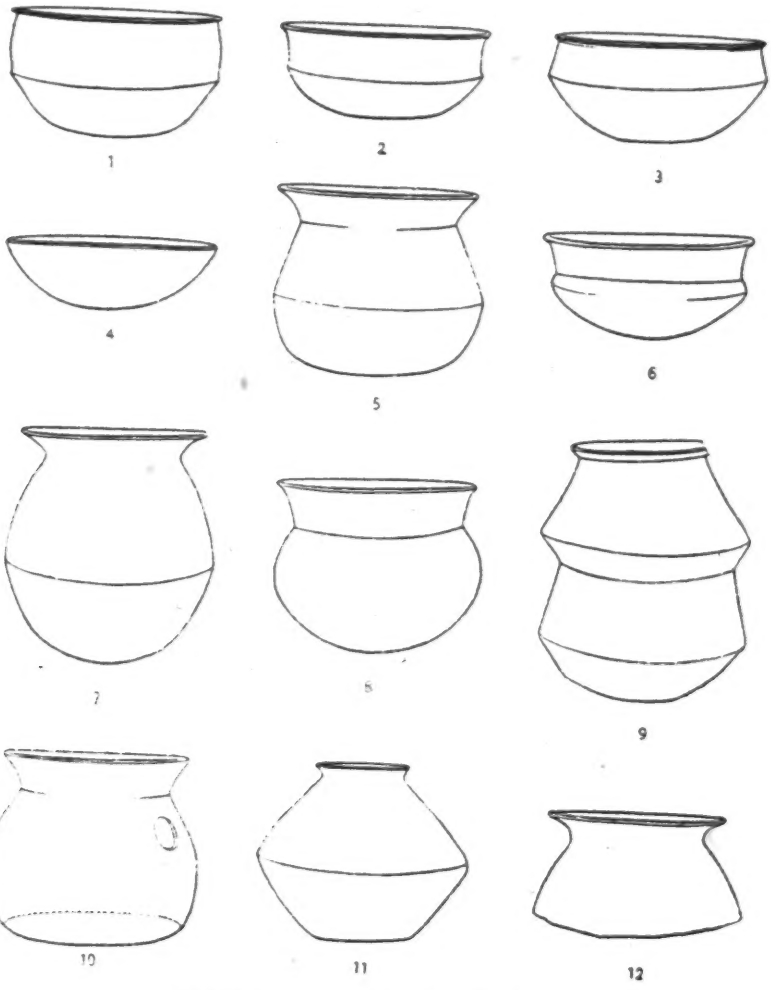

FORMS OF POTTERY VESSELS

[p. 172 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

addition to the foregoing food-producing plants, 248
there are various others that are valuable for other materials which they produce. One of these is cotton, called kū'a. The Cayapa are expert weavers and in large measure produce all their own material. Their textiles are made almost entirely of cotton, the only wool used being that obtained from the Quichua of the higher Andes, or in these days from the yarn of commerce. The yarn used by the Cayapa is always red or blue, and is employed for the sake of the colors, not for the material itself. They grow a white and also a brown cotton, the former being, according to their statements, an introduced species, the latter an indigenous one. These, together with the green and lavender dyes and the two colors of yarn, give them a total of six native colors. Cotton is usually grown from the seed, and requires little attention when once the plants have attained a fair size. Only a few plants of either the white or the brown cotton are grown by any one family, but they bloom perpetually and are sufficient to produce all the raw material needed. The cotton is allowed to mature completely, that is until the bolls have opened and the ripe cotton is nearly ready to fall. It is then gathered (being in the condition shown in pl. CVII, 11), thoroughly dried, and stored away in packages (such as that shown in fig. 12 of the same plate), and wrapped in leaves of the hoja blanca, until needed for spinning. To a limited extent also the cotton plant is used in making a beverage, the leaves being boiled after the manner of tea.

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Tobacco is considerably used by the Cayapa, but never 276

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

276 [439] [177] to excess as among some other peoples. It is almost never grown by them, their supply coming from their negro neighbors or through trade. The Indians claim that tobacco was not known to this region in aboriginal times, but that it was introduced considerably later than the Spanish conquest. This statement is borne out by the fact that the name for tobacco is ta'kō, which is evidently an adaptation of the Spanish term tabaco. They use neither pipes nor cigarettes, but confine their smoking entirely to cigars made by themselves. They procure the half leaves of tobacco in bundles, which are stored away until a smoke is actually wanted, when each person rolls his own cigar. The habit of chewing tobacco appears to be unknown.

276 776 789 In addition to smoking for pleasure, tobacco is used ceremonially. When it is desired to drive out malevolent spirits from a certain spot, a medicine-man is called in, and, assisted by the ordinary people present and perhaps by another medicine-man or two, he performs a ceremony which makes the place untenable for the spirits. Each participant provides himself with a cigar and a small calabash of a decoction made from the leaves of a certain herb, and all make a systematic tour of the infested place. As they go slowly along they wet everything about them with the decoction, blowing it from the mouth in a fine spray. Interspersed with this spraying is the blowing of tobacco smoke into the air and on any objects with which they come in contact. The head medicine-man sings or whistles certain songs and waves a special banner from time to time as the party proceeds, and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

these acts, combined with the spraying and smoking, gradually drive the spirits from the locality.

Another important product of this region is pita, called sa'nō, by the Cayapa, a plant resembling somewhat the yucca of the Southwestern desert region of the United States, but with leaves which sometimes reach a length of fifteen or sixteen feet. It is usually grown at some distance back from the river, and seems to thrive best in the dense shade of the jungle. When once well started it requires very little attention other than the cutting away of undergrowth and clearing of the field which is incidental to the harvesting of the leaves. These leaves yield long, very strong fibers, called sañ bu'tyū, which are twisted into two-ply strings. These are much used in net-making, in binding the selvage of textiles, for fish-lines, and for a variety of other purposes where very strong cord is required. The leaves are cut close to the ground and brought to the house in bundles such as those illustrated in pl. LXVI, where a large and a small bundle of the freshly cut, long leaves are shown leaning against the side of the house. Each leaf yields a large number of fibers, the laborious preparation of which will be discussed in speaking of string-making.

While pita is the strongest material and is considered the best from all points of view, there is another material, called in the local Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa señgī'lya, which is used especially where string or rope of large diameter and of moderate strength is desired, such as for hammocks. This material is derived from the bark of a tree and is obtained by heating in a manner

spirit is said to reside in each piece. Black stone axes are especially potent, as are pieces of crystal that have been purchased in town. Tobacco is part of every curing; the smoke wafts the illness away from the body. A considerable amount of alcohol is used as well. The witch takes a mouthful of /iškala/, 'rum,' and sprays it out of his mouth with a loud "whoosh" at the patient's back; a considerable amount of rum fails to compress as spray, and the witch finishes the curing in an advanced state of inebriation! In general, the manner of effecting a cure is as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:344-352). However, I participated in one that differed considerably. I was told one day that a curing session was in progress at a point not too distant from my house. When I arrived, the cure had apparently been going on for some time. A middle-aged man lay on a reed mat that had been placed on the ground. Alejandro of Encanto sat off to one side leaning back against two parallel sticks that had been thrust into the ground to serve as a backrest. From time to time he alternately whistled short stretches of staccato sounds, that had a decided "blues" quality.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

may be mentioned at least one species of leaf-cutting ant whose peculiarly spiny body presents an interesting appearance, though it is in no way of special importance to the Indians. One very large, black, stinging ant, called conga in Spanish, and nyû'mĭ in Cayapa, is much feared by the Indians and others resident in this region, for the reason that its sting produces not only an annoying local irritation, but also a rise in the temperature of one bitten, so that it is commonly said that the sting of the conga insures two days of fever.

Certain species of small bees are of value to the Indians, particularly in the production of the wax used in calking canoes and pottery, and in painting canoes; it is also employed remedially to a slight extent as a cure for cuts and abrasions. The honey made by these bees is very little sought as a food, and is quite secondary in value to their wax. The Indians recognize four classes of these bees. The paba ta'nda is a small black species that lives in trees and makes the best wax which is yellow in color and is produced in larger quantities than that made by any of the other bees. The ciñemi'ski, also a small black bee, lives in the ground and produces an inferior black wax which is used only to a limited extent by the Indians. The third of these small black bees is the ta'nda, which lives in trees but which produces much more honey than wax. The fourth species, amûĭ a'ma, is a small yellow bee which likewise lives in trees and produces a black wax that is used to a considerable extent.

Certain insects are employed as food. Two of these,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

special racks are built above the fire-box, where strips of meat, or, if the animals or birds are small, the entire bodies, are placed to dry and smoke. Sometimes there are as many as three of these racks, one above another, each covering the same amount of space as the fire-box itself. Considerable time is necessary for drying meat in this way, and, when once dried, it must be kept either on the racks or near the fire in order to prevent molding. For drying fish there usually is employed the upper half of a large earthenware jar, which is turned down over the fire and the fish laid across the opening upon green sticks. Being thus close to the fire, a shorter time is sufficient to dry and smoke the fish, but when thus cured they also must be kept on the racks above or elsewhere near the fire-box in order to keep them from molding. A few vegetal products, especially medicinal herbs, are dried in a similar manner, as likewise are two vegetal foods. The inner covering of the tagua or ivory nut, which, when dried and then roasted upon the coals, has an excellent flavor, is used as food to a slight extent. Green plantain is cut crosswise into thin sections and dried thoroughly in the sun, when possible, or over the fire when necessary. It is then ground to powder and mixed with water into a thin gruel, which is used as food for babies when the mother is ill or for other reasons is unable to provide a proper supply of milk.

Boiling is employed also in the preparation of certain vegetal foods in cane juice. While practically all the product of the cane-field is used in making rum, some syrup and sweets are occasionally prepared. Yuca and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

in killing small birds if it were not for the fact that its tip is poisoned. The tip is sharply pointed and is covered for perhaps three-quarters of an inch back from its point with a vegetal poison called ha'mbĭ, consisting of the juice of a large tree growing in only a few places in the vicinity. This sap is gathered after the manner of rubber milk or the sande juice used in making torches. It is very viscous, and runs very slowly from a cut in the tree; in fact it is claimed that a few ounces only may be obtained from a tree in the course of a day. The juice dries within a few days, becoming solid and black or dark-brown in color. To get this into such a consistency that it may be applied to the points of the darts, a few drops of lemon or lime juice are added on one side of the receptacle in which it is kept, and a small amount of the poison worked up with this juice into a paste by means of a small paddle. The points are then dipped into this and revolved in order that they may be completely covered with it. They are then carefully laid out with a low support just back of the point so as to keep the poison from touching anything, and sufficiently low to prevent the paste from flowing back from the tip to any extent. The paste dries evenly around the point in about an hour and finally becomes very hard. When in this condition it will not rub off with ordinary friction, but immediately it comes into contact with liquid it dissolves. Thus, when a dart enters the body of a bird, a small mammal, or even a man, the poison quickly passes into the circulation. It is said to be very virulent poison and that

[of the blowgun dart.--Analyst]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD5

death ensues within a few minutes, even in men or large mammals. The palm-wood from which the darts are made is very tough and ordinarily would break with difficulty, hence one of them shot into the body of an animal, especially a man or a monkey, could be easily withdrawn. To overcome this, two slight incisions are made around the shaft, just back of the poisoned tip, about a quarter of an inch apart, so that if the shaft enters a body it is almost certain to break with the force of the [illegible] at one or the other of these incisions. In case the dart does not break of its own accord, it is quite sure to break if an attempt is made to extract it, and in either event the poisoned tip is left in the flesh of the victim. Great care must be exercised in making and in handling these darts in order that the owner himself does not get even a small amount of the poison into his system through an abrasion of the skin or by pricking himself with one of the sharp points, for it is claimed that such an accident would almost surely prove fatal. However, without thorough experimentation with this poison it is impossible to vouch for the extreme virulence attributed to it by the Cayapa. There seems, in fact, some reason to doubt its very rapid action on the larger mammals, though in the case of small mammals and birds it is undoubtedly very effective.

A small carrying case, or quiver, called [illegible], such as that shown in fig. 7, *b*, is made especially for blow-gun darts. It consists of a bamboo tube, about an inch longer than the darts, which is filled with soft fibers from the young leaves of a certain species of palm,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

BIRTH

Contrary to the conditions prevailing among many aboriginal peoples, among the Cayapa there are few restrictions associated with birth. Parturition is usually in a more or less erect position, the woman sitting upon a low stool of the type shown in pl. LXXXIII, and no medicines are taken, excepting sometimes a small glass of hot, strong rum. The woman is attended by other women of her family, but submits to no ceremonial restrictions; indeed the only prohibitions to which she is subject are those against bathing, and eating meat. She lies still for a period varying from a day to about a week, but during this time and subsequently she may prepare any food she desires, may feed herself, comb her own hair, touch her own face, and perform various other acts which are forbidden under like circumstances among many other aboriginal peoples.

Couvade, which is so rigidly observed among many South American tribes, is not practised here. In fact, during his wife's confinement a man appears to be entirely unrestricted: he follows his usual pursuits, and even hunts and fishes, two occupations which by a great many tribes are especially forbidden to fathers of newborn children.

With respect to the new-born child itself certain customs are observed. Much care is taken in connection with the umbilicus and the placenta. The cord is cut at a distance of three or four inches from the body, and the end is dipped in hot grease and securely tied. The afterbirth is immediately wrapped in leaves and is

If the mother should die first, then no attempt is made to remove the child. Births that result in death are said to have been caused by witchcraft. Insofar as I was able to determine, no counter measures are taken for revenge. 845 [754]

When labor pains begin, the woman is given a hot drink of rum, lemon, and sulfur. Some women claim to have had painless births, and others claim it hurt each time. After the delivery the mid-wife cuts the umbilical cord /peeli^{y}i/ with a metal knife. The mid-wife buries the umbilical cord under the house about two hours following the birth. It is said that if the cord should be thrown away, then a malignant spirit would get it, and turn it into an animal that kills people. Also, if the cord were not properly buried, then the mother might die of hemorrhage. 844 [278] [412] 846 [796]

After the delivery the mother remains at home for two months. She does light tasks about the house, but she does not go to work in the fields. She observes some food taboos during this period such as being forbidden to eat crabs, clams, or meat. If the taboo is broken, it is believed that she will lose her [262] [784]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

by a new sibling. Weaning is gradual; however, the child is also told that an animal will come to eat him if he continues to suck which frightens him and hastens his loss of interest in the breast. From about the age of four months he is given supplementary foods and by the age of three years he eats everything. Women who are unable to nurse apply a poultice to their breasts. This poultice is made of lechera, a weed with a milky sap; this is done in the vain hope of stimulating lactation. The neighboring Negro women wean their infants at one year, and when opportunity affords, they chide the Cayapa women about their protracted nursing. This is beginning to have some effect, and a few women now wean their children by one year.

When a woman dies in childbirth, the child may be given to another woman who is lactating. Some feel that "the child dies anyway as the spirit of the dead mother will kill it." On the other hand, the infant can be taken directly to the ceremonial center where earth from the mother's grave is thrown at it at the time of her burial. If this ritual is practiced, two men stand on opposite sides of the grave passing the infant back and forth five or six times. This, it is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

THE CAYAPA INDIANS OF ECUADOR

By S. A. Barrett

MANUFACTURES—*Continued*

Textile Arts

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THE Cayapa weave many useful articles from the native materials that abound in their territory. These objects comprise various types of basketry, one type each of fan, mat, cloth, and three of nets. Their finest textile work is the cloth woven from cotton and wool in elaborate patterns. The only other decorated textiles are fans, mats, and a few types of baskets. This class of decoration is due largely to the materials and to the technic of the articles manufactured, all of which are made from strips of the bark of one or another of five endogenous plants. These strips have different natural colors on their two surfaces, and by bringing their light or their dark sides uppermost, simple geometric patterns alone are worked out without further coloring. Such technic makes possible only a limited number of patterns, as has been pointed out by Dr. Max Schmidt.[14]

[14] Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien, Berlin, 1905. Besondere Geflechtsart der Indianer im Ucayaligebeit, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, N. F., VI, H. 4, 270–281. Braunschweig, 1907.

437 They have sold the new small canoes, tree bark mats
[501 (damajaguas), palm-leaf fans, rubber and rolls of liana (these are
285 used in the construction of bamboo huts to tie up the palm-leaves
●283] on the [284] roofs and for some other purposes in lieu of string),
which they have brought from the villages and with the cash they
have earned they now make their small purchases. They have
few wants and do not need much: a few feet of cotton cloth, a
chopping knife, some salt, a small mirror, glass beads, fish hooks,
[411] powder and small shot for the old muzzle-loader which a few of
them may own. This would be all their heart desires. It is little,
even very little, and yet it takes long, even very long, until they
have made their choice and finally decided to buy. First they
talk it over among themselves in their guttural and sonorous lan-
guage and then they start bargaining, and then they count out their
money slowly and cautiously; finally having managed to get the
[462] desired goods, they packed them into the nearly full basket car-
ried by the wife. The women and girls timidly hide behind their
576 menfolk. When spoken to, they do not answer, although they
571 understand sufficient Spanish. Their jealous menfolk have strictly
[191] forbidden them to enter into conversation with men of other races
or tribes. They draw back bashfully. But if the husband is not
present, only the mother or brother, the women become very
loquacious, especially when their tongue has been untied by a
small present—a mirror, necklace or something of the kind. And
they are happy beyond words if you caress their little child, who
looks like a Japanese baby painted brown, and has a friendly smile
even for a stranger. It is amusing to watch the women meeting a
fashionably dressed lady in one of the shops; then they surround
her laughing, amazed and admiring, but they do not appear to be
jealous of the lace dresses worn by European women. The men,
on the other hand, do not honor even the most beautiful and most
elegant white lady with so much as a glance.

142 The Cayapa girls are pretty from the age of 12 to 16 years,
302 their bodies somewhat plump, but still with a beautiful shape.
584 Sometimes young men and women can be seen with red and black
streaks and dots on their faces, chest, arms and legs; this is a
sign that they are engaged.

505 Once their business in town is finished they prepare for the re-
turn journey to their villages. "Adios compadre, adios compadres,"
and chattering and laughing, happy and content, they hurry to
the shore where their canoes are moored. On their way they

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

front. In such cases, sometimes the belt is placed outside the two garments, but more frequently it binds the under-garment only, the ends of the light outer garment being merely tucked under the belt at the front. This outer skirt is very frequently of calico or other light cloth, and is in no way essential to the dress. It may, however, be a second manta, and as large and heavy as the main under-garment. In pls. XIX, XXI, XXII, are shown women wearing the single manta; in pl. XX is presented an instance in which a second outer manta is worn with its corners tucked under the belt at the front, and in pl. XXIII the larger of the two girls wears in a similar manner an outer garment made of calico.

Ordinarily, children up to the age of six, and sometimes even up to ten years, wear no clothing at all. Usually, however, a girl begins to wear her manta, and the boy a short calico shirt, at the age of six or eight years; but the boy does not put on a clout until later, often not until about the age of twelve. On the other hand, frequently very small children, even those two or three years of age, are provided with clothing which they wear in imitation of their elders on gala occasions.

Practically the only time that babies are clothed at all is while sleeping; they are then tightly wrapped and bound in cloth, but without a cradle-board or a basket. They are placed crosswise in a hammock provided with a mat or a piece of bark cloth to hold it open and thus to form a kind of cradle. At one side of the hammock is attached a long braided string, made from the young leaf of a certain species of fan-leaf or from an ordinary

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

354 twisted string of pita, by means of which one of the older
[283] members of the family, while performing some other task, keeps the hammock swinging.

302 Aboriginally both men and women wore long loose hair, without braiding or other special mode of dressing; but now long hair is worn only by the women, the men keeping their hair cut short. Some of the women cut the front hair even with the eyebrows, otherwise their hair is never cut, nor is it dressed in any special fashion, being simply parted in the middle and allowed to fall loosely over the back and breast. The only time that the hair is ever worn otherwise is when a woman is engaged in some very hot work; it is then often coiled up on the head or tied in a large knot at the back. The hair of little girls is never cut, but that of boys is cut when they are very young. As a rule the men have no special mode of dressing the hair; it is simply kept cropped to an even length all round, and is allowed to grow from the crown straight down in all directions, without parting or other training. Now and then a man may part his hair in the middle, but this practice is exceptional. These styles of hair-dressing are shown in pls. XVI–XXXVIII.

A characteristic feature of Cayapa life is the custom of painting the face and other exposed parts of the body with red, yellow, and black pigment, and in many different designs. The red and yellow pigments, called in
302 824 Cayapa mū' and la''mū' respectively, are derived from the seed-pods of a small shrub known by the colloquial Spanish name achote and by the Cayapa name can-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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PITA LEAVES FOR MAKING CORD

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The crisp, pure white, young leaves from the center of the crown of this palm are much esteemed as a food by the Cayapa. To secure these, however, it is necessary to cut down the whole plant, which is done with a machete or preferably an ax. The large, mature leaves of the crown are cut and pried away until the inner part of the trunk is reached. These outer, old leaves of the crown are even more fibrous and resistant than the trunk itself, and as it is almost impossible to cut them away with a machete, an ax is usually necessary. Owing to their great weight, and especially to the interlacing of the hard and very strong fibers at the bases of the leaves, a couple of chisel-pointed sticks, six feet or so in length, are needed to pry away the outer leaves after the mid-ribs have once been cut through with the ax. This inner trunk and those inner leaves which have already begun to unfold are next cut away, until the very young, succulent leaves, which as yet have not commenced to unfold and which appear in the form of a solid, slender cone of pure white, are reached. This cone often measures at its base as much as ten to fifteen inches in diameter, and may be even ten or twelve feet in length. It is a solid mass of crisp white matter, finer in texture than the innermost part of a head of cabbage and with a flavor resembling that of almonds. It is ordinarily eaten raw, either with or without salt, although a very good dish is also prepared by boiling it.

The palma real yields another useful product. The tough fibers, called niñtcū'a, which grow along the sides of the base of the mid-rib of the mature leaf, and which,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

as above mentioned, interlace with the fibers of adjoining leaves in such manner as to make it necessary to pry the leaves apart with wooden bars, are strong and pliable, and are woven into burden-bands by which heavy loads are carried. These fibers often attain a length of about four feet and are possessed of tensile strength sufficient to enable their use as strings on the wooden harp which is now made to a very limited extent by the Cayapa. This instrument was borrowed by them from the Indians of the interior, who in turn copied it from the Spanish conquerors.

Another palm, found to a limited extent along the river, is the coconut, called after the Spanish, kō′kō-tcī. It does not, however, thrive at any considerable distance from the ocean, consequently few palms are found even at so short a distance up the Rio Cayapas as the mouth of the Onzole. Pl. CXXXI presents a view looking up-stream at the confluence of the Rio Onzole with the Rio Cayapas, and, upon the projection of land between them, the hacienda of one of the more prosperous of the negroes of the region. Several coconut palms appear in front of the house. Coconuts grow well along the immediate coast, and there are here large groves, the nuts being shipped to nearby villages and to points even as far away as Esmeraldas. They are purchased to a certain extent by the Indians, by whom they are used in very limited quantities as food, more especially for the so-called coconut-milk which is made from the ripe nuts.

In addition to the foregoing food-producing plants,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

these acts, combined with the spraying and smoking, gradually drive the spirits from the locality.

Another important product of this region is pita, called sa'nō, by the Cayapa, a plant resembling somewhat the yucca of the Southwestern desert region of the United States, but with leaves which sometimes reach a length of fifteen or sixteen feet. It is usually grown at some distance back from the river, and seems to thrive best in the dense shade of the jungle. When once well started it requires very little attention other than the cutting away of undergrowth and clearing of the field which is incidental to the harvesting of the leaves. These leaves yield long, very strong fibers, called sañ bu'tyū, which are twisted into two-ply strings. These are much used in net-making, in binding the selvage of textiles, for fish-lines, and for a variety of other purposes where very strong cord is required. The leaves are cut close to the ground and brought to the house in bundles such as those illustrated in pl. LXVI, where a large and a small bundle of the freshly cut, long leaves are shown leaning against the side of the house. Each leaf yields a large number of fibers, the laborious preparation of which will be discussed in speaking of string-making.

While pita is the strongest material and is considered the best from all points of view, there is another material, called in the local Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa señgi'lya, which is used especially where string or rope of large diameter and of moderate strength is desired, such as for hammocks. This material is derived from the bark of a tree and is obtained by heating in a manner

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

similar to that used in making the bark cloth of the region. When the fibers are beaten out and prepared for twisting into cordage, they are usually stored away in bundles, such as that shown in pl. CXIX, 2, until needed.

An important economic plant of the Cayapa country is that from which is made the bark cloth called by the local Spanish name damajaua and by the Cayapa name tû′ckī. This is beaten from the bark of an indigenous tree called tû′ckītcī. The tree is felled and a section of the bark the length desired, usually six to eight feet, is carefully removed, being split along one side only. The bark may then be beaten immediately upon the same log, but it is ordinarily rolled up and taken to the house where a log is kept especially for this beating, which is done with a short maul, called tatcī wīma′so, such as that shown in fig. 6. One side of the maul, at least, is cut diagonally with grooves and corresponding ridges. The beating must be done within a few hours after the bark is taken from the tree, or before it dries considerably. Placing the strip of bark crosswise upon the log, it is beaten with considerable force with the grooved side of the maul, which is held at an angle of about forty-five degrees to the length of the bark. After beating one short section of the bark in this manner, it is moved across the log far enough to bring a new section into place, and in this way every part of the bark is reached.

FIG. 6.—Beater for bark cloth

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

At the present time the hook-and-line is very much used in fishing, though this was introduced by the whites. Strong, slender, fish-poles, called wañgū-tca′lī, seven to ten feet in length, are made from the upper branches of the large bamboo. They are gathered when thoroughly matured but while still green, and are hardened and straightened by heating. The lines, called wañgū-tcū′a, or sañ-dō′a, are made of native pita string and are usually quite fine. The strength of the pita fibers makes it possible to use a very fine line for comparatively large fish. Such a fish-line, provided with a special pottery sinker and an ordinary steel fish-hook, is shown in fig. 9; it is wound in this case on a cylindrical piece of balsa. This line is called tcūndyē′pū and is used in the hand after the fashion of a troll. In case it should be dropped or pulled overboard, it is saved by means of the balsa float. Ordinarily all lines are provided with lead sinkers, but the pottery cylinder especially made as a sinker is an old type and was formerly very much used. Hooks, called weñgō′la, are now obtained from traders at the coast, although it is

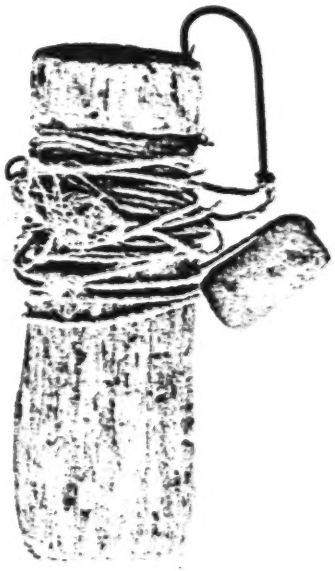

FIG. 9.—Fish-line with pottery sinker

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

cloth, and is placed near the opening at which the bees enter and leave the tree or log. The smudge apparatus is then fanned until a volume of smoke is produced, which in time drives away or stupefies the bees and makes possible the taking of the brea. The wax is found in large blocks, usually at the bottom of the nest, and is cut out with an ax or a machete. It keeps indefinitely, and is stored either in the house or is buried in the ground until needed.

Shortly before or sometimes just after painting the canoe with brea, a hole is cut in the middle of the prow at a point just back of the slightly raised transverse line upon its upper surface, for the cable by which the canoe is moored. This cable, called kondō′pī, consists usually of from two to four strands of carefully selected pitigua twisted together. Such a cable of three strands is shown in pl. XCI, 1. The length of the cable usually varies according to its diameter and the number of its strands, governed by the size of the canoe for which it is made. For very small canoes, frequently a single strand of pitigua is sufficient, but in most cases a two-strand cable is required; very large canoes have three-strand and sometimes even four-strand cables. In making a cable it is necessary first to twist each of the pitigua strands separately, the bark of the strands first having been removed. By means of this twisting the strand is rendered pliable, as well as stronger, since the fibers, which ordinarily would be parallel, are forced to twist around one another. The twisted strand is now wound round a hooked stick, such as that used in cleaning the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

396
283 cane and plantain fields, and is allowed to dry for a few hours, usually over night. The two or more strands to be twisted into the cable are next tied in a simple knot at one end and the strands passed, one or more, on each side of an upright support. Six or eight feet of pitigua are then unwound from the hooked sticks, and each stick is taken by a person and the pitigua twisted, all strands, of course, being twisted in the same direction. After a sufficient amount of torsion has been secured in these strands, another person takes up the knotted end of the cable and begins to twist the strands together on the opposite side of the upright. In reality he does not himself twist these strands together—he merely pulls sufficiently to bring them out on his side of the upright so that the accumulated force of torsion in the separate strands twists them together into a two- or three- or four-ply cable, as the case may be. This is done very slowly, the worker twisting and pulling here and there in such manner as to cause the strands to twine round one another evenly, producing a cable of uniform size and strength throughout. The strands are unwound from the hooked sticks as rapidly as they are twisted together on the opposite side of the upright, until finally, when the ends of the strands are reached, the cable is prevented from untwisting by another simple knot or by a more or less intricate weaving of smaller strands of pitigua about the main strands of the cable, as shown in the illustration above mentioned and in a manner similar to that represented in greater detail in pl. CIII, 19, 20. This last is the more usual form of

3: Barrett E-5 (1903-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

securing this end of the cable, since it is necessary to have one end small in order to pass it through the opening in the prow of the canoe or for whatever other purpose it may be used. Ordinarily the cables are not tied about the prow of the canoe, but are simply passed up through the hole in the prow above mentioned, the knot in the cable below the prow holding it securely.

For ordinary purposes of travel and for carrying regular loads the canoe above described is sufficient. If, however, an excessively heavy or bulky and unstable cargo is to be transported, it is necessary to increase the buoyancy or to steady the canoe by means of outriggers, called by the Spanish name balsas, Cayapa na'na. In this region the term *balsa* has four significations. It is primarily a raft or float of any kind, and is the term naturally applied to the rafts of logs or bamboo which the Indians float down the river for sale at the settlements. The same term is applied to the outriggers used on canoes, as also to the tree and its wood from which these are made. This wood is very light, even when green or water-soaked, and when dry it is as light and soft as cork, qualities which make it very useful in numerous ways. The chief uses of balsa wood, however, are due to its buoyancy: it will carry in water much more than its own weight, and it is therefore used in rafting such heavy timber as guayacan. In this process, as many logs of balsa are procured as are necessary to sustain the weight of the guayacan, and these are lashed together into a float, the guayacan timbers being lashed on top of them. The guayacan timbers

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

In the second class of material may be included the thin bark of five species of endogenous plants: rampile, hoja blanca, hoja negra, chocolatilla, and crinande, which are used for making the lighter and less durable baskets, especially the hamper-shape baskets such as those shown in pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 6, 10, 11, as well as diminutive trinket baskets like those in figs. 15–17 (pp. 200-201). These materials, especially rampile, are used also in making baskets of other forms, but requiring no great durability or strength. Baskets of this class are shown in figs. 7–9 of pl. XCIII. Rampile is also extensively employed in making fans and mats. In the third class of materials is the leaf of the palm known in Spanish as chapil, sometimes also called milpeso, and, by the Cayapa, kūla′pō. Two forms of basket, one conical, the other square-sided (pl. XCII, 2, 5 respectively), are made of this material. Such baskets are suitable only for temporary use, since after a day or two the material becomes dry and brittle; while green, however, it is pliable and fairly strong. The conical basket (fig. 2) serves a ceremonial as well as a utilitarian purpose, being employed by shamans in their medicine practices.

The most important of the various basketry materials is the pitigua. This durable fiber is derived from the long roots of a single species of aerophitic plant which usually grows in the upper branches of trees and sends its long, slender roots to the ground. Pitigua is much sought for various purposes by the negroes and whites of the region, as well as by the Indians, so that along the lower course of the Rio Cayapas it has become somewhat scarce. When the plant is found, however, its roots are

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

easily gathered, since by simply pulling on them they usually break off at or near the plant itself, and often a root seventy-five or even a hundred feet in length is obtained. It is employed not only for basket-making but for many other purposes, such as for binding together the parts of a house-frame (figs. 2–5), for binding the palm-leaf thatch upon the roof (pl. VII), and indeed wherever material for tying or binding is needed. It serves also the many purposes for which civilized people use string and rope, as for mooring canoes, securing animals, etc. Pitigua fiber is practically indestructible so far as dampness is concerned, and may even be kept wet for a considerable time without rotting. If kept from direct contact with water, however, it will last for years even in this humid climate, as is shown by the bindings on the frames of some of the Cayapa houses that have been in use for ten or fifteen years at least.

When gathered these roots are usually made up into large coils (pl. XCI, 4) and laid away in a dry place until needed. To render them pliable they are soaked over night in the river. In two forms of baskets the warp elements are made of the smaller whole roots of the pitigua, otherwise the material is always split into strips or splints, which are prepared as follows:

The bark of the root being first removed, its inner woody portion is split into long, thin ribbons. The individual fibers of the root are extremely long and straight, hence when once started a ribbon can be split the full length of the root with almost perfect evenness. Usually one end of the root is taken up and split with a knife or machete, for a distance of an inch or two, into

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283
285

ROPE COILS AND BRUSHES

[p. 186 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285
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415

[p. 190(a)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285
415
484

any other articles of value he does not deem it safe to leave at home.

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These hampers, especially when used in traveling, are tied about the middle with a cord or a woven band, and can be tumbled about without danger to their contents. They are frequently kept filled with articles in storage in the loft of the house, and often are suspended by the above-mentioned cord or band from the rafters or from one of the timbers at the eaves. Sometimes these baskets are made for special purposes. This is the case with the long one shown in pl. XCIII, 2, which was made especially for the storage of spindles, though the usual spindle storage-basket is a long tubular one like those shown in figs. 8 and 12 of the same plate. Another special form is the very small hamper-shape basket, such as those shown in figs. 15–17; these are used as receptacles for trinkets.

[227]

The bottle-shape bait basket, tū′ñūtcītcī (pl. XCIII, 3), is a very specialized form and, as its name implies, is made for the particular purpose of carrying live insect bait in the canoe while fishing. Its narrow neck is provided with a balsa stopper or with some leaves made into a bundle which serves the same purpose.

283
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415

Tubular baskets, called tcūrūkū′kū (pl. XCIII, 8, 12), are made especially for the storage of spindles, either full or empty. These baskets are usually from thirty to forty centimeters in length by from seven to fifteen centimeters in diameter. Such a basket is hung by one edge of its opening, so that it hangs at more or less of a slant. It is usually suspended from a rafter or other part of the house-frame near the eaves, within easy

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283 285 415 reach from the floor. The Cayapa women are very industrious, and whenever not occupied about the daily routine of their houses and fields, are spinning and weaving. The spinning tripod (pl. CVIII) is always kept in a convenient place at one side of the house, and one or two spindles are usually kept on the small woven shelf near the bottom of the tripod. All extra spindles, whether empty or filled, are, however, kept in these long tubular baskets. When several spindles are filled they are emptied by winding the thread into balls, in which form it is stored until needed.

231 285 One very special form of basket not mentioned in the tabulation above is the large bottle-shape basket shown in pl. XCIII, 7. This unusual basket was made as a cage for a chicken. As a rule, rough baskets of the usual cylindrical form are utilized for this purpose, the opening being closed by binding its edges tightly together with a pitigua cord. This bottle-shape basket was the only one of its kind encountered, and no Cayapa name was given for it.

BASKETRY HANDLES

285 Most of the ordinary cylindrical baskets of small or medium size, regardless of technic, are provided with handles or bails such as those shown in pl. XCII, 3, and XCIII, 4. These handles are always of pitigua and are made in several forms.

The simplest handle consists of a plain piece of pitigua of the proper length, usually unsplit, tied at diametrically opposite points through the border of the basket. Usually it is passed through and brought up far enough

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The cotton ordinarily grown in this section is of a brownish color, and it is claimed by the Cayapa that this is indigenous. It must be said, however, that brown cotton rarely grows wild along the river or in the mountains, but is seen almost exclusively about inhabited places or the sites of recently abandoned habitations.

The second variety of cotton is pure white and is also grown by the Cayapa to a limited extent. It is maintained that this is not a native plant, but is a direct importation from the mountain region or from the Rio Esmeraldas territory. In fact, this white cotton is now sometimes purchased by the Cayapa in their trips to the Rio Esmeraldas, because so little of it is grown along their own river.

When the cotton bolls open and the seeds with their covering of fine fibers are almost ready to drop, they are gathered and, if necessary, dried. The contents of two of these fully opened bolls are shown in pl. CVII, 11. It is frequently desirable to store the cotton away in this form for some time, in which event a considerable number of the bolls are made up into a package which is wrapped with a leaf or two of hoja blanca. Such a bundle is usually tied with a piece of pitigua and in this form may be stored for an indefinite period. In the bundle shown in pl. CVII, 12, a section of the wrapping has been torn away in order to show the contents. When it is desired to prepare the cotton for use, the bolls are cleaned of the seeds and of any foreign matter that may have become mixed with the fibers, since the presence of any foreign substance interferes materially with spinning. In this

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

248
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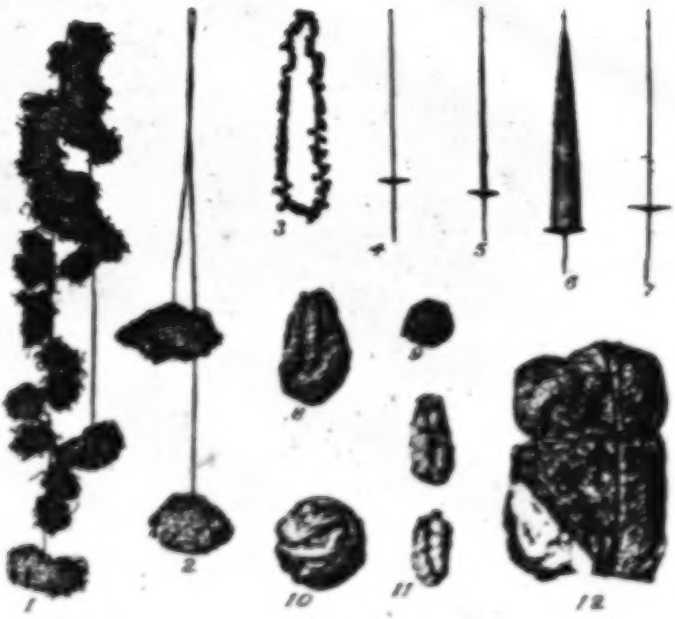

GIRDLES, FILLET, AND SPINNING MATERIALS

[p. 252 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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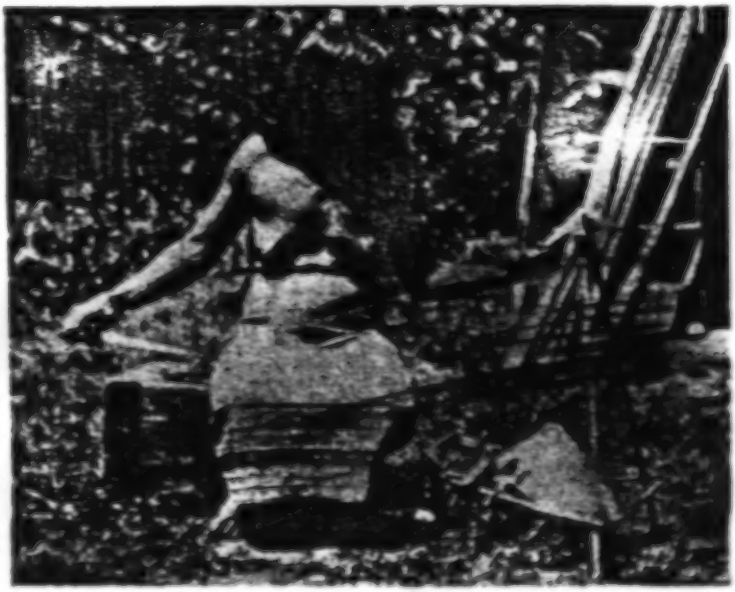

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SPINNING (1) AND WINDING (2) COTTON THREAD

[p. 252 B]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

cleaning process the fibers attached to a single seed may be disengaged from all the rest and flattened into a small, irregular, and very thin layer. These bits are later placed together and their edges overlapped in such manner as to form a very thin sheet of perhaps three by six inches. On the other hand, the contents of a single boll, comprising perhaps from a dozen to twenty seeds, may be separated together, in which case the resultant sheet of cotton is of about the same size as that mentioned. 283

These thin sheets are next laid away until a sufficient number is accumulated to make a roll. Each sheet is then worked over a second time to insure the absence of any particle of foreign substance. In this process each sheet is worked until it is so thin as to be transparent. The sheets also become very much larger, reaching usually about ten by fifteen inches in size. They are then carefully laid one upon another and pressed firmly together with the hands, care being taken that all parts adhere. The thickness of such a mat or wadding is about half an inch. This is then rolled crosswise into a cylinder about ten inches in length and from two to four inches in diameter. The cotton is now ready for spinning and is bound by one end of the roll to the top of a tripod spinning stand, called kō *te*'le (pl. CVIII), or to a vertical pole if such a stand is not available.

Spinning is done upon a spindle (pl. CVII, 4–7), called kûtcū'a. It consists of a long, very slender shaft, called pī'tya'lyī, of palm-wood, and a discoidal whorl called pī''pōka, of coconut shell or of hard wood, and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283 usually an inch and a half to two inches in diameter. The shaft itself is from ten to fourteen inches in length, but is usually no thicker than a large knitting needle. The spindle-whorl is ordinarily at a point about two or three inches from the lower end of the shaft, and it is this portion which is twirled by the thumb and fingers of the right hand. The thread is spun upon the longer end of the shaft. Frequently a piece of spun thread is wound tightly about the middle portion of this longer end of the shaft, as is shown in pl. CVII, 7. This is done in order to insure a firm hold for the thread during the spinning process.

The fibers of cotton always feed into the thread from the bottom of the roll, and in commencing to spin from a new roll a few fibers are worked from the outer lower corner of the sheet of cotton which forms the roll and are attached by pressure to the thread which is wound tightly onto the spindle shaft as above mentioned. As a result of the rotary motion of the spindle, these fibers are twisted together to form the thread, and, as they twist, the pulling of the spindle away from the roll of cotton causes other fibers to feed into the thread.

Having in this way started a few inches of the thread, it is manipulated with the left hand in such manner as to produce an even thickness by allowing it to pass between the first and second fingers which are made to exert a slight tension upon it, and by rolling it between the thumb and third finger in such a way that these combined actions pull where the thread is thick and allow it to pass freely through the fingers where it is thin. It is thus brought to a uniform size. This passing of the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

thread between the first and second fingers serves also 283
to prevent the fibers from feeding too rapidly, since a sufficient tension is kept upon them to regulate the amount of cotton which passes on to the rolling and final forming of the thread between the thumb and third finger, where it is reduced to its final and uniform size. Now and then an exceptionally thick place appears in the thread as it is formed, owing to an irregularity in the tension exerted by the first and second fingers or to some irregularity in the rolling between the thumb and third finger. In such a case the twirling is stopped, the left hand is slipped farther back on the forming thread, and the thick portion is rolled and pulled out until it is of the proper thinness. In pl. CVIII are shown two stages in the process of spinning. In fig. 1 the position of the hands during the actual twirling of the spindle and the regulating of the forming thread are shown. In fig. 2 the spinner is shown winding a section of finished thread on the spindle.

The twirling of the spindle is done with the right hand and in one of two ways: It may be twirled with the thumb and third finger, a notch formed by the ends of the first and second fingers being used as a support for the spindle; or it may be twirled with the thumb and first finger, in which case a notch formed by the ends of the second and third fingers is used as a support. In either case the thumb is held stationary and the rotary motion of the spindle is produced by rolling the first or end joint of the opposing finger against the ball of the thumb. In this manner a rapid rotary motion is given the spindle, which process, aided by the slow feeding

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

•283 in of the fibers with the left hand, causes a fine and tightly twisted thread to be formed.

As the fibers are fed into the thread and it gradually lengthens, the right arm is extended farther and farther from the body and the spindle moves farther and farther away from the roll of cotton. At last, having reached a point where it becomes inconvenient to rotate the spindle, the motion is stopped, the angle between the thread and the spindle is changed so that the thread is nearly at a right angle to it, and the thread is unwound for a few turns, since in spinning it naturally winds out to the extreme point of the upper end of the spindle. The motion is now reversed and the full length of the thread to the point of completion is wound on the spindle, thus bringing the left hand again near the point of the spindle and permitting another section of thread to be fed to it. In winding the finished thread on the spindle the worker begins near the spindle whorl and winds it gradually upward along the shaft. In this manner the wound portion of the shaft gradually increases and approaches the point so that, when the spindle is full, a cone of thread with a base equal to the diameter of the whorl and a length equal to the full length of this portion of the shaft is formed.

In case it is necessary to discontinue spinning, the thread is simply disconnected from the roll of cotton by pulling loose the fibers at the point where the twist in the thread is complete. This leaves a small tuft of projecting untwisted fibers on the end of the thread. To resume spinning, it is necessary only to place these loose fibers on the roll of cotton and give them a slight twist.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

As above mentioned, the fibers are fed into the thread from the bottom edge of the roll of cotton, which feeds the fibers evenly from one end of the sheet to the other. Thus, by beginning at the outer corner of the lower edge of the sheet and feeding the fibers evenly into the thread as they come from along the line of the coil made by this lower edge, the opposite end of this edge is reached. This point is at the center of the bottom surface of the roll of cotton, and when it is reached the direction of the pull of the thread is reversed so that it follows this coil back to the outer surface of the roll where its direction is again reversed and the original path is followed to the center of the coil. In this manner the fibers are not drawn from one side more than from another, hence the roll of cotton remains constantly cylindrical and is simply shortened evenly until completely exhausted. 283

Having thus filled a spindle, it is usually placed in one of the long spindle baskets (pl. XCIII, 8, 12) until such time as several spindles have been filled and it is desired to wind the thread into balls. Such a ball is illustrated in pl. CVII, 10. [415]

In order that the thread may unwind readily from the spindle, this is held between the great and second toe of each foot. The short portion of the spindle shaft below the whorl is usually placed between the toes of the left foot, the opposite end of the shaft resting between the toes of the right foot. In this manner a reel is formed and the thread unwinds easily.

Thread is almost always stored in balls. The white and the brown thread is usually kept in balls from three to five inches in diameter. The green and the lavender

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

thread may also be wound into large balls, but because much smaller quantities of these colors are used the balls are usually smaller. Likewise the red and the blue woolen thread, which is obtained by trade through Indians of the interior mountain region, comes in balls an inch or two in diameter, such as the ball of red woolen yarn shown in pl. CVII, 9.

Threads of four native colors are used by the Cayapa. Two of these, the white and the brown, are the natural colors of the two species of cotton. The lavender is made by dyeing with a pigment obtained from a univalve procured at the ocean, while the green is produced by a dye obtained from the leaf of a small shrub resembling the locust of the temperature zone. In addition to these native colors the red and blue woolen threads obtained through trade with the Indians of the interior are used. In dyeing the cotton either lavender or green it is wound into short skeins, the winding being usually done upon the great toe of one foot and the thumb of the left hand as turning points. Another method is to drive two wooden pegs into a section of plantain or other succulent stem and wind upon these. The skein thus formed is tied at the two ends near the pegs to prevent it from becoming tangled. It is then slipped off the pegs and placed in the dye, and by rubbing and thoroughly working the dye into the skein, an even as well as a fast color is finally obtained. The skeins are then laid out to dry and are later wound into balls and stored away. Pl. CVII, 8, shows one of these skeins after the dyeing is completed.

Dyes of only two other colors are used by the Cayapa.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

One is a jet black obtained by boiling the bark of a certain tree, and is used almost exclusively in the dyeing of old mantas or other pieces of cloth. The other is the red obtained from the achote and is used on rare occasions for coloring the material used in certain baskets and fans.

283 386

WEAVING

286

Weaving is always done upon a crude, though fairly elaborate, loom consisting of twelve essential parts. In pl. CIX is shown a photograph of one of these looms as it appeared in use in a Cayapa house. This shows the parts of the loom to fair advantage, but they are even more clearly shown in pl. CX. These parts are as follow:

Lateral uprights, *a*, *b*	= a′ipala
Cross-bars of frame, *c*, *d*	= tyūnlū′ra
Warp guides, *e*, *f*	= ya′ipe
Weaving batten, *g*	= tsē′hwa
Shuttle, *h*	= pī′picalyī
Warp separators, *i*, *j*	= yade′mbū
Head bar, *k*	= yade′mbū
Head stick to which the initial line of weaving is fastened, *l*	
Width gauge, *m*	= ityu′lya

The lateral uprights (*a*, *b*) are two long and comparatively slender poles. One end of each is forked, and each point of the fork is sharpened to a chisel edge. The points of each of these poles are forced through one of the narrow cracks in the palmwood floor of the house and across one of the joists below. The upper end of the pole is bound securely to one of the beams of the house,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

since such weaving is done in large measure only at odd times.

The trunks or mocho (pl. CXVI) worn by the men is made of cloth woven by the women, a special narrow fabric being produced for this purpose. One of these pieces of cloth contains enough for two mochos. It is always cut and sewed by the men themselves, some of them being adept with the needle. The women know almost nothing about sewing. It ordinarily even falls to the men to make the small mochos for the boys until they are old enough to sew for themselves.

The subject of manta designs is treated under Decorative Art.

CORDAGE AND NETTING

In most cases cordage and nets are made of the fine, long, white fibers obtained from the leaf of the plant called in Spanish pita and in Cayapa sa′nō, and to a much more limited extent the fibers from the bark of a tree called in Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa señgī′lya are used.

The preparation and manipulation of pita, to which reference has been made hitherto, are quite elaborate. The long, slender, full-grown leaves of the plant are cut off close to the ground and brought to the house in bundles, such as those shown leaning against the house in pl. LXVI. While the leaf is still green the fibers are extracted by first scraping off the succulent portion of the concave side of the leaf and then stripping out the fibers from the remainder. For this scraping there are required a semi-cylindrical log of palm-wood, called sañwi cī′nō,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

and a double-edged shaving knife, called sañwi'ctcīpapa. The log is half of a nine or ten foot section of a trunk of the pambil palm. Its flat side is leaned against one of the horizontal beams that compose part of the superstructure of the house, at an angle of about twenty degrees with the perpendicular and about midway between two vertical poles the tops of which are bound to the opposite or outer surface of the beam. These poles, which are usually the forked ones used to support the loom, are placed about two feet and a half apart. At a height of six or seven feet from the floor a piece of pitigua is bound to the two poles and so placed that it passes horizontally across the curved surface of the log. A second piece of pitigua is tied horizontally and at a level also about six or seven feet from the floor, but at a distance of several feet toward the interior of the house.

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The pita leaves are now sorted according to length. Six or eight leaves are then piled neatly one upon another, bottom uppermost. This bunch is bent double and passed behind the pitigua cord that runs directly across the log; the cord presses the leaves at their fold tightly against the log, holding them in place during their manipulation. The leaves are always placed so that the concave side of each is uppermost and so that at first the bases of the leaves hang down against the log. The upper half of the bunch of leaves, and also those individual leaves of the lower half which are not actually in use, are kept out of the way by being passed up over the cord above mentioned, which is stretched at some distance from the log.

Beginning now with the base ends of the leaves, the

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283 lowest one in the bunch is brought down on the convex surface of the log, and with the corner of a knife the succulent outer layer is split throughout the length of the section of the leaf exposed. This allows the leaf to be easily flattened against the log so that the succulent layer may be scraped off with one of the edges of the knife (fig. 25).

283 413 [824] The knife used for this purpose is illustrated in pl. CXVII, 2. It is usually made from half of a section of wild cane (Spanish caña brava), and is ordinarily from fifteen to eighteen inches in length. The soft center of the cane is hollowed out so that only the hard, woody portion of the outside of the stalk remains. The two edges of this semi-cylindrical section are very sharp, thus producing a serviceable implement.

283 The succulent portion of the leaf having been scraped off and the fine fibers exposed to a length of eight or ten inches at the base of the leaf, the fibers are loosened with a thumb or finger nail and are then split loose as far up the leaf as the scraping has progressed by pulling them gently outward. A slit is then made in this scraped section and the loosened fibers are passed through and looped (fig. 25) in such manner as to prevent them from becoming tangled as the scraping proceeds farther up the leaf. When this half of the leaf is completely scraped, it is hung at the side of the pole and the corresponding portion of the next leaf is scraped.

Finally, all the lower halves of the leaves having been scraped, the upper halves which had been placed overhead are brought down upon the log and held in position by means of the horizontal cord which secured the lower

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

halves. This is done by bending over a section about a foot long at the extreme tip of the bunch of leaves. The

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[284]

FIG. 25.—Pita fibers tied to prevent tangling

upper halves of the leaves are then scraped as described. Finally each leaf is separately reversed, the scraped por-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283 tion being passed back over the shoulder, and the last foot of the tip of the leaf is held in place upon the log with the left hand. With the knife held in the right hand, its surface is scraped the same as that of the remainder of the leaf. The leaves are then taken from the pole and the fibers carefully stripped off with the hands. The fibers from each leaf are coiled up separately and the coils are later taken to the river and thoroughly washed to remove what pulp and juice remain. The product is a set of light-green fibers which are placed in the sun to dry and bleach, and finally are combined into large bundles or skeins which are stored until needed. Such a set of fibers is first doubled and the halves are lightly twisted together, producing a long, slender skein such as that shown in pl. CXVIII, 1. This is again doubled and lightly twisted, and even a third doubling and twisting may be employed to make the skein of the desired length.

In preparing the fibers for making string, one end of a bundle of them is tied to an upright support, and the fibers of the loose end of the bundle are combed with the fingers to remove any short and useless ones and to bring the long ones parallel. These long fibers, still tied in the bundle, are then selected according to the kind of string desired, and are made into loose plies by first twisting them with the fingers and then by rolling them upon the calf of the right leg. This results in a bundle of plies such as that shown in pl. CXVIII, 2. When all of the bundle of fibers has been treated in this manner, the plies are selected in pairs and twisted together by grasping a pair of plies in the left hand so that the first finger passes

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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PITA FIBERS, PLIES, AND CORDS

[p. 278(4)]

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283
227

TROT-LINE, BUNDLE OF PITA FIBERS, AND CORDAGE

[p. 278 (2)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

between the two; they are then rolled simultaneously with the palm of the right hand upon the calf of the right leg in order to twist each separately. They naturally twist together beyond the left hand by virtue of the tortion in the separate plies, but at frequent intervals are pulled apart, since each must be thoroughly twisted separately before the two are allowed to twist themselves together to form the string. At last the finger which has been used to separate the plies is withdrawn and the rolling motion is reversed, so that the hand is drawn toward the body instead of moving from it. This reverse motion, combined with the individual tortion in each ply separately, serves to twist the two plies together in the opposite direction to that of the individual twist of each ply and to form a firm and strong string. The twisting of such a lot of plies results in a bundle, or what may be termed a skein, of cords such as that shown in pl. CXVIII, 3. All string is two-ply, its size being governed by the quantity of fiber used for each ply and by the use for which it is intended.

A large number of fibers are obtained from each leaf, and a considerable number of strings, each as long as the leaf, result from the twisting process. In one case, for example, four leaves yielded sixty-four fine cords such as are used for weaving the conical casting net. The length of each of these cords was about fifteen feet.

In twisting cords in the manner described, care is taken that they do not become tangled. Accordingly when a considerable number of cords have been twisted they are divided into three approximately equal groups which are then braided. As the work progresses and

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283 several other cords are completed, these are added to the braids at the ends. Thus by adding group after group of these braids, when the whole bundle of cords is completed and both its ends are braided it forms a skein of cords which appears like that shown in pl. CXVIII, 3. The skein is kept in this form and the individual cords are extracted from its middle. This tends to pull backward and to loosen the braids at the two ends of the bundle and thus easily to free the ends of the individual cord from the braids.

[824] The other kind of string obtained from the bark of the tree called in Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa señgī'lya, is made in a manner similar to that employed in making pita string. The fibers used in making this string are obtained by beating out the bark by the method employed in making bark cloth. After being washed, as in the case of bark cloth also, these fibers are dried, folded, and bound into bundles (pl. CXIX, 2). When needed, the sheets are taken from the bundle and the fibers are separated and twisted into a heavy and rather loose cord which serves very well for making a hammock or as the main cable of a trot-line (pl. CXIX, 1), but otherwise is little used. The string bears the same Cayapa name as the tree itself, and its primary use is for hammocks, which are woven with the same technic as are fish-nets, shortly to be described. The meshes are, however, extremely large and are made without the aid of a mesh-stick, being kept sufficiently even by the eye alone.

[352 227]

286

The Cayapa do not splice cords by twisting together the fibers at their ends, as is done by some Indians. An individual pita cord is usually from ten to sixteen feet

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The essential parts as shown here are the squared house-post (*a*), into the side of which is set, by means of a notch (of the type shown in fig. 4, *b*) a stringer (pl. XIII, *b*) running lengthwise of the house. Upon this rest the bamboo poles (*c*) which support the palm-

a *b*

FIG. 2.—Details of frame construction

wood floor (*d*). This floor is at a height of eight feet nine inches from the ground, into which the house-posts are set to a depth of three or four feet. The house-post projects seven feet above the floor level, and at its top is cut another notch (of the type shown in fig. 4, *a*, and 5,) into which is bound another long stringer,

a *b*

FIG. 3.—Details of frame construction

c, similar to *b*, and which forms the support for the entire superstructure. A corner of such a superstructure is shown in fig. 5, in which the parts are lettered to correspond with those shown in pl. XIII. In fig. 5 the point of observation is within the house. The longitu-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

dinal stringer (*e*) projects three or four feet beyond the house-post, and upon this rests the transverse stringer (*f*) which projects about the same distance beyond

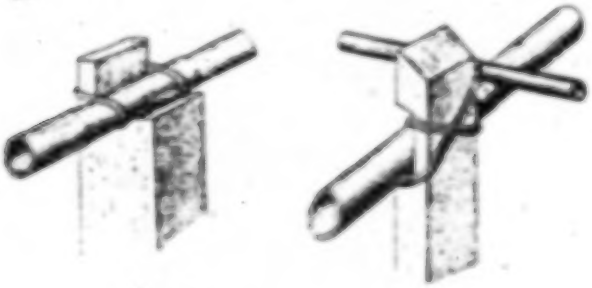

FIG. 4.—Notches for receiving stringers

the former (*e*). Near the end of this projection rests another longitudinal stringer (*g*), upon which rest the lower ends of the rafters forming the side of the roof. In some structures the ends of the rafters of the gable

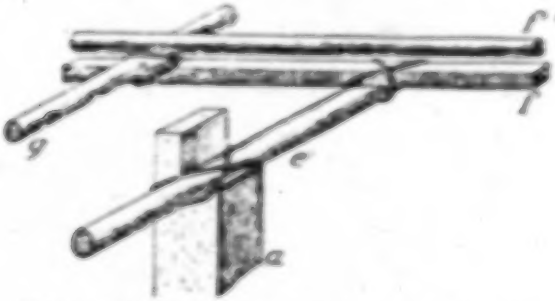

FIG. 5.—Corner of superstructure seen from interior

rest directly upon *f*, as is the case in the large house above mentioned, an elevation of which is illustrated in pl. XIII and also in the unfinished structure shown

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

in pl. VII. In some other dwellings another transverse beam (fig. 5, *f'*) is used as the support for the gable rafters.

In practically all cases in which two such stringers cross or where a stringer passes through a notch in a post, the parts of such a joint are securely bound together by one or another of the several methods shown in figs. 2-4. The binding material is a durable aerial root, called pitigua in the local Spanish, which is gathered and kept on hand for this purpose and for making certain kinds of basketry. It is kept in coils such as that shown in pl. XCI, 4, and when dry it needs only to be soaked for a short time to render it pliable.

The roof frame of such a building consists of a short central ridge-pole (pl. XIV, *i*), supported by two and in some cases three stout vertical bamboos (*m*) which in turn rest upon a horizontal beam (*j*) running lengthwise through the center of the building. The ridge-pole is of such length as to give the gable roofs a pitch of about forty-five degrees. It varies, therefore, according to the proportionate dimensions of the structure, but is usually from a third to a half as long as the building itself. The bamboos supporting the ridge-pole are, in the case of the large dwelling above mentioned, 13 feet 9 inches in height. The bamboo rafters of the sides of the roof rest directly upon and are bound to this ridge-pole. Those forming each gable are fastened together by means of a palm-wood rod passing through holes near the small upper ends of the rafters. This rod is bound to the two end-rafters of the sides of the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

roof, usually at a point two or three feet down from the ridge-pole. The other ends of these gable rafters are spread fan-like along the end beam (fig. 5, *f*, *f'*) of the superstructure so as to produce a complete frame for the attachment of the thatch of the gable. There is thus left at the top of this gable a small triangular opening, such as that shown in pl. x, which serves as a vent for the smoke from the open fire-box. The thatch is so laid on that it projects about two feet beyond the ends of the side roofs, while the thatch on the gable end just meets the underside of this projection. The projection of the ends of the side roofs in this manner prevents the rain from driving through the thatch along the line upon which the side and gable roofs meet, and it is also sufficient to prevent the entrance of rain through the triangular opening at the extreme top of the gable. The slant of the roof, both gable and side, is usually about forty-five degrees. The slant of the gable is regulated by the length of the short ridge-pole above mentioned. This whole construction of the superstructure of such a building is well illustrated in the unfinished dwelling shown in pl. VII.

The covering of the roof is a thatch of palm-leaves, usually those of the tagua, or ivory-nut palm. The necessity for a constant supply of these leaves, combined with the desire to perpetuate the supply of ivory nuts (since these are a source of considerable wealth), has caused the Cayapa to preserve carefully the groves of these palms. Even single palms growing quite apart from others are conserved. The trees, vines, and under-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

cut in the light of the moon is practically worthless. The Indians, however, while they have adopted certain of the negro customs, and while they recognize this one to a limited extent, are usually much more governed by necessity and convenience in the cutting of the thatch or the felling of timber than by the phases of the moon. The bundles, or sets, of four half-leaves are applied directly to the bamboo rafters, the midribs of the leaves being quite sufficient to serve as horizontal supports for the thatch. Beginning at the eaves, the bundles are laid in courses in the same manner as are shingles. The natural underside of the leaf is placed uppermost, and the courses are laid with only about six to eight inches of the tips of the leaflets exposed to the weather. Each bundle is securely bound with pitigua, in from two to four places, to the rafters it crosses. By this overlapping process a thick and watertight roof is secured. The leaflets run directly down the slant of the roof, thus naturally tending to conduct the water from one tier of thatch to the next. Further, as above mentioned, the natural undersides of the leaflets are placed uppermost, and each of these leaflets forms a small shallow trough which readily conducts water. The thatch of the large house above referred to and illustrated (pl. XI) is no less than three inches, and in places probably four inches, in thickness. In this structure the northern gable of the section *a* consists of ten rafters covered with fifty-seven courses of thatch. The sides of this section consist of seventeen rafters covered with sixty courses of thatch.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

224 411 slightly toward its point, the opposite end being provided with a flaring mouth-piece two to three inches in diameter. It is made a follows: The innermost part consists of two pieces of palm-wood, each containing a groove, and forming, when placed together, a perfectly even-bored tube about three-eighths of an inch in diameter and with a wall half to three-quarters of an inch thick. The two halves of this tube are bound firmly together at from three to five points along its length by means of thin, narrow strips of pitigua, or with one of the stout fibers from the base of the leaf of the palma real. This binding is merely to hold the two halves of the tube together while they are being completely wrapped, which is done with strips of pitigua about one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness and one-quarter of an inch in width. It is wrapped tightly and very evenly from end to end in such manner as to completely cover the wood. This spiral wrapping of so long an object [284] requires a great length of these narrow strips. As the end of one strip is reached, the end of the next is inserted in such a manner as to be held firmly in place and to make each strip bind the next. This pitigua wrapping is in turn covered and made waterproof by a coating of brea, or wax, as above mentioned. On some of the blow-guns a hump is made in the brea at a point a short distance in front of the mouth-piece. This serves as a kind of sight by which to take aim, though obviously it is not a very accurate gauge, consequently the aiming is largely a matter of calculation by the hunter, and accuracy is acquired only by long practice. The

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

length, requires the labor of ten or a dozen persons. In the case of the large canoe shown in the illustrations three pairs of small holes were cut into its gunwales—one pair near each end and one at the middle—and to these were fastened three green wooden bars about an inch in diameter and projecting six or eight inches on each side of the canoe, thus serving as grips or handles for the haulers. The process of cutting the holes for these cross-bars is shown in pl. LXXI. Such bars must not be bound tightly to the gunwales, but of such looseness that they may be slipped in and out of the lashings, as is often necessary in passing close to a tree. A trail is carefully cut through the jungle, the trunks of small trees being thrown across it at intervals of a foot to four or five feet, in order to keep the canoe above the ground, thus greatly reducing the friction as the craft is moved along.

If the site of the construction of the canoe is at a considerable elevation, it must be let down carefully to the lower level by way of an incline. To accomplish this there are first wedged in at the prow and stern of the canoe two short transverse bars just below the level of the gunwales. From a large tough vine or aerial root, said to come from a plant called in the local Spanish matamba, and in Cayapa bi'ta, are twisted two-ply cables, such as that shown in pl. XCI, 5, and often as much as sixty or seventy feet in length. One of these is tied with a simple knot to each of the transverse bars above mentioned. The forward cable is passed with a half-hitch about the prow of the canoe and is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

bound securely at the point at which the cable crosses itself in making the half-hitch in order to prevent this from slipping off the prow. The one at the stern passes directly over the notch which is always present at each end of the canoe, and is bound to the point of the stern in such manner as to prevent slipping to either side, thus keeping the stress of the cable directly upon the short cross-bar and avoiding the danger of wrenching the bar loose by a sidewise pull. By snubbing with these cables, a large canoe may be lowered with comparative ease down a very steep incline. To accomplish this, a single turn is taken with the rear cable about the trunk of a tree, and by slacking off the canoe is let slowly down until the end of the cable is nearly reached. Meanwhile the forward cable has been passed about a tree and snubbed in the same manner to prevent accident to the rear cable. Having finally neared the end of the rear cable, the forward cable is made fast and the canoe held in position while the rear cable is taken down-hill and passed about a tree near the canoe in the same manner as above described. Then the two cables are paid out again until the end of the forward cable is reached, when the canoe is again halted and the forward cable taken down the hill as was the rear one. Thus, by this process of snubbing with the two cables, the probability of losing control of the heavy craft is eliminated. All this time, of course, the haulers are at the sides of the canoe helping to steady and guide it. One person only is needed to pay out each of the cables. Care is taken in snubbing a canoe down in this manner to see that

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

adzed first. The inner sides are adzed first across the grain and then diagonally to it, and finally the bottom is adzed in a similar manner. This work is done with a hand-adz such as that shown in fig. 10. 396

This tool is of modern introduction, as indeed are the canoes themselves, as well as the method of their manu- 412 [177]

[284]●

FIG. 10.—Modern adz used in making canoes

facture. The blade of the adz is of steel and is made by local blacksmiths down the river. The wooden handle, shown in fig. 11, is made by the Cayapa, and is so constructed, with the large projection above and with the notches below, that the blade may be securely bound to it, as is shown in fig. 10, by means of pita-fiber string. The blade is concave, and its edge is usually quite regular and curved, so that, while its full width may be [284]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

easily gathered, since by simply pulling on them they usually break off at or near the plant itself, and often a root seventy-five or even a hundred feet in length is obtained. It is employed not only for basket-making but for many other purposes, such as for binding together the parts of a house-frame (figs. 2–5), for binding the palm-leaf thatch upon the roof (pl. VII), and indeed wherever material for tying or binding is needed. It serves also the many purposes for which civilized people use string and rope, as for mooring canoes, securing animals, etc. Pitigua fiber is practically indestructible so far as dampness is concerned, and may even be kept wet for a considerable time without rotting. If kept from direct contact with water, however, it will last for years even in this humid climate, as is shown by the bindings on the frames of some of the Cayapa houses that have been in use for ten or fifteen years at least.

When gathered these roots are usually made up into large coils (pl. XCI, 4) and laid away in a dry place until needed. To render them pliable they are soaked over night in the river. In two forms of baskets the warp elements are made of the smaller whole roots of the pitigua, otherwise the material is always split into strips or splints, which are prepared as follows:

The bark of the root being first removed, its inner woody portion is split into long, thin ribbons. The individual fibers of the root are extremely long and straight, hence when once started a ribbon can be split the full length of the root with almost perfect evenness. Usually one end of the root is taken up and split with a knife or machete, for a distance of an inch or two, into

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

halves. This is done by bending over a section about a foot long at the extreme tip of the bunch of leaves. The

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[284]

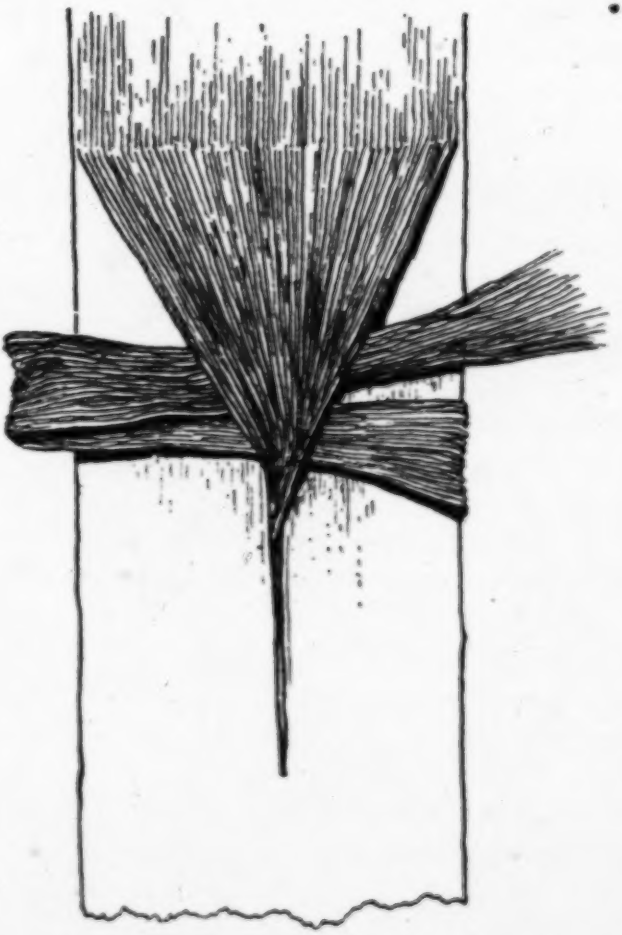

FIG. 25.—Pita fibers tied to prevent tangling

upper halves of the leaves are then scraped as described. Finally each leaf is separately reversed, the scraped por-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 which the weaving is done. By weaving now evenly along this line without adding more meshes to the succeeding lines, a rectangular net of the desired length is produced. The final corner of the net is made by dropping knots and meshes in the succeeding rows of weaving: in other words, by exactly reversing the process employed in starting the original corner.

[284]

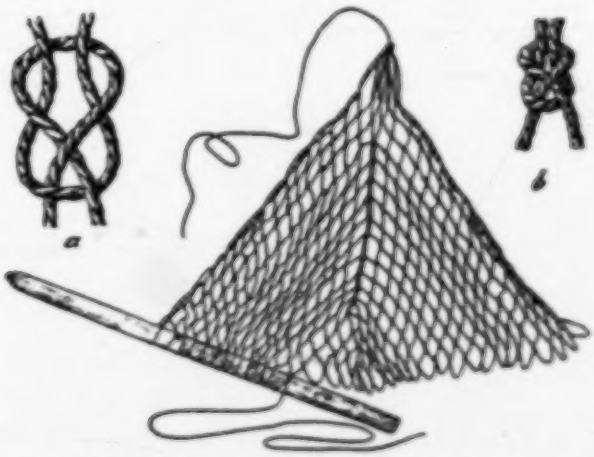

FIG. 27.—Net weaving and detail of knot

All nets are woven with the same type of knot, two details of which are exhibited in fig. 27. In *a* is shown one of these knots opened to a considerable extent, and in *b* this knot is shown as it appears closed and drawn tightly in the net. The use of the mesh-stick is also shown in the figure, which illustrates the beginning of a conical dip-net. The technic of this net differs somewhat from that of the set-net above described, but the knot employed and the use of the mesh-stick are the same.

[227]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

untarily for this castigation, but children of from two to five years are usually accompanied. If necessary they are brought forcibly by their elders. The very small children generally receive but a light tap from the castigator.

A few minutes after the castigation at the altar commenced, an assistant took up his position just outside the door of the church and there administered punishment to any who desired it, after which they were at liberty to enter and receive still more at the altar if they desired, although this was not necessary. Pl. CXXXVII presents a view of this castigator with his cat-o'-nine-tails. Pl.

FIG. 28.—Technic of cording on cat-o'-nine-tails

CXXXIX, 2, shows him in the act of striking a devotee. In actual practice this was done at the door of the church. These two pictures, however, were posed at a short distance from the building in order to gain a better light. Fig. 28 shows the technic of cording on the whip.

By 11:30 the castigation of the devotees was finished and the second ofrenda of the day was called. Nearly everyone attended, but a few remained at the "rancho" to play before the saintly images there.

At about 4 P.M. the saints from the "rancho" were re-

1137 They have sold the new small canoes, tree bark mats
[501] (damajaguas), palm-leaf fans, rubber and rolls of liana (these are
285 used in the construction of bamboo huts to tie up the palm-leaves
283] on the [284] roofs and for some other purposes in lieu of string),
which they have brought from the villages and with the cash they
have earned they now make their small purchases. They have
few wants and do not need much: a few feet of cotton cloth, a
chopping knife, some salt, a small mirror, glass beads, fish hooks,
[411] powder and small shot for the old muzzle-loader which a few of
them may own. This would be all their heart desires. It is little,
even very little, and yet it takes long, even very long, until they
have made their choice and finally decided to buy. First they
talk it over among themselves in their guttural and sónorous lan-
guage and then they start bargaining, and then they count out their
money slowly and cautiously; finally having managed to get the
[462] desired goods, they packed them into the nearly full basket car-
ried by the wife. The women and girls timidly hide behind their
576 menfolk. When spoken to, they do not answer, although they
571 understand sufficient Spanish. Their jealous menfolk have strictly
[191] forbidden them to enter into conversation with men of other races
or tribes. They draw back bashfully. But if the husband is not
present, only the mother or brother, the women become very
loquacious, especially when their tongue has been untied by a
small present—a mirror, necklace or something of the kind. And
they are happy beyond words if you caress their little child, who
looks like a Japanese baby painted brown, and has a friendly smile
even for a stranger. It is amusing to watch the women meeting a
fashionably dressed lady in one of the shops; then they surround
her laughing, amazed and admiring, but they do not appear to be
jealous of the lace dresses worn by European women. The men,
on the other hand, do not honor even the most beautiful and most
elegant white lady with so much as a glance.

142 The Cayapa girls are pretty from the age of 12 to 16 years,
302 their bodies somewhat plump, but still with a beautiful shape.
584 Sometimes young men and women can be seen with red and black
streaks and dots on their faces, chest, arms and legs; this is a
sign that they are engaged.

505 Once their business in town is finished they prepare for the re-
turn journey to their villages. "Adios compadre, adios compadres,"
and chattering and laughing, happy and content, they hurry to
the shore where their canoes are moored. On their way they

291 Children wear no clothes at all until they are 6 or 8.

301 The hair is worn loose, long, and flowing by the women but is clipped
302 above the ears by the men. Both sexes wear necklaces and wristbands of glass and porcelain beads, coins, seeds, and beetle wings. Only women wear earrings.

302 The traditional *Chibcha* custom of frequently painting body and face is found among the *Cayapa*. Red, yellow, and black are used, and the designs are very numerous. Barrett reproduces many of the motifs and insists that there is no special significance attached to any of them, nor is there any age, sex, or property correlation.

TRANSPORTATION

501 **Watercraft.**—A large part of every *Cayapa's* life is spent on the water fishing and traveling. Canoes are built with great skill and care. They
[439] can withstand not only fluvial but also maritime travel and are routinely sold in the "civilized" coast towns. They are dugouts, usually 10 to 12 yards long but sometimes much larger. Balsa-wood logs are sometimes used as outriggers.

MANUFACTURES

000 Details of *Cayapa* manufactures are contained in Barrett's work, which describes and illustrates finished products and minutely discusses the techniques of preparation.

322 **Woodworking.**—Woodworking includes house building, making deadfall traps, and carving seats and children's dolls.

285 **Weaving and basketry.**—The women weave cotton cloth on a narrow
286 native loom, and the men do the sewing. The men also weave the fishing
462 nets and hammocks. Barrett's discussion of *Cayapa* basketry is outstanding. The *Cayapa* make many kinds of baskets, mats, and fans of bark and of various roots.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery is crude and undecorated. It is used particularly for
177 storage. Tradition claims that in their old Highland habitat the *Cayapa* made better pottery but that calabashes have since largely replaced ceramics.

324 **Stonework and metalwork.**—Stonework is limited to the metates
325 used in grinding corn and plantains. Although in aboriginal times Lowland Ecuador was a famous area of metallurgy, there is no evidence that the contemporary *Cayapa* practiced it.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapon most widely used today is the muzzle-loading
177 shotgun. The blowgun was important in the past, but today its use is restricted to boys, who shoot poison darts while playing at hunting. Hardwood lances are being given up, and the bow and arrow is said ~~not~~ to be mentioned in *Cayapa* tradition. The steel machete is ubiquitous.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

137 rule the various species of trees are associated in a strictly heterogeneous manner, and in all cases there is a fairly dense undergrowth, besides vines and aerial roots in abundance. These latter hang from the trees in such profusion as alone to make it necessary to cut a trail in proceeding even for a short distance by land.

824 137 Of these aerial roots the one known by the local Spanish term *pitigua* deserves special mention. It is very strong and durable, is little affected by climate, [342] and is not attacked by insects. It is, therefore, extensively employed in binding joints in house-building, and indeed wherever a good binding material is needed. [285] It is also extensively used in making certain kinds of basketry.

This general mention of the natural vegetal resources of the Cayapa region will suffice for present consideration, but the separate plants and their particular uses will be treated in detail in the following pages in connection with matters with which they are particularly concerned.

The heterogeneity of the flora of the region, above referred to, is fortunate for its inhabitants, since it places nearly every kind of plant, on which so much of the culture of the Cayapa Indians depends, within comparatively easy reach of all. That the flora should be so varied in any given locality, and that any given species should be so generally distributed, is due to the almost identical climate, soil, and other environmental conditions throughout the region.

The following is a list of the principal vegetal resources, both indigenous and introduced, employed by the Cayapa:

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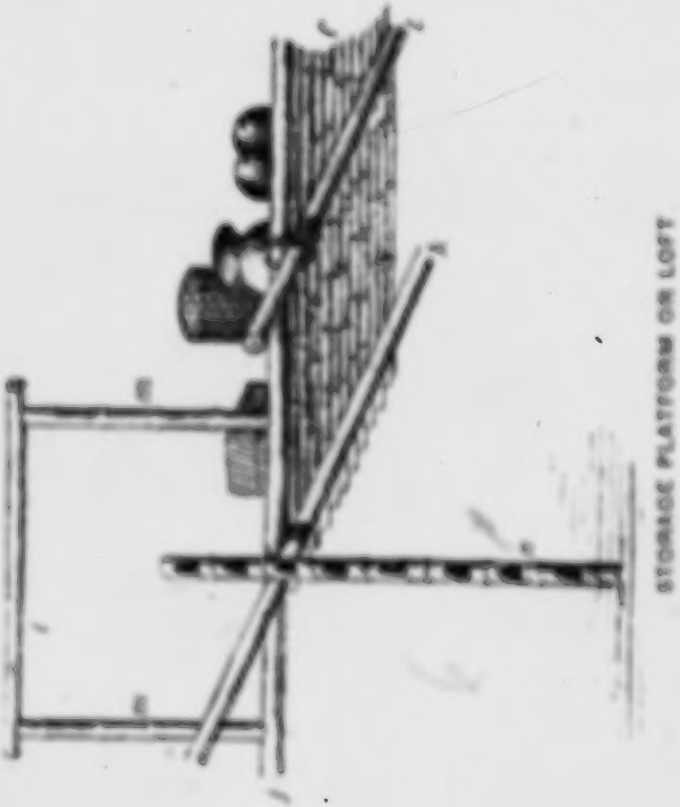

STORAGE PLATFORM OR LOFT

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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CANOE PILOTED BY A MAN
[p. 150(c)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

designs is shown in pl. LXXXVI. This decoration is accomplished by cutting with the point of a machete or a knife while the calabash is green, and results, when the utensil is dried, in a white linear figure on a brown background, since it is only the thin outer skin of the calabash that turns brown in the curing. After several days of curing in the open, excepting during rain, the calabash vessel is ready for use. It is rarely put into service immediately, however, since a considerable supply of these utensils is always kept on hand; more frequently it is stored away to season thoroughly and become more durable. A small cross-stick attached to a piece of pitigua cord is inserted in the opening of a globose water-calabash, which is then suspended from a rafter of the house to season. Ordinarily several of these calabashes are thus hung in a cluster. The opening is always plugged with a piece of hoja blanca, or of the leaf ûʹtya hakĭ, used in cooking, in order to protect the calabashes from the ravages of cockroaches.

A second type of calabash utensil, called in Spanish mate and in Cayapa cuʹlya, is usually hemispherical and is made ordinarily of the globose form of fruit. Now and then, however, an ellipsoidal calabash is used for this purpose, in which case the mate is elliptical in horizontal cross-section. Fig. 13 exhibits a hemispherical mate resting on a typical woven ring, made to keep it in an upright position, especially when used to serve liquid at feasts. About the rim and on the sides of the mate are shown incised decorations. By cutting the fruit exactly in two, through the stem, a single calabash of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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415 [442] course provides two mates. The cutting is almost always done with an old machete, the edge of which is serrated by striking it with another machete at intervals of about an eighth of an inch. With this crude saw the shell of the calabash is carefully cut along a line marked usually by a string tied tightly around it. The removal

•[285 531]

FIG. 18.—Calabash vessel and woven ring

of the pulp is in this case a simple matter. It is first scooped out in large pieces with the point of a machete or a knife, and then, when the inner surface of the shell is reached, it is scraped carefully and smoothly with a small, smooth-edged clam-shell. The drying also is a more simple process than in the case of the water-calabash, since the inner surface is more exposed to the air.

When dry, the mate is used for a multitude of purposes, such as dipping liquids, serving foods, and so on. If permitted to lie for a long time in any liquid, the cala-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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BASKETRY

285 Cayapa basketry may be classified according to the materials from which it is made, its technic, and its forms and uses.

Classification according to materials is recognized by the Cayapa themselves, as is shown by the following terms:

MATERIALS

285 Pitigua = te'tcûa (the root of an aerophitic plant); te'tcûm pickalyí = basket made of te'tcûa.

824 Rampile = pi'tcûa (a species of palm); pi'tcûm pickalyí = basket made of rampile.

Hoja blanca = fi'ba hakí; fi'bañ pickalyí = basket made of hoja blanca.

Hoja negra = e'lûñ hakí; e'lûñ pickalyí = basket made of hoja negra.

Chocolatilla = tcûköla'te; tcûköla'te pickalyí = basket made of chocolatilla.

Crinande = viñga'tcí; viñga' pickalyí = basket made of crinande.

Hoja de chapil = kûla'hakí; dic-pûnûntsû'mí; kûla' pickalyí, kûla'pô pickalyí = basket made of hoja de chapil.

The word picka'lyí, which strictly signifies any kind of basket other than the burden-basket or the hamper-shape basket, is here used as a general term meaning baskets of all kinds. All considerations of technic, form, and use are omitted in the above classification, material only being taken into account.

The basket materials used by the Cayapa may be divided into three classes. First, the heavy strips or splints of the inner fibers of the aerial root called pitigua, used for making the more durable baskets such as those shown in pl. XCII, 1, 3, 4, 6–8, and in pl. XCIII, 1, 3, 4, 12.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

In the second class of material may be included the thin bark of five species of endogenous plants: rampile, hoja blanca, hoja negra, chocolatilla, and crinande, which are used for making the lighter and less durable baskets, especially the hamper-shape baskets such as those shown in pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 6, 10, 11, as well as diminutive trinket baskets like those in figs. 15–17 (pp. 200-201). These materials, especially rampile, are used also in making baskets of other forms, but requiring no great durability or strength. Baskets of this class are shown in figs. 7–9 of pl. XCIII. Rampile is also extensively employed in making fans and mats. In the third class of materials is the leaf of the palm known in Spanish as chapil, sometimes also called milpeso, and, by the Cayapa, kûla'pō. Two forms of basket, one conical, the other square-sided (pl. XCII, 2, 5 respectively), are made of this material. Such baskets are suitable only for temporary use, since after a day or two the material becomes dry and brittle; while green, however, it is pliable and fairly strong. The conical basket (fig. 2) serves a ceremonial as well as a utilitarian purpose, being employed by shamans in their medicine practices.

The most important of the various basketry materials is the pitigua. This durable fiber is derived from the long roots of a single species of aerophitic plant which usually grows in the upper branches of trees and sends its long, slender roots to the ground. Pitigua is much sought for various purposes by the negroes and whites of the region, as well as by the Indians, so that along the lower course of the Rio Cayapas it has become somewhat scarce. When the plant is found, however, its roots are

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

easily gathered, since by simply pulling on them they usually break off at or near the plant itself, and often a root seventy-five or even a hundred feet in length is obtained. It is employed not only for basket-making but for many other purposes, such as for binding together the parts of a house-frame (figs. 2–5), for binding the palm-leaf thatch upon the roof (pl. VII), and indeed wherever material for tying or binding is needed. It serves also the many purposes for which civilized people use string and rope, as for mooring canoes, securing animals, etc. Pitigua fiber is practically indestructible so far as dampness is concerned, and may even be kept wet for a considerable time without rotting. If kept from direct contact with water, however, it will last for years even in this humid climate, as is shown by the bindings on the frames of some of the Cayapa houses that have been in use for ten or fifteen years at least.

When gathered these roots are usually made up into large coils (pl. XCI, 4) and laid away in a dry place until needed. To render them pliable they are soaked over night in the river. In two forms of baskets the warp elements are made of the smaller whole roots of the pitigua, otherwise the material is always split into strips or splints, which are prepared as follows:

The bark of the root being first removed, its inner woody portion is split into long, thin ribbons. The individual fibers of the root are extremely long and straight, hence when once started a ribbon can be split the full length of the root with almost perfect evenness. Usually one end of the root is taken up and split with a knife or machete, for a distance of an inch or two, into

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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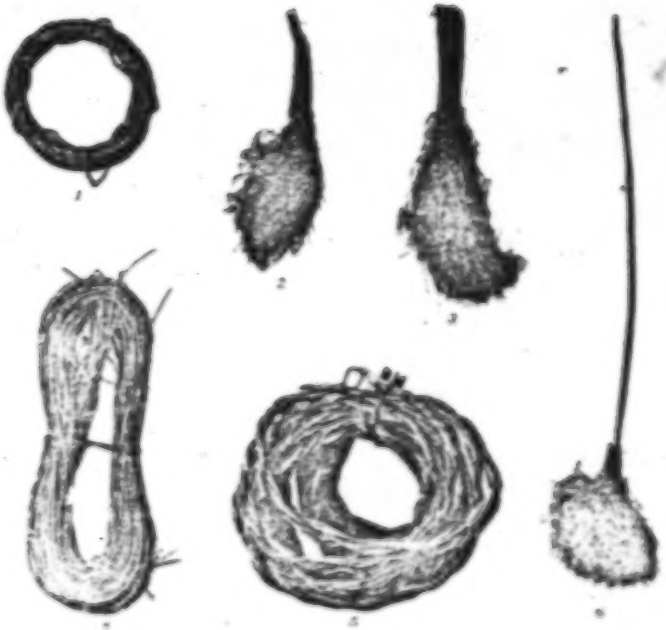

ROPE COILS AND BRUSHES

[p. 186 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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BASKETS OF PITIGUA AND CHAPIL

[p. 186(R)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

as many strips as it will yield. This split end is then grasped with the left hand at a point five or six inches from the cuts described, and is bent with the right hand down over the thumb of the left, or in the opposite direction over the fingers (fig. 14). This tension on the fibers causes them to cleave uniformly along the planes started by the preliminary splitting. A new hold is then taken farther down and the bending repeated, which results in the splitting of another section. In this manner it is possible to split rapidly a long root throughout its length. A root will sometimes yield as many as half a dozen strips suitable for basket-making. Before these are used, however, any rough or uneven places, due to chance cleavage of the fibers along these planes, are removed by scraping and sizing.

FIG. 14.—Splitting pitiqua for basketry

The scraping is done by holding vertically to the ribbon a knife or other sharp-edged instrument while the ribbon is drawn over the edge of the heel or across the side of the knee. Obviously the width of such strips varies according to the part of the root from which they come. On the other hand, the root differs so slightly in diameter throughout that the variation in the width of a strip is very slight. For the finer basketry all splints are

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

285 trimmed to approximately equal widths, but for ordinary baskets this is not deemed necessary.

222 285 824 In case the pitigua root is not available, there are other parasitic plants which send aerial roots to the ground that may be used for temporary baskets.

Of the less durable and lighter materials used for making hamper-shape baskets, the most important is rampile, which comes from the bark of the petiole of a fan-leaf palm which produces thin strips from one-eighth to one-half inch in width and from three to twelve feet in length. In splitting off this bark, the circumference of the end of the stem is cut with a sharp instrument into as many segments as the desired width of the strips demands. Usually the strips on several stems are started at one time and then the bark of each is split off by pulling with the fingers one strip after another. In splitting the bark in this manner, a certain amount of the inner succulent fiber of the stem is taken with it. To remove this a number of strips, perhaps twenty, are grasped between the great and second toe in such manner that one end of the bunch of strips reaches almost to the body. Thus held, the strips are taken in turn and the succulent portions cut transversely at a point a couple of inches from the end. The strips are now taken rapidly one by one and the bark is peeled from the succulent fibers. It remains only to size the strips, that is, to bring them to an even width. This is done by splitting, since in this material, as in the pitigua, the fibers are long and straight, so that when once started they part evenly the full length of the strip. It is rarely necessary to do any special cutting and trimming to make these strips of proper widths.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The material of this class next in importance to the rampile is that obtained from the petiole of the hoja blanca, called by the Cayapa fī'ba hakī, signifying, as does the Spanish term, "white leaf." This plant has a long pinnate leaf somewhat similar to that of the banana, but with a long, round, slender, and fairly hard petiole. It derives its name from the fact that the under-surface of the leaf-blade has a thick coating of white bloom. The strips of this material used in basket-making are obtained from the petiole of the leaf in the same manner as are those of the rampile, except that before splitting off the bark it is scraped. This removes a thin, succulent outer coat of light-green, and leaves the inner creamy-white bark which is hard and tough, though very thin. This hoja blanca bark is used chiefly for making small hamper-shape baskets (figs. 15–17) used as receptacles for trinkets, though it is frequently employed in making fans, especially the finer ones. It is much less durable than is the rampile, and for that reason, as also on account of its thinness, it is not adapted to the manufacture of large hampers or of mats.

The blades of the leaves of hoja blanca find a variety of uses, chief among which is as a covering for cargoes of canoes to protect them against rain. The leaves are much tougher than are those of most plants of a similar kind in this region and shed water perfectly. They are used even for repairing leaks in house-thatch, though they are never employed for entirely thatching a permanent building.

Hoja blanca is the only basket material which is ever artificially colored. The strips are stained with red

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 386 achote, the plant which produces the red face-paint used by the Cayapa. This coloring matter is rubbed on the stem after it has been scraped down to the hard white layer of the bark and before the bark is stripped from the stem. The colored strips are used occasionally as a means of producing the geometric designs used in small hamper-shape baskets and in fans.

285 824 Three other plants with a habit of growth similar to that of the hoja blanca occasionally furnish materials for the hamper-shape baskets. They are the chocolatilla, called by the Cayapa tcōkōla'te, which yields a brown material; the hoja negra, called e'lūñ haki; and the crinande, called viñga'tci. The material in each of these plants comes from the petioles of the leaves. They are obtained and manipulated in the same manner as is that derived from the hoja blanca. None of the three, however, is ever colored.

285 482 [222] As above mentioned, the leaf of a large species of palm, called in Spanish chapil, is used on rare occasions for basket-making. Should a person be out hunting, or for any other reason be at a considerable distance from his house and unexpectedly find some fruit or other commodity which he cares to take home, he may, by securing a couple of the large leaves of the chapil, quickly fashion a temporary burden-basket, such as either of those shown in pl. XCII, 2, 5, in which to carry them. Such a basket is never kept for further use, for as soon as the leaves become dry they are very brittle and entirely worthless.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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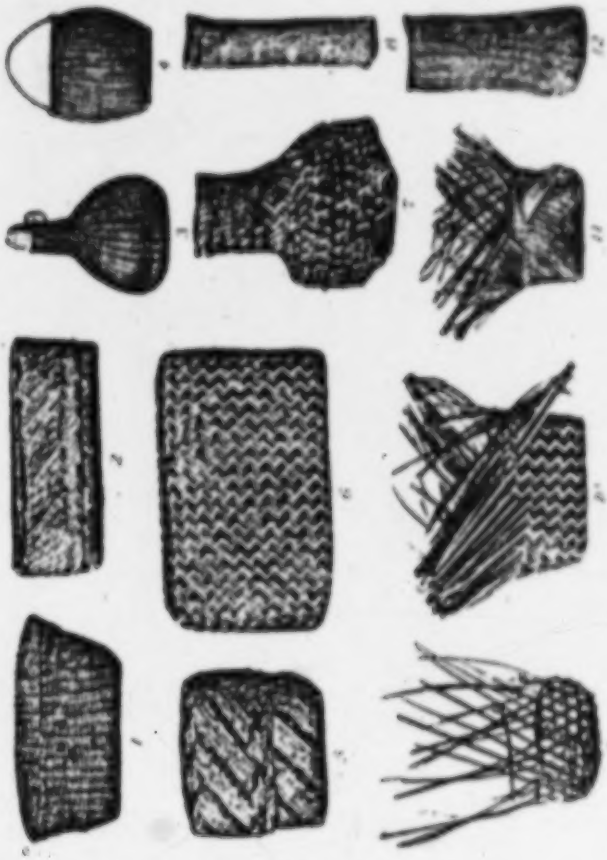

LIGHT BASKETS

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 190(N)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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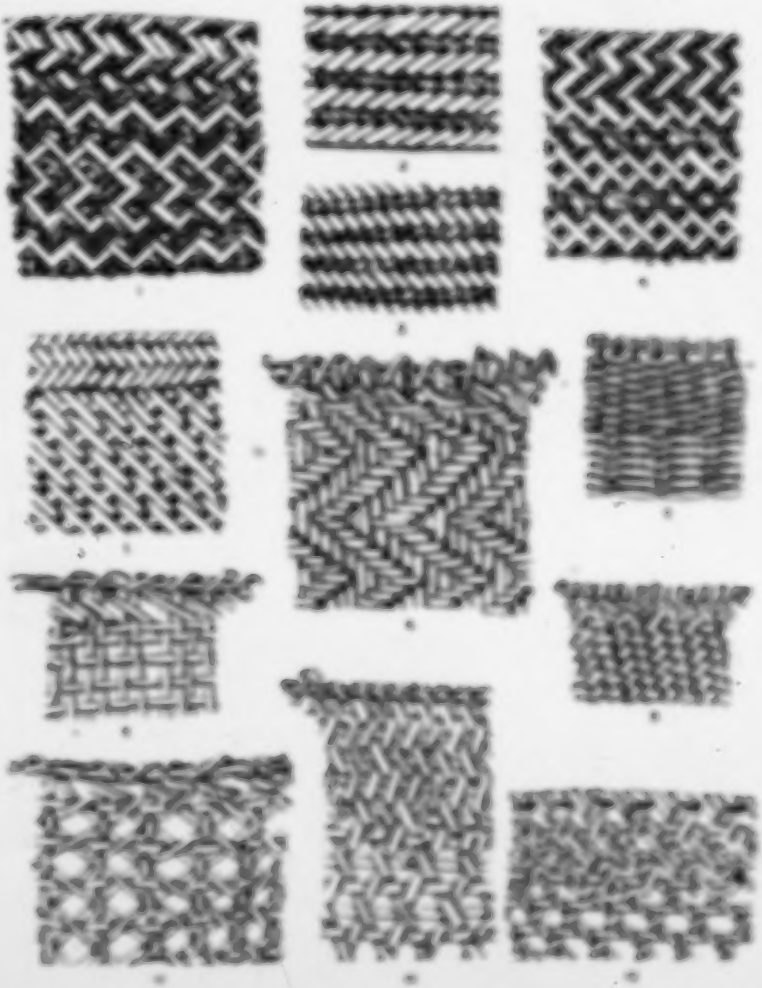

BASKETRY TECHNIQUE

[p. 190(a)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TECHNIC

From the standpoint of technic, Cayapa basketry may be divided into three general classes according to the number of elements used in the construction, as follows: 295

Two-element work:
Wickerwork—kitte'ka (pl. XCIII, 4, 7; XCIV, 1, 3, 4, 12; XCV, 7; XCV, 1, 2, 5).
Twilling—kapé'a, yé'i or ya'iyi (pl. XCIII, 1, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11; XCIV, 1–6; XCV, 3, 7).

Three-element work:
ka'pá (pl. XCIV, 6, 8, 12).
tcí'nde (pl. XCIV, 11; XCV, 4, 6, 10, 12–14).
dó (pl. XCV, 6, 10).

Four-element work:
ka'ndilao (pl. XCII, 3; XCIV, 10; XCV, 9, 11).

In addition to these technics, which may be considered the regular Cayapa basketry technics, there are two others used in the two types of palm-leaf basketry made by the Cayapa and illustrated in pl. XCIII, 2, 5. In the first instance the technic bears a resemblance to checkerwork, while in the second it is based on the same kind of manipulation which in cordage is known as the "half-hitch."

Neither twining nor coiling is used, and the same may almost be said of checkerwork, although there is one form of basket, the bottle-shape bait basket (pl. XCIII, 5), which has on its bottom a technic somewhat resembling checker (pl. XCV, 2). In this case several splints are used to form a wide unit element, and it cannot be strictly called checkerwork, but is rather wickerwork in which several splints instead of one are employed as a unit. In some specimens the resemblance to checker-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

work is still more apparent than in the one here referred to, because these composite, wide elements are made to pass under and over one another several times instead of only once. This process is never employed except at the starting point of this form of basket.

In detail the technics employed by the Cayapa in their basketry are as described below. Further, in addition to its use in basketry, twilling is employed in making mats and fans, and wicker is used in certain burden-bands and in fan-handles.

WICKERWORK

Wickerwork, the simplest of the two-element technics, consists of the passing of a single active or woof element over and under successive passive or warp elements. The Cayapa employ this technic almost solely in connection with the material derived from the aerial root called pitigua and for the making of five forms of basketry: a burden-basket, a shallow rectangular basket, a bottle-shape bait basket, a more or less globose basket used in carrying fruits and as a general household utensil, and a long tubular basket used especially as a receptacle for spindles. Examples of burden-baskets are shown in pl. XCII, 4, 7, while the other forms are illustrated respectively in pl. XCIII, 1, 3, 4, 12.

Ordinarily the Cayapa wickerwork is comparatively tightly woven, as is shown in illustrations referred to. There are, however, two special types of wicker basket which are open in their technic. Both are made for the purpose of allowing water to pass readily through them, being used especially as cages for live crayfish which are kept in the river until required for food.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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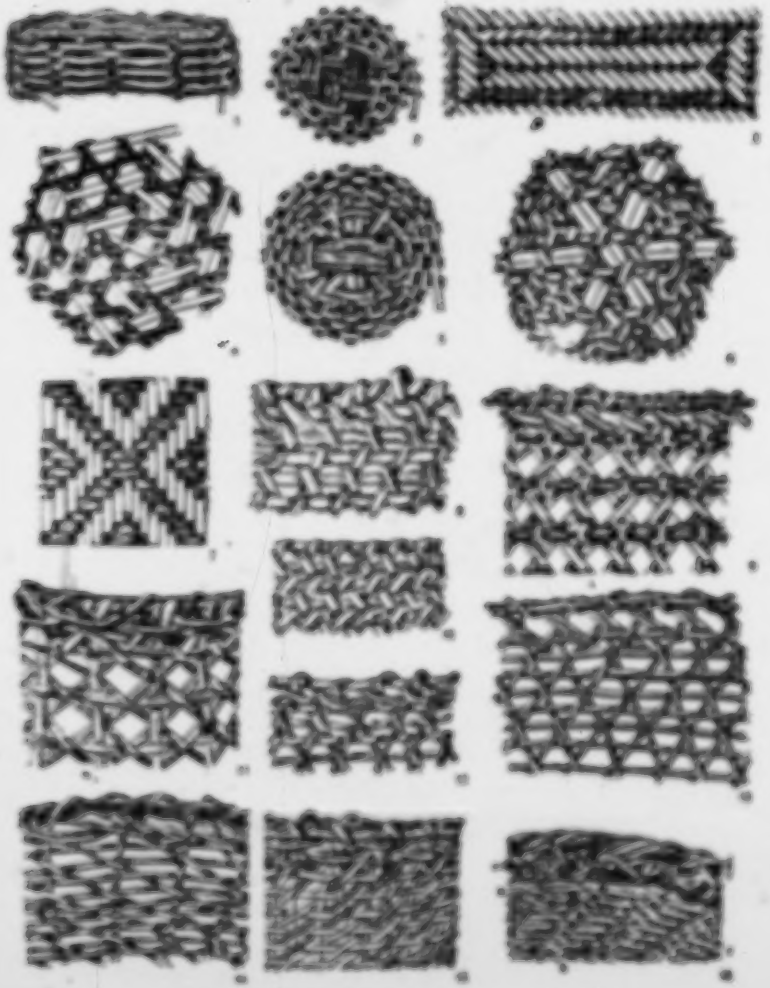

BASKETRY TECHNICS

[p.192 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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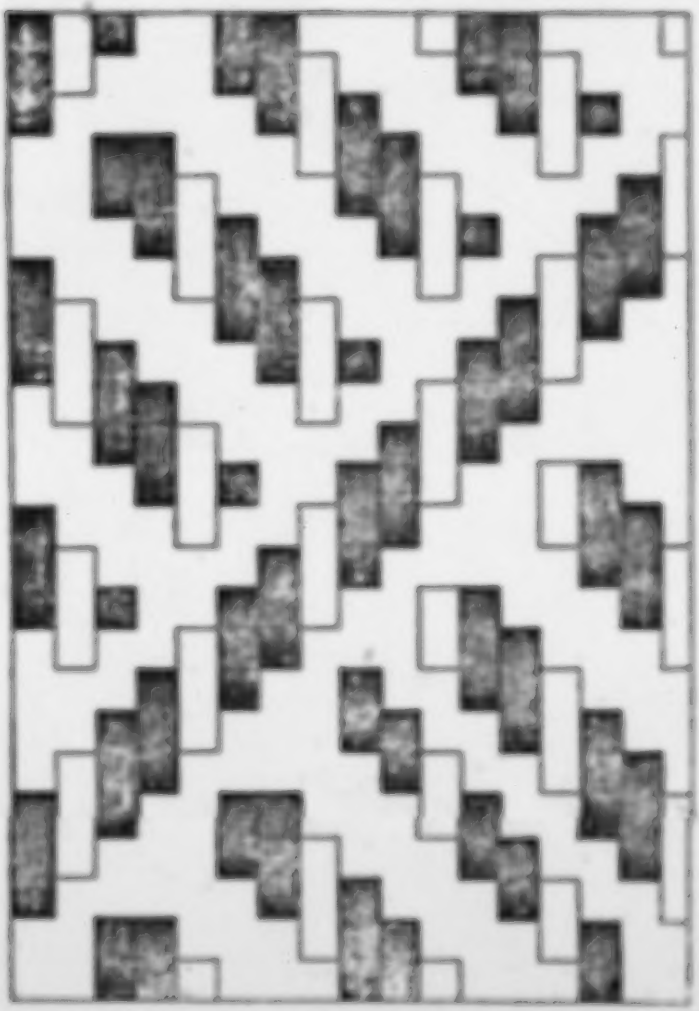

[Transparency overlay on p. 192(a)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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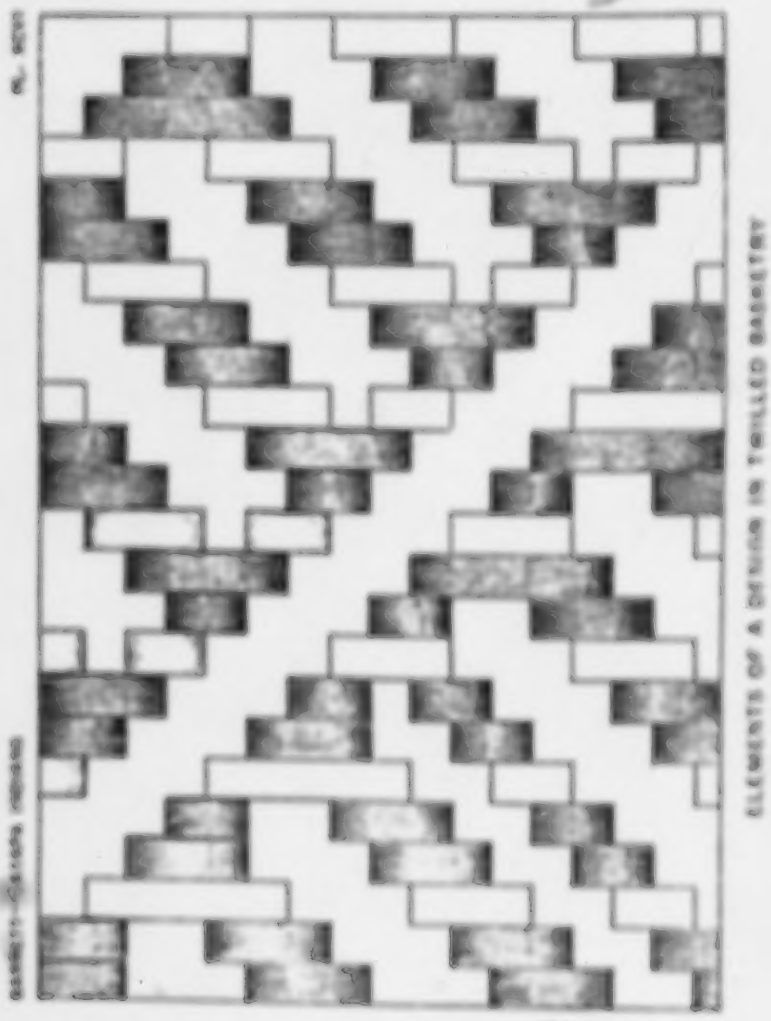

[p. 192 (R)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 thus kept in the river until required for food. Both of these open types are similar in form to that shown in pl. XCIII, 4, and one of them has tightly woven sides identical to those of the basket shown in this figure, but has what may be termed an open-work wicker bottom. The other has open-work sides as well as bottom. A portion of one of these sides near its upper edge is shown in pl. XCIV, 8. This openness is produced by the simple device of spreading the elements apart so as to leave openings or meshes of the desired dimensions. In the one with the open-work flat bottom only, these openings or meshes are produced by the omission from this portion of the basket of the long, continuous active element which goes back and forth in the ordinary tightly woven wicker basket alternating with the shorter active elements which are later turned up to form the sides of the basket.

The rectangular bottom of the tightly woven wicker basket deserves special attention on account of the particular technic involved. In making such a rectangular base, the details of which are shown in pl. XCV, 1, several parallel splints are first laid down to form the warp elements. One end of a very long woof element is next passed over and under alternate ones of these. A second and very much shorter woof splint is next placed parallel to the first and is so inserted as to pass over and under the warp splints in an order the reverse of that of the first woof splint. The point at which this second woof splint crosses the last of the warp elements at one edge forms the turning point for the first woof splint. This is turned directly back in a kind of loop and is passed parallel to itself but in the opposite direction, and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 over and under the elements of the warp. It crosses these in the same order which it first took and in the reverse order to that in which the second woof element crossed them. Thus, up to this point, the original set of parallel warp elements has been crossed three times, twice by this long, continuous element, and once by an ordinary, short woof element which later turns up at its two ends to form part of the sides of the basket. This long, continuous woof element having now reached the side of the basket from which it started, a second short element is inserted. This element, which makes the fourth woof to cross the warp elements, is manipulated in exactly the same manner as was the second. The long, continuous woof element again reverses its direction by means of a turn about the end of the second short element just mentioned and passes back, in the same manner as before, in and out among the warp elements and, reaching the opposite side of the set, again reverses its direction and again passes back to the opposite side of the basket, there being of course previously inserted a third short woof element. Thus, by means of this long, continuous splint which passes back and forth in serpentine fashion across the bottom of the basket in such manner as to include between the sides of each loop an ordinary short woof element which later turns up to form the sides of the basket, a rectangular bottom is produced. The lengths of the sides of this rectangle are governed by the size of the basket desired, but in every case the rectangle is longest in the direction in which the continuous woof splint is running.

By the nature of this technic the spacing of the warp

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

elements on a long side of the basket is much wider than that on a short side or end, and it would appear that in this fact lies perhaps an explanation for the use of the long, continuous, serpentine woof element. If all the woof elements were short ones whose ends turned up to form warp elements at the ends of the basket, the number of these warp elements would be far too great for practical use. By the insertion, on the other hand, of this continuous woof element, the number of these warp elements is reduced by half and the spaces between adjacent warp elements increased sufficiently to permit the woof elements on the sides of the basket to pass in and out among them with ease. As it is, the warp elements on the ends of the basket are considerably closer together than are those on the sides, so that the number of these elements at each end of the basket is somewhat greater than that at each side, although the sides are considerably longer than the ends. 285

In all baskets made in this technic, except the one with the open-work sides as well as bottom, the borders are finished by a simple looping over of the warp elements, as shown in pl. XCIV, 7. The method of manufacture of a Cayapa wicker burden-basket, and especially the method of finishing the border, is shown in pl. XCII, 4. Such a basket is made over another burden-basket as a foundation and to give it its correct size and form. As the basket nears completion, each warp element, which until now has projected upward, is bent over, sometimes inward and sometimes outward, and brought down along itself and caught by the woof elements as they pass in and out among the warp. This produces a series of large

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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285 loops which project upward and replace the simple warp elements. These loops now become the warp elements, and each is used as a unit in the weaving which proceeds as before until the extreme edge is reached. Here from one to three rounds of pitigua, usually unsplit, are passed through the loops themselves and around the whole opening of the basket. The loops up to this point are quite large and project loosely above the woven portion of the basket, as shown in pl. XCII, 4. Also the extreme ends of the splints project downward at the sides of the basket. Now, by pulling these projecting ends downward, the slack in the loops is removed and the inserted pitigua drawn firmly down upon the edge of the woven portion of the basket, thus producing a smooth and even edge or border. Nothing remains, then, to complete the basket except to cut off the loose ends of the warp elements which project from the sides of the basket. The length along which each of these warp elements is returned down through the side of the basket to make this binding varies greatly and may be as great as half the height of the basket, as is the case in the large burden-basket shown in pl. XCII, 7. On the other hand, it is rarely less than equal to the width of eight or ten of the woof elements, thus in any case giving a good firm border.

The only other type of border found in wicker basketry is that shown in pl. XCIV, 8, which was found in only one instance—a very open-meshed basket made of pambile. In this type the projecting warp elements are taken in pairs and each pair is bent inward over a transverse splint placed along the inside, then passed diagonally

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

downward, then outward to a position in front of the next pair of warp elements, and finally inward and behind the next pair of these elements. Along the outer surface and directly opposite the above-mentioned horizontal splint, another is passed, and these two are secured by two splints passing spirally and in the same direction along the entire border in such manner as to fasten firmly the pairs of turned-down warp elements. 285 •

As above mentioned, the wicker technic finds slight use outside of basketry. It is employed in weaving the broad head-bands of the burden-straps which are made of pitigua or of the fibers from the leaf of the palma real, and occasionally in weaving the outer surface of the handle of a fan. In the use first mentioned the elements employed are fairly broad strips of pitigua, as shown in pl. CIII, 1. In the second, the warp elements are made by placing from four to six of the small cylindrical palma-real fibers side by side to form a broad and fairly rigid element. The woof element consists sometimes of but a single palma-real fiber, but usually of two placed side by side as shown in pl. CIII, 3. Occasionally more than two of these fibers are used in such a woof element. The surfaces of fan handles are almost always made, like the blades, in twilled technic, but occasionally one is found which is in wicker, as in the example shown in pl. CIII, 5. 285 293 [982]

TWILLING

The second technic consisting of two elements is twilling. This is employed in the making of hamper-shape baskets (pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 6, 10, 11) long, tubular 285 415

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

baskets (pl. XCIII, 8), used as receptacles for spindles; mats (pl. CVI, 1, 2); fans (pl. CIV); and rings used as rests for calabashes (fig. 13). In all of these the material used is the bark of the fan-leaf palm, locally called pambil. But one type of basket has been encountered in which this technic is found in combination with another material: this is a square-bottomed, cylindrical basket similar in form to that shown in pl. XCII, 3, and is made of pitigua. A section of the side and border of this basket is shown in pl. XCIV, 6.

The manipulation of the elements in twilling varies considerably in Cayapa basketry. There are three fundamental methods of handling these elements, as follows: (1) A method by which one element passes over two and under two of the elements which run in the opposite direction (pl. XCIV, 3); (2) a method by which it passes in a similar manner over three and under three (pl. XCIII, 6, 10); (3) a method in which an element passes over seven and under one (pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 8, 11; and pl. XCIV, 5). The last form is said to have been introduced among the Cayapa by the Indians of Colombia, and in substantiation of this it may be noted that the few Cholo who now live on the Rio Cayapas use this form of twilling extensively. The two simpler forms of twilling, so far as could be ascertained, have been long in use among the Cayapa.

In case no design is attempted, as in the basket shown in pl. XCIII, 11, or a simple design be desired, as in the baskets shown in the same plate, 6, 10, and pl. XCIV, 2, 3, these fundamental methods of handling the elements are not varied throughout the basket. If, on the other

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

hand, comparatively intricate patterns are attempted, these methods of handling the elements may vary greatly and appear to be governed solely by the desire of the maker to produce such combinations as will bring to the surface elements of the desired colors in the necessary sequences.

In pl. XCIV, 1, 4, are shown instances of changes of manipulation obviously for decorative purposes. In fig. 4 of this plate the pattern consists of a horizontal row of dots followed by a row of squares joining at opposite corners in such manner as to resemble a section of an old-fashioned lattice; this is followed in turn by another row of dots and another row of squares. This pattern exists in the dark-colored elements as well as in the white ones, and the order of the appearance of a white or a dark element upon the surface is the same for the same direction—that is to say, whether both the elements under consideration run obliquely from right to left or vice versa. The order for those running downward from right to left is thus the direct complement of the order of those running from left to right. In the first case it is over one, under one, over two, under four, once repeated. This cycle completes two rows each of the dots and connected squares, which may be considered a full set of the elements of this pattern. When the elements are taken downward from left to right, the order is: over one, under one, over four, under two.

In the basket shown in pl. XCIV, 1, the manipulation of the elements is even more complex, owing to the fact that the design is much more complicated. In every case the particular pattern employed calls for regular

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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numerical cycles of its own in the manipulation of the splints. In the design shown in the illustration referred to, the cycles produced by this fairly intricate pattern are exhibited in the accompanying pl. XCVI. In the first of these the cycle is that which results from following the splints downward from right to left, while the second is the result of following them downward from left to right.

[445]

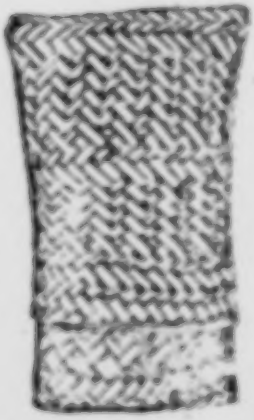

FIG. 17.—Twilled trinket basket

FIG. 18.—Twilled trinket basket

Taken separately, these two show fairly similar and very simple patterns. If, however, they are superposed, the points marked being taken as initial points, the intricate pattern in white shown in pl. XCIV. 1, results. From these cases and others similarly analyzed it is therefore evident that the exact mode of manipulation of the splints in all Cayapa twilling in which any intricate

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

pattern is attempted is governed entirely by the pattern desired, and that any numerical cycle will be employed which will bring to the surface the elements required to produce the desired pattern. 285 531

In connection with the change of sequence of the elements in working out an elaborate design, the technical processes involved in changing the direction of a line in a simple design, such as a zigzag, should also be noted. By the very nature of this technic the angle formed in changing the direction of a line is a right angle, as may be seen in pl. XCIV, 6. The change in direction is accomplished by shifting, after the vertex of the angle is past, the point of emergence of each successive horizontal element one vertical element to the right or to the left as the case may be. In this way each of the horizontal elements continues to pass over the regular number of vertical elements as the outer surface of the basket is viewed. The same is not true of the vertical elements however. Immediately in the angle the vertical elements are so crossed by the horizontal ones that only one width appears in the case of the first element, three in the next, and five in the third, after which the two divergent lines of vertical elements run regularly over three and under three. The procedure in the over-two and under-two twilling is the same except that the odd [415]

FIG. 17.—Twilled trinket basket

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[5:2]
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numbers of elements required to change the direction of the line are one and three instead of one, three, and five.

The details of twilled basketry making are well exemplified in the case of the hamper-shape basket which is such a characteristic form among the Cayapa.

In beginning a basket of this hamper form the two sets of elements are laid down at a right angle one to the other upon a level surface, usually a piece of bark cloth spread upon the floor or upon the lap of the weaver. They are first laid with their dark sides uppermost and are crossed in the regular manner as later on in the weaving. Along this initial line the weaver may cause any given element to pass over three of the elements running at right angles to it, and this is frequently done. As frequently, however, such an element passes over one only of the elements that pass in the opposite direction, and the element thus passed over emerges from beneath and in its turn passes over the next element which is laid parallel to the one above mentioned. Thus along the middle line, that is, the starting line, of one of these baskets, there may be a single row in which the elements passing in one direction go over only one of the elements passing in the opposite direction. Beyond this point they pass in the prescribed manner over three and under three, or, in the rare instances in which this is used, over two and under two.

These methods of beginning the base of such a basket are also invariably employed in those baskets in which the sides are made in the more elaborate over-seven
285 and under-one technic above referred to. No instance
171 was observed where this more elaborate technic had been

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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[171]

employed upon the bottom of a basket, not even among the Cholo.

Having first laid down the elements to be used in forming the bottom of this basket, and having manipulated and crossed them properly for perhaps a couple of rows on each side of the middle line, the whole is carefully inspected and the desired design decided on. If it is determined to make a basket in which one set of the elements shall have its dark surface uppermost while the other has its light surface turned up, the elements already laid down are pulled far enough apart to permit the turning over of the one set in order to bring the light surface into view. Frequently baskets are made in which all the elements used have the same surface exposed, for it is feasible to work out a design in case both sets have the same surface uppermost. In such case the design is given purely by the technic itself; and by changing the direction of the twilling, effective results are obtained.

Having, then, determined on the pattern, and the elements having been properly arranged, the twilling proceeds with the adding of more elements as required according as the size of the bottom increases, until the proper dimensions are reached. This results finally in a quadrangular twilled area of the size needed for the bottom or for the top of the hamper, and with a great number of ends of elements, approximately equal in length, projecting from the sides. From this point on no more elements are added, the elements having been properly selected with respect to length, so that these ends are quite sufficient to complete the sides of the basket. Or-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 dinarily two of these bases are completed before the sides of either are turned up. They are then carefully measured one to the other, since one must be a trifle larger than the other, as one becomes the upper half or cover of the hamper while the other becomes the lower half or body, and they must fit with fair exactness. At this point a string, a small piece of pitigua, or a small strip of the rampile basket material itself is passed round this quadrangular base and looped under one element at each corner, thus marking exactly the lines along which the sides and ends are to be bent up and especially the points at which the corners are to be made. After gently bending up to a vertical position the untwilled elements along the lines marked out by this string, the twilling then proceeds as in the usual manner and with whatsoever variations of design or technic may be desired until the edge of the basket is reached.

Having arrived at the edge, a piece of pita cord long enough to pass round the basket is placed in along the line upon which the elements are bent over to form the border and serves as a kind of adjustable "draw-string" which may be pulled tight or left loose as necessity demands. Without this, the edge, and later the body of the basket, would gradually work loose and become ragged, but with the draw-string it is not only possible to keep the basket intact, but also to adjust the size of its opening to that of the other half of the hamper.

As is shown in pl. XCIII, 10, 11, on completing the basket to this point there still remain the projecting ends of the two sets of elements, one set outside, the other inside the basket at its edge. These are now employed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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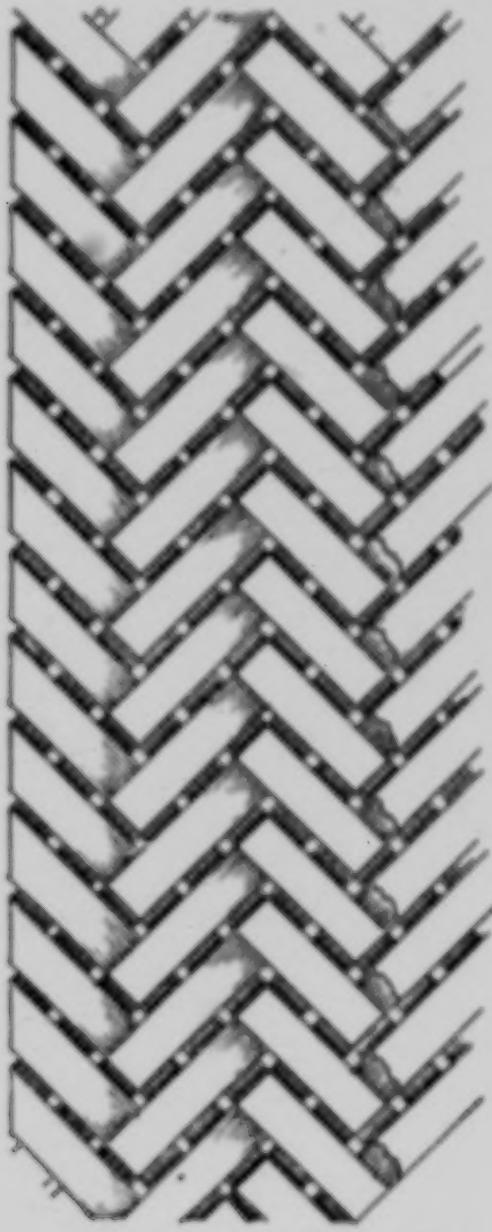

BORDER FINISH OF A TWILLED BASKET

[p. 204 (1)]

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

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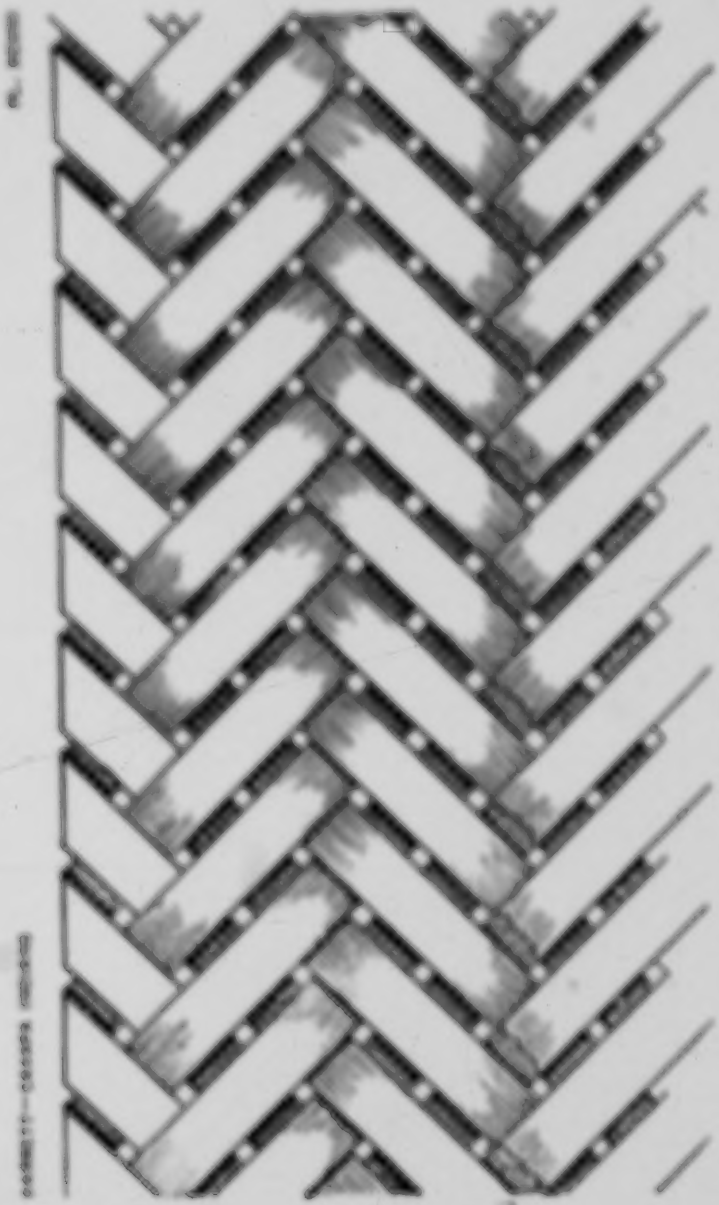

[p. 204 (a)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

in binding the edge of the basket, which is accomplished by either one of two general methods. In the most commonly employed of these the outer set of projecting ends only is used, the inner splints being cut off flush with the inner surface of the basket. In this method of binding there are three variations, as shown in pls. XCVII-XCIX. The essential features of these are the same, and involve first the turning over of each projecting splint at an angle of ninety degrees to its former course, and then passing it back down the outer surface of the basket in such manner as to bind its end securely. The most frequent procedure is to turn such a splint inward and to pass it first behind two, next in front of three, and finally behind three transverse elements on the outer surface of the basket (pl. XCVII). At its emergence at this last point it is cut off evenly with the surface of the basket. In the other two variations of this method, such an element passes behind one, in front of three, and behind three (pl. XCVIII), or behind one, in front of two, and behind two elements (pl. XCIX).

In each of the above instances there still remains upon the inner surface of the basket and projecting from about the border, the other set, or half the total number of elements employed in weaving the basket. These are simply cut off flush with the last transverse elements from under which they emerge, thus leaving this inner surface smooth. There remains then only the adjustment of the size of the opening of this half of the hamper. This is done, as before stated, with the "draw-string," which is then tied securely and holds the opening to its proper size, although it may later require adjustment, as the string stretches and the opening changes.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

285 The second method of finishing the border involves turning both the outer and the inner sets of elements inward and passing them down the inside of the basket instead of turning the outer set only inward and passing its elements down the outer surface as just described. As these elements turn inward and downward, each takes a direction at a right angle to its former course. They are at the same time twilled together for either one or three rows down along the inner surface, thus producing at the edge two thicknesses of twilling. The ends of the inner set of elements are then cut off, while those of the outer set are simply passed down over several (in the cases in hand the number is five, seven, or nine) of the transverse elements of the regular wall of the basket and each is then securely fastened by being passed behind three transverse elements in the wall of the basket itself. On emerging from behind these, such an end is cut off flush with the surface. The inner surface of such a border is shown in pl. c.

The same "draw-string" as that used in the above-described types of border is required for this one, although this finish produces a much smoother and thicker border than the others, since there is here a double wall of twilling.

The foundations or starting points and borders of twilled baskets of forms other than the hamper are the same in principle as those employed in the hamper-shape baskets, the only variations being those which arise from the form of the basket.

The border shown in pl. XCIV, *f*, is a notable exception, just as this basket itself is notably different in form and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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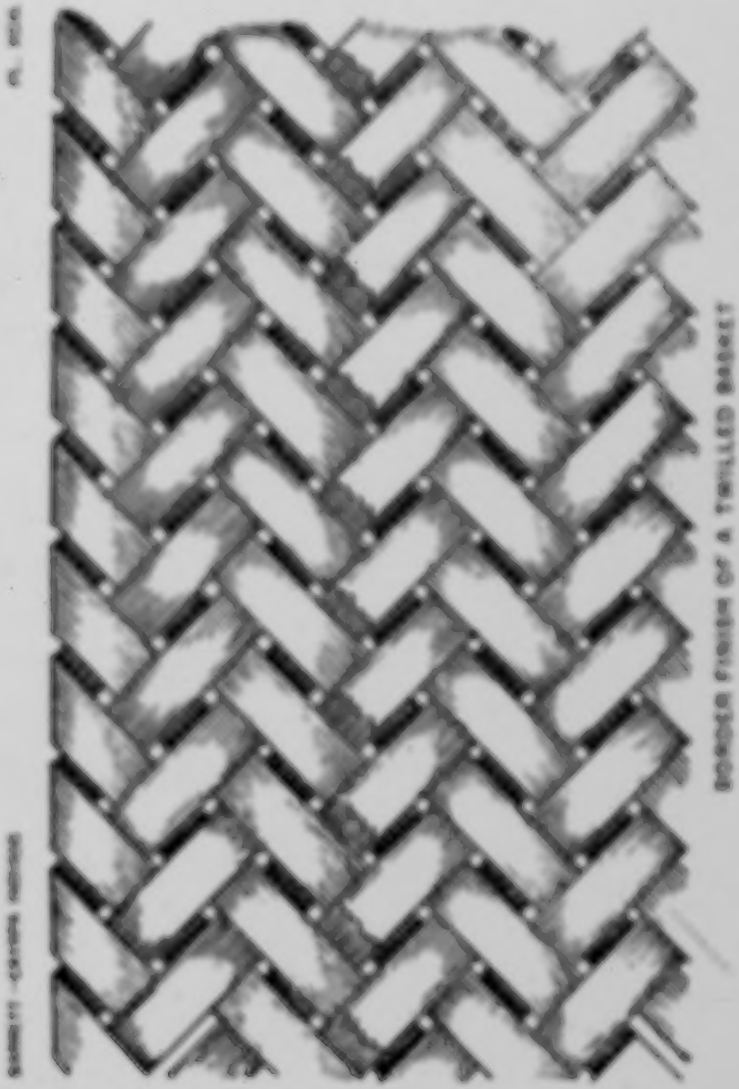

BORDER FINISH OF A TWILLED BASKET

[p. 206 (A)]

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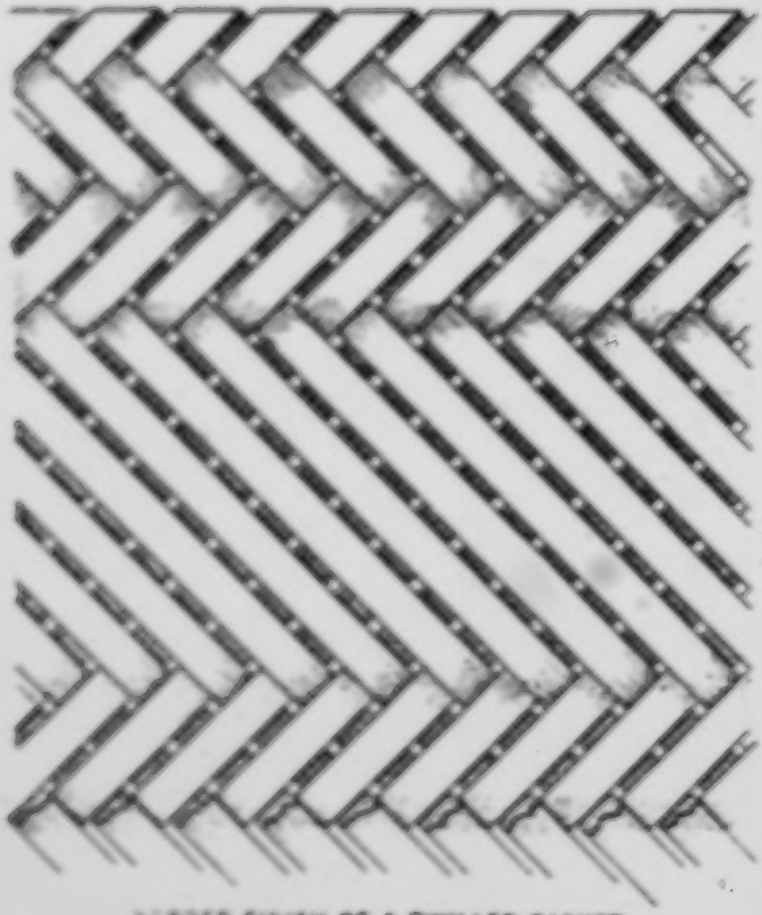

BORDER FINISH OF A TWILLED BASKET

[p. 206(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

material, as has been previously pointed out, from those of this technic. The border in this case is essentially the same as that shown in fig. 8 of the same plate, which has been described in detail in speaking of the borders of wicker baskets. It differs only in that the ends of the twilling elements are turned over in groups of three instead of in pairs, in that one horizontal element is run around on the inner instead of the outer surface, and in that the two spiral binding elements pass in opposite directions instead of in the same direction, thus causing them to cross instead of to parallel each other. 285.

KA'PŪ TECHNIC

Of the three technics in which elements passing in three different directions are employed, the simplest is that called by the Cayapa ka'pū, from kapū'ka, signifying eye, this name being derived from the hexagonal opening produced by the technic, which the Indians conceive to resemble an eye. It will perhaps facilitate the description of this technic to letter, in the accompanying illustrations, the elements used therein and the figures and angles which these produce. [531]

Three pairs of elements are required to produce a single unit of this technic, the elements of each pair passing in their particular direction and standing in certain given relations to the remaining elements in the set. Thus, in fig. 18 the two elements A and A′ pass obliquely upward toward the right, and B and B′ pass obliquely upward toward the left, while C and C′ pass horizontally. The exact relation in which any one of these elements stands

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

295 to any other element is shown by this figure and need not be described in detail here. It should be noted, however, that it is by means of the third pair of these elements that the other two pairs are bound. If taken alone, any two pairs of these elements are found simply to pass over each other, while the elements of the third pair pass through the angles formed by the intersections of the elements of the other pairs and thus bind the whole figure firmly together. This holds good in every instance, no matter in what order the pairs of elements are considered. The details of this technic are well illustrated in the baskets shown in pl. XCII, 8, and XCIII, 9. An examination of these will show that the above statements concerning the relations of these pairs of elements one to another in a unit figure holds true for the entire basket, and that if one element, A, passing in a given direction stands in a certain definite relation to another element, B, passing in another direction, then all the elements which are parallel to A stand in the same relation to all elements running parallel to B.

531 The result of the crossing of these six elements is two 295 equilateral triangles, X Y Z and X′ Y′ Z′, superposed in such manner as to produce a six-pointed star as shown in fig. 19. The central opening in this figure is a hexagon, *a b c d e f*, and it is this opening which characterizes the technic and gives the basket the name of ka′pū pickalyi, or eye-basket.

295 In beginning the manufacture of a basket of this technic no special knot or other device is used. Six elements are so laid on a convenient flat surface as to produce the first or central "eye," which may be con-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

sidered as the initial six-sided figure about which the rest of the bottom is constructed. These elements first laid down must stand in the relations one to another that are above described. From this point on, the formation of the bottom of the basket is a simple process, consisting of adding the necessary elements in the proper order and along lines parallel to those of the original six elements above mentioned. This process of adding on all six sides of the original opening continues until a hexagonal bottom of the desired dimensions and proportions is produced. The size of such a bottom is obviously governed by the size of the basket desired. In form these bottoms are usually equilateral except in the case of the particular type of burden-basket shown in pl. XCII, 6, in which the bottom is about twice as long as it is wide.

From this woven bottom a large number of radial elements extend out on its six sides in as many groups, each group composed of parallel elements. Obviously the angle between any two of these groups occurs at one of the corners of the hexagonal woven area and is an angle of approximately one hundred and twenty degrees.

At this point in the process of weaving these radial elements are turned abruptly up to form the vertical sides of the basket. Theoretically the individual elements themselves might be brought up in a perpendicular position, or at almost any desired angle to the perpendicular, so long as the result as a whole is a vertical wall, but in practice the same technic is maintained in these sides as is used in the bottom. In order to produce this, each element is turned up in such manner that it slants along this wall of the basket at an angle of about thirty

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 degrees to the perpendicular, one set of elements slanting toward the right while the adjacent set slants toward the left, the inner angle formed by any intersection being therefore one of sixty degrees. As a matter of fact the exact slant of these elements varies considerably, and

FIG. 18.—A unit of basket technic, showing relations of the three pairs of parallel elements

the angles made by their intersections vary accordingly, so that the resultant figures have a variety of shapes, although all approach more or less the true hexagon as shown in the schematic figs. 18 and 19.

However, if only the elements used to form the bottom were employed in making these sides, there would be but

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the two sets of elements crossing obliquely and a four-sided opening or mesh would result. As has been shown, however, in this technic elements passing in a third direction are required, and it is therefore necessary to bring two new horizontal elements into combination with each set of two pairs of the diagonal elements above mentioned which go to produce the four slanting sides of the hexa-

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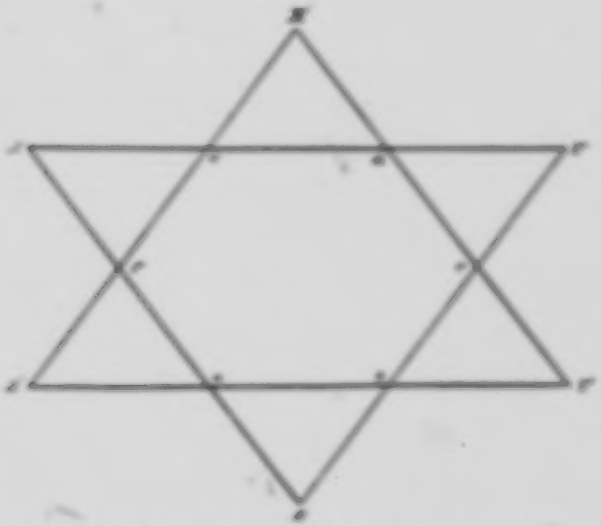

FIG. 18.—Component parts of a unit of ka'pil technic

gon, as shown in fig. 18. These two horizontal elements cut off the top and bottom of the quadrilateral opening which would be produced by the simple crossing of the elements brought up from the bottom of the basket alone. They are produced by inserting another splint in such manner that it passes horizontally in a clockwise direction and forms a continuous spiral, passing up the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 side of the basket and cutting through the lowest and the uppermost angles respectively of the quadrilateral figures formed by the intersection of the four diagonal elements which came from the bottom of the basket. This produces two more sides and two more angles, and the result is that all the openings in the sides as well as on the bottom of the basket are hexagonal in form. As a rule a very long piece of material is used as this horizontal splint, but whether long or short it may be made a continuous spiral throughout the whole side of the basket by inserting a new splint when the end of the one in use is reached. This is done by overlapping the two splints for an inch or two and in this way giving the effect of continuity. Thus the sides and the bottom of such a basket are built up in exactly the same manner, except that, owing to the ever-increasing diameter of the bottom, it is necessary to add a new splint each time another horizontal element is required, instead of using a continuous splint which passes spirally about the basket as is done in the above-described method of treatment of the side.

In the closely allied technic called tci'nde the prevalent method of inserting these horizontal elements is by putting in a separate splint for each horizontal element in the basket. In this case each splint makes simply one complete circle about the basket and has no connection whatever with any of the other horizontal elements. So far no instance of this treatment of these horizontal elements in the ka'pū technic has been encountered. It is quite possible, however, that a larger series of these baskets might show some cases of this,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

just as one exception to the usual clockwise direction of the long continuous spiral element has been encountered. 285

There is one notable exception to this shape of opening or mesh. At the six corners of the bottom of the basket the openings are pentagonal instead of hexagonal. This is due to the fact that no horizontal element passes through the opening at its lowest inner angel (angle

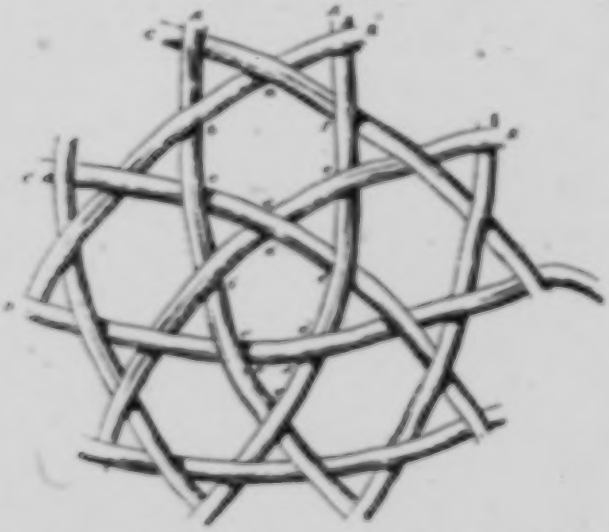

FIG. 20.—Pentagonal opening at one corner of the bottom of a basket of ka'pū technic

c' a' b', fig. 20). A horizontal element, D, cuts across the opening at its topmost angle (angle x y z) and thus adds to the figure formed by the regular oblique elements, A, A′, B′ and C′, only one more side instead of adding two sides as is done when two horizontal elements are used in the regular way.

The reason for the absence of this second horizontal

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

285 element in this opening is that the element c', which was the upper horizontal element used in the preceding mesh, *a b c d e f*, now changes its course as it turns upward to enter the side of the basket and becomes one of the diagonal elements. At this transition point between the bottom and the side this element c' really occupies the same position and stands in the same relation to the remaining elements at this point as does the regular lower horizontal element in any other mesh. If a lower horizontal element were really to be inserted at this point, it would necessarily cut across the present angle *c' a' b'* and would stand in the same relation to the other elements it would cross that the element C now occupies in crossing A' and B to form the two angles *f a b* and *e f a*. As a matter of fact, however, c' now occupies exactly this position, so that no extra element could be inserted at this point.

It is an interesting fact that, when the horizontal element which runs as a spiral about the basket is added, it is not simply inserted at the point where it becomes active as a horizontal element, which is always at one of the points of the hexagon which constitutes the bottom of the basket, but the initial end of the element passes back diagonally up the side and serves as a diagonal element the same as if it were one of those originally used as part of the bottom.

Furthermore, it should be noted that in all the cases at hand, except one, the spiral so produced progresses in a clockwise direction as the exterior surface of the basket is viewed. This is in accord with the observed tendency of Cayapa weavers in general to proceed in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

their work toward the right, so that the isolated instance in which the spiral progresses in a contra-clockwise direction is quite striking. 285

The regular process of weaving, as above described, continues until the border of the basket is reached, where any one of several methods may be brought into play in finishing the border. The one most usually employed is that of bending toward the right, at the border, each pair of diagonal elements at their last point of intersection at the very edge of the opening, passing these inward and downward behind a single strip of pitigua, and then out upon the outer surface of the basket. They then pass more or less obliquely across the adjacent pair of intersecting splints, and finally back onto the inner surface of the basket, and either simply behind the next pair of intersecting splints or behind these and then outward through the mesh next below. There is almost invariably employed a spiral wrapping about this border, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in both, which latter method makes two crossing spirals. As this wrapping of the edge is done, there is ordinarily placed along the outside of the basket, at its edge, an extra splint which is included in the wrapping, thus giving greater strength and greater rigidity to the basket. Now and then one of these extra splints is added on the inside as well. Furthermore, occasionally a basket is found in which the loose ends of the diagonal elements are simply bent over and laid horizontally along the edge and are included within the spiral wrapping.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

285 In burden-baskets of the type shown in pl. xcii, 8, and occasionally in other forms also, there occurs a very simple type of border finish, in which the ends of the diagonal elements are merely turned downward over the last horizontal element and made to pass along parallel to one of the regular diagonal elements forming the side. Such a border is shown in pl. xcrv, 12. In this particular case these returning diagonal elements pass upon the side of the horizontal elements opposite from those occupied by the corresponding original diagonal elements. Also they pass through the wall of the basket out in the hexagonal opening at any given point. As shown in pl. c1, such a returning element often takes exactly the same course as that of the corresponding original diagonal element, and it frequently passes through one of the very small triangles formed by the technic instead of through the hexagon. In fact it is sometimes superposed upon this original diagonal element to a certain extent. Further, this figure shows an interesting feature in that the wrapping of the border is continued down into the side along one diagonal line, while one of the ends of an original diagonal element is bent back on itself and passed back down into the side of the basket as a similar wrapping.

This ka'pû technic is perhaps more frequently applied than any of the others employed by the Cayapa in basketry. It is, however, confined entirely to basketry, and for this reason should be considered as ranking next to twilling, which is used in making mats and fans as well as basketry.

BORDER FINISH SHOWING RETURN OF DIAGONAL ELEMENTS AND WRAPPING

[P.216(a)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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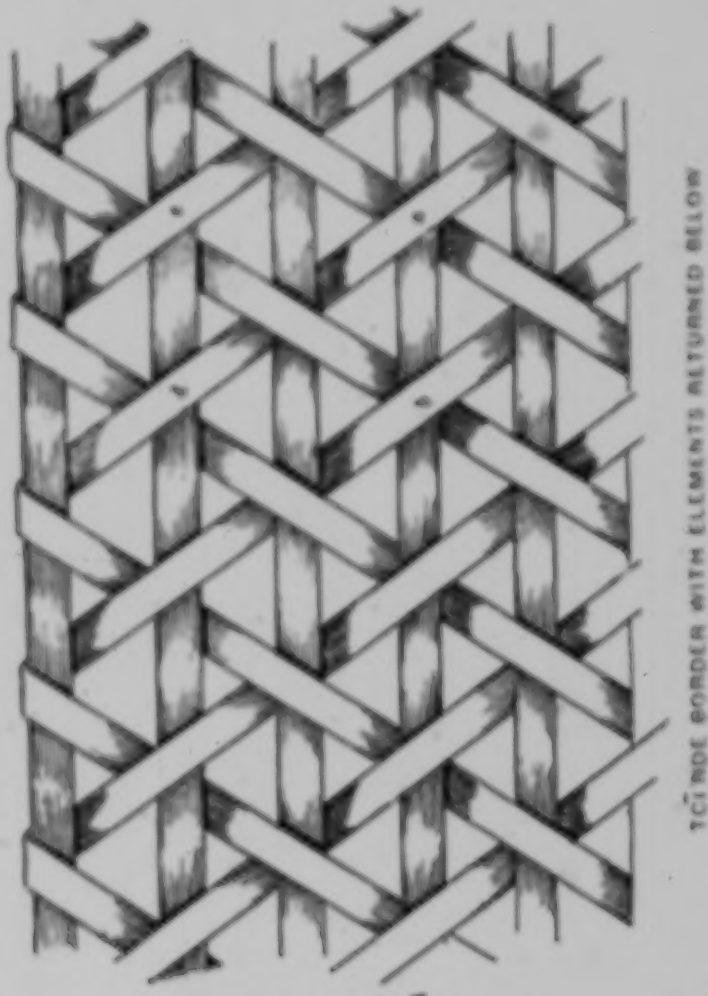

TCĪ ROE BORDER WITH ELEMENTS RETURNED BELOW

[p. 216 (8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

TCI'NDE TECHNIC

The second of the technics in which elements passing in three directions are used is that called by the Cayapa tci'nde, a name for which no translation could be obtained. The details of this technic are shown in pl. XCIV, 11, and pl. XCV, 4, 8, 10, 11. In pl. XCII, 1, is shown a typical basket of this technic. This, however, is one in which the diagonal elements of the sides are returned downward and produce a complicated form of the technic. 285.

In detail the tci'nde technic is identical with the ka'pū technic, except that there is added another horizontal element which bisects the hexagonal opening of the ka'pū and gives two trapezoidal openings (fig. 21). This is done by passing a splint horizontally through the angles at *e* and *f* (fig. 19) in such manner that it passes between the two diagonal elements which cross each other to form the angle of the hexagon at each of these points. The new horizontal element passes, therefore, under B and B' and over A and A' (fig. 18). This is the simple course of such a third horizontal element in its relation to a single one of the hexagonal openings of the ka'pū technic. Its course throughout a series of these openings on the side of the basket is the same as that outlined for a single opening, so that this third horizontal element passes continuously in this manner from one opening to the next throughout the whole series in the sides of a basket.

Such is not the case, however, on the bottom of the basket, where a special manipulation is employed, as is

3; Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

285 shown in pl. xcv, 4. Beginning with the hexagonal opening which forms the center of the bottom of the basket, the end of this third horizontal element is passed through the opposite angles at *e* and *f* of the hexagon (fig. 19), thus cutting this initial hexagon into two fairly exact trapezoids. In the instance shown in pl. xcv,

FIG. 21.—Detail of tul'ede technic

4, this initial insertion is so made that the horizontal element does not pass directly across the hexagon, thus forming two exact trapezoids, but in the majority of instances these figures are of fairly exact form. This element, after passing between the two diagonal elements which cross at *f*, extends on into the next hexagonal opening toward the left as the bottom of the basket is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

viewed. At this point the fundamental difference between the treatment of this third horizontal element on the bottom of the basket and that which it receives on the sides, begins to manifest itself. If this element on the bottom followed exactly the course which it does on the side of the basket, it would obviously go directly out in a straight radial line from the center of the bottom. Instead it folds under in such manner as to change its direction sufficiently to enable it to take a course toward the second intersection of elements forming the hexagon from that through which it has just passed. This brings it to one of the angles (angle *f o b*) formed by the crossing of the lower one of the horizontal elements forming this hexagon and one of the diagonal elements. It does not pass between these two elements, but entirely around them at their intersection. It then passes across the opening to the diametrically opposite angle of the hexagon. Here it passes between the two crossing elements, after which it again changes its course and passes directly to the next angle on the left. At this point it takes another turn around the intersection of the two elements which cross here and again goes to the diametrically opposite angle where it passes between the two elements that cross at this point. Thus, by a repetition of this process, this third horizontal element is made to move in a clockwise direction, as the bottom of the basket is viewed, and is caused to take a spiral course which makes it cross successively each of the hexagonal openings of the entire bottom of the basket. In every case except the first the change of direction is given by a move from the angle at which

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 this element enters a given hexagonal opening to the angle next adjacent in a clockwise direction. In the first case this move is one of two angles in a clockwise direction instead of one. This variation produces an interesting sequence in the number of openings passed over by this element in a given complete circle. The first four changes of direction after the element leaves the hexagon in which it commenced cause it to pass over one opening only in each case. It then passes over two openings, this time running parallel to the initial direction it had at the outset. It next crosses one opening only, after which it crosses successively two openings each time for the next four changes of direction. On again reaching a point where its direction is parallel to that which it had initially, it crosses three openings, after which it drops to two, which in turn is followed by four sets of three openings. Thus by a series of these concentric hexagons in which the numbers of openings all follow the sequence above outlined, but with numbers which increase one each at each new revolution in the spiral, the entire bottom is built up until this special treatment of this third horizontal element finally gives place to its regular manipulation when the side of the basket is reached. The cycle may be reduced to a kind of formula in which x equals the fundamental number of openings passed over in any given complete circle of the horizontal element. The formula would then be $x + x + x + x + (x + 1) + x$.

It should be observed that in making this bottom the third horizontal element always stands in the same relation to any certain element in any given turn of its

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

spiral course that it does in any other turn. An inspection of fig. 4 of pl. xcv will show this to be the case, and that where this third element passes round any certain element in one turn of the spiral it always passes round the same element in every other turn of the spiral. 285

On finally reaching the edge of the bottom, the looping of this horizontal element ceases, since this course is necessary only in order to increase the diameter of the bottom, just as the other horizontal elements are constantly added for the same purpose. The manipulation of this third horizontal element then changes, and it runs, as above described, either as a continuous spiral or, as is much more frequently the case, as a series of single detached bands, each passing completely around the basket.

In the cases in which the spiral treatment of this third horizontal element is employed, the horizontal elements which form the top and bottom of the hexagon are furnished by another spiral running parallel to this third element which cuts the hexagon into its two trapezoidal figures. Like the spiral element on the side of a basket of the ka′pū technic, the initial end of this one commences at the edge of the basket and runs down as a regular diagonal element to one corner of the bottom, where it changes its course to the horizontal spiral above mentioned.

In one instance in which the bottom of a basket is made in the ka′pū technic while the sides are in the tcī′nde technic, the two long spiral elements required to produce the latter pass down the side of the basket

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 immediately adjacent to and parallel to each other, and enter it at the same corner of the bottom.

Any one of several border finishes may be used at the edge of a basket of this technic, but there is one border which is the result of a variant of this technic and which is similar to one of the border finishes used in connection with the ka'pū technic.

In this variant the two sets of diagonal elements, one of which reaches the rim of the basket on its outer surface while the other reaches it on the inner surface, are turned directly downward over the last horizontal element at the edge of the basket and each element is passed back down into the body. This is so done that each returning element of one set takes the direction of the opposite set, and so that each element passes in and out of the openings in the regular tcī'nde technic in such manner as to include between each pair of crossing diagonal elements one of the horizontal elements. Thus one of these diagonal elements passes over the two original elements which crossed at *d* (pl. CII) under the central horizontal element at its middle point, and over the two elements which intersect at *a*. The returning element passing in the other diagonal direction passes below at *e*, above and across the central horizontal element at its middle point and again below the two elements which intersect at *b*. An example of this technic is shown in pl. XCV, 10, and CII. In this manner each horizontal element in each unit of the technic is included between two of the diagonal elements.

This method of employing the returning diagonal elements produces a very tightly woven basket and may

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

be used on the sides only or it may be made to cover also the bottom. As a rule both these forms of this technic are used chiefly in the making of cylindrical storage baskets of various sizes. 285

DŌ TECHNIC

The third of the technics in which the elements pass in three directions is that known to the Cayapa by the name dō. This technic in basic principles is similar to that called ka′pū, and differs only in that in any single unit of the technic there are three additional splints each of which passes through opposite angles of the hexagon, as is shown in the accompanying figs. 22 and 23. This divides each of these hexagonal openings into six small equilateral triangles and forms a relatively tightly-woven basket, when compared with the ka′pū and the tcī′nde technics.

In each unit in both the ka′pū and the tcī′nde technics there are, in addition to and surrounding the principal openings (which in the one case is a single large hexagon, and, in the other, two trapezoids), six very small equilateral triangles, formed by the superposition of the two large equilateral triangles that make up the geometric basis of the technic unit. In the case of this dō technic, however, there are twelve of these openings, all equilateral triangles and all of about the same size.

Perhaps the most striking feature of a basket made in this technic is the presence of three pairs of heavy splints running radially in its bottom, as is shown in fig. 23 and in pl. xcv, 6. Each of these pairs is used

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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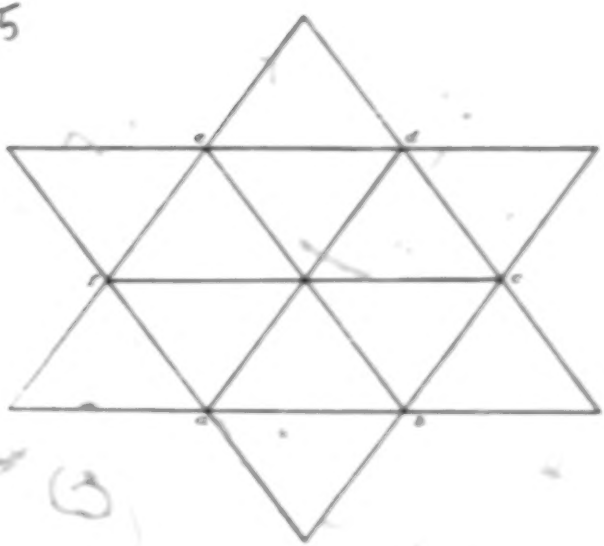

FIG. 22.—Component parts of d3 technic

FIG. 23.—Initial unit at the bottom of a basket of d3 technic

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

in the bottom itself in exactly the same manner as a single splint would be, and each passes through two opposite corners of the hexagonal bottom. Thus these three pairs of splints pass out of the bottom at its six corners. On entering the sides, however, each of these pairs is divided and each element of a pair takes an independent diagonal course up the side of the basket, thus producing in its sides twelve elements independent from the three which cross the bottom. In most cases when one of these pairs divides, its units diverge and form angles of approximately sixty degrees one with the other, but in other instances they pass as independent parallel elements diagonally up the side of the basket. Sometimes both these methods of treatment are found in a single basket. As above stated, in the majority of instances these divergent elements take a diagonal course up the side of the basket, but now and then a basket is found in which one of them runs vertically while the other takes the usual diagonal course, as is shown in pl. XCV, 15, and frequently instances are found in which one or the other of such a pair of elements takes a course more or less approximating the vertical, as shown in pl. XCIV, 9.

In a cylindrical basket the straightness of the walls produces hexagons which are approximately equilateral, but in the rare type which has flaring walls the diagonal elements in the sides gradually diverge toward the opening of the basket in such manner that these hexagons are much elongated laterally. In no case, however, are extra diagonal elements inserted on account of this enlargement of the circumference of the basket toward its rim.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 The horizontal elements in the sides of such a basket are produced, as in the case of both the ka′pū and the tcī′nde technics, in one of two ways. They may be and usually are, the result of a single spiral splint which first passes diagonally down the wall of the basket and enters the side at one of its six corners where the bottom and the sides join; from this corner onward it proceeds as a spiral until the border is reached. The second and a very rare method of securing these horizontal elements is by inserting a new complete band for each element. The ends of such a band are made secure by overlapping, the point at which any particular band overlaps being some distance around to one side or the other from the overlapping of the elements next above and below, thus giving added strength to the technic.

As in the other two technics of this group, the diagonal splints in the sides of a basket of this dō technic are all employed in the construction of the bottom of the basket, and in no instance are any more diagonal elements added in weaving the sides.

The nature of the dō technic is such that there is no possibility of returning the ends of the diagonal elements downward even from the edge of the basket, as is sometimes done in the ka′pū and the tcī′nde technics, where this treatment of these elements forms one type of border finish. The triangular openings are so small, and the basket therefore so closely woven, that the returning of these elements down the side of the basket would be highly infeasible if not entirely impossible.

A notable fact connected with the manipulation of these elements is that in this particular technic the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

diagonal element which passes upward toward the left is almost always the one which passes between a horizontal element and the other diagonal element which passes up toward the right at the points where the three cross one another. This condition is quite different from that in the tcī′nde technic, for here what has been called the third horizontal element passes between the two diagonal ones. No comparison can be made with the ka′pū technic, since there is no point in this where three elements are crossed. 285

In finishing the borders of baskets of this technic the pairs of diagonal elements are usually bent inward and toward the right over a rod of pitigua, the ends of each pair being made to pass out in front of the pair next adjacent and toward the right, and finally down behind the second pair toward the right. To this simple binding, which in principle is the same as that most commonly used in baskets of the ka′pū and the tcī′nde technics, there is frequently added a wrapping of pitigua such as is shown in pl. XCIV, 9. Even more elaborate bindings, such as that exhibited in pl. XCV, 15, are sometimes used by the Cayapa, while among the Cholo a very elaborate one, shown in fig. 16 of the same plate, was found. In its essentials the first is the same as that above described, and it differs only in the number of elements (from three to five) bent over in each group, in having an extra horizontal splint bound along the outside, and in having three courses of wicker run into the relatively large openings just below the bound rim. 285 171

The second mentioned binding is essentially the same as that just described except that the ends of the pairs

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 171 of elements when they reappear upon the inner surface of the basket are made to pass down under the similar pair next to the right, as is shown in pl. xcv, 16, which exhibits an inside view of this border. Thus there is produced a technic somewhat resembling what is commonly called herring-bone. The extreme edge appears to be very elaborately wrapped; this, however, is due to the manner in which two broad, flat wrapping elements are brought around it. So far as observed, this particular type of border finish does not occur among the Cayapa, although it is frequently employed by their Cholo neighbors, with whom this particular technic itself is more commonly used. In fact it is rather rarely used by the Cayapa.

BANDILAS TECHNIC

285 The technic called ba´ndilas by the Cayapa is the only one of the six technics employed by these Indians which has elements passing in four different directions. A horizontal, a vertical, and two opposite diagonal elements are required in this technic. Unlike the several above described, no special method is required in commencing a basket of this technic, its bottom being woven in exactly the same manner as are its sides. The horizontal elements on the bottom turn up, as do the diagonal and vertical ones, to form the elements of the sides. Obviously these elements, which are horizontal upon the bottom of the basket, become vertical when turned up to form the sides, and there is then the necessity of introducing other horizontal elements. This is ac-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

complished by introducing complete bands which pass round the basket and whose ends overlap. The spiral horizontal element is never used in this technic as it is in some of those above described. The bottoms of these baskets are almost always rectangular, but not square, and the basket as a whole appears somewhat more angular than do the baskets of other technics except the hamper-shape twilled baskets, in which angularity is especially sought. A basket of this technic is shown in pl. XCII, 3.

The border of such a basket is finished in a manner similar to that employed in finishing the borders of baskets of the ka′pū and tcī′nde technics above described. The vertical and diagonal elements project above the border and at their points of last crossing form sets of three elements, one vertical and two diagonal crossing at the same point. These three are as a unit turned inward and downward, passing diagonally out and in front of the next set toward the right and finally inward and behind the next set. As these sets turn downward they pass over a horizontal splint, which is thereby included in the fold of each set of three elements. There is usually placed also a similar horizontal splint on the outside of the basket and one on the inside, the whole edge being bound by one or two spiral elements. One or the other of these outer horizontal elements may be omitted, but ordinarily both are present. In pl. XCIV, 10, and pl. XCV, 9, are shown two examples of borders in which are present two spiral elements running in opposite directions. In both these also the inner and outer horizontal elements are present. In the example shown

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 in pl. XCV, 11, on the other hand, the outer horizontal element is absent and there is but one spiral element. In this instance, however, there are two horizontal elements running like wicker through the openings immediately below the border and serving to give additional strength to it.

Baskets of this technic are among those more rarely made by the Cayapa. They have no special use, but serve any of the many ordinary household purposes to which Cayapa basketry is put, such as the storage of small articles and various foods.

In addition to the six technics above described, here termed the regular basketry technics, there are the two employed to a very limited extent in making the palm-leaf burden-baskets, which are used temporarily and only in emergencies for carrying burdens, or are now and then employed ceremonially by some shaman in his medicine practices. Two of these baskets are shown in pl. XCII, 2, 5.

285 324 In the first the technic resembles checkerwork to a certain extent. Such a conical basket is made from a single large pinnate leaf of the palm called by the Spanish chapil and by the Cayapa kūla′pō-tcī. Such a leaf is often as much as ten feet long. Perhaps eight feet of this is serviceable for basket-making, the two feet near the tip of the leaf being rather weak and provided with short leaflets. Having broken off the unserviceable section at its tip, such a leaf is bent at its middle point and its leaflets are interwoven after the fashion of checkerwork, thus producing a loosely woven basket with large meshes. The remaining ends of the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

leaflets are at last wrapped about the edge and bound loosely to secure them and produce the border of the basket.

The second type of palm-leaf basket is square in cross-section and has vertical walls. In this, two leaves which are made to cross each other at the bottom are used. The bottom of such a basket is usually about a foot square and the walls are two and a half or three feet high. The midribs of the leaves pass up the middle of the sides, and the leaflets, entirely unwoven, form the sides themselves. Extending up the four corners are heavy rolls formed by these leaflets, and it is in these that the particular technic employed only in this type of basket is found. When the two midribs are crossed at their middle points, they are securely bound together to keep them in position during the manipulation of the leaflets in making the corners of the basket. At a point five or six inches from this center, each of the midribs is then bent upward. As the leaves are thus placed in position, the leaflets extending out from the right-hand side of one midrib cross those extending from the left of the adjacent midrib. Beginning at the bottom, one of these leaflets is passed round a corresponding leaflet of the opposite set, its end joining that of the leaflet it has just gone round in passing upward to help form a core about which the other leaflets are in turn passed. In passing about this core each leaflet goes completely round it, coming back to the front below itself and then folding abruptly upward over itself to enter the core. This produces the technic which in the preceding pages was likened to the "half-hitch" in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 cordage. By this process of passing these leaflets from first one side and then the other round this core of leaf-ends, a corner of the basket is built up to its topmost point, where the ends of the last two or three leaflets are tied in such manner as to prevent the corner from loosening. In the same manner all four corners are built up and the basket is then complete.

Forms and Uses

285 415 According to form and use, Cayapa basketry may be classed as follows:

Burden-basket, flaring,	kū'bī (pl. xcii, 4, 7).
[482] Burden-basket with vertical sides and carried usually by means of two shoulder-straps.	fe' pickalyī, fe hi'nū pickalyī e' pickalyī (pl. xcii, 8).
Square-sided, temporary burden-basket of hoja de chapil,	kūla' pickalyī, kūla'pō pickalyī, (pl. xcii, 5).
Common cylindrical basket.	picka'lyī (pl. xcii, 1, 3).
Hamper-shape basket.	pū'te (pl. xciii, 2, 5, 6, 10, 11).
Bottle-shape bait basket.	tū'ñūtcītcī, dyūñūtci'tcī, (pl. xciii, 3).
Tubular basket used for spindles,	tcūrūkū'kū, tīwōtci'tcī (pl. xciii, 8, 12).

In addition to this classification, in which baskets used for certain purposes are of special forms, there are other terms indicating use which are applicable to a basket of any form, material, or technic. For instance, the name pū-pickalyī, from pū'ka, "fruit," and picka'lyī, "basket," may be used in speaking of any basket in which fruit is carried or stored.

As indicated in most instances by the names in the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

above tabulation, these several distinct forms of baskets have special uses. The four types of burden-basket are used almost exclusively for carrying heavy loads upon the back. The two types made of hoja de chapil are, as above stated, only for temporary use and are worthless except while the leaves are green. They are also sometimes used, even after they are dry and brittle, by the shamans in their medicine practices. The other two types, which are made of the very durable pitigua, are sometimes used as storage receptacles about the house when not needed for carrying burdens, which is their primary use.

The flaring basket, kû'bi (pl. XCII, 7), is carried by means of a single band provided with a special, wide head-band that passes across the top of the head as the bearer bends forward. This is primarily a woman's burden-basket and is used in the daily home life of the people for bringing fruits and other products from the fields and in a multitude of other ways. It is, however, rarely used in carrying wood, which is so often one of the most important functions of burden-baskets among aboriginal peoples. Wood is usually brought by the canoe-load from some point near the river where a suitable dead tree can be found.

The straight-walled basket, fe' pickalyi (pl. XCII, 6, 8), is made especially for carrying burdens considerable distances, as on long trail journeys into the interior. Within their own territory these baskets are rarely needed by the Cayapa, since practically all travel is by canoe. Such a basket is provided with two burden-bands attached near the top and the bottom respectively,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 482 and so placed that the broad bearing surface of each band stands vertically. These bands pass across in front of the shoulders after the manner of the straps of a knapsack. In the case of a large basket, such as that shown in pl. XCII, 8, the cords of the burden-bands pass round the basket to give the load greater security. Further, to add strength, and especially rigidity, to such a basket, two palm-wood rods are placed vertically on the inner surface of the basket, each being so placed as to be directly at the line along which one of the burden-bands is attached. The band is made to take a turn round this rod at each point at which it is attached to the basket. These rods are also of particular service in preventing the cords of the burden-bands from tearing out the relatively slender elements with which the weaving is done, when the basket is used in carrying such a load.

285 415 What is here termed the common cylindrical basket (pl. XCII, 1, 3, and pl. XCIII, 4) has no special use other than as a general storage receptacle for foods, etc. Such baskets are frequently kept in the loft or hung under the eaves of the house when containing articles only occasionally needed.

285 415 485 Perhaps the most useful basket of all those made by the Cayapa is the hamper-shape basket, pû'te (pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 6). This basket serves a variety of uses, chief among which are the storage of clothing and other valuable articles, and as a traveling case. No Cayapa enters on a journey of more than a day without one of these hampers, in which are his mosquito canopy, clothing, face-paint, any jewelry he does not wish to wear, and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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any other articles of value he does not deem it safe to leave at home.

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These hampers, especially when used in traveling, are tied about the middle with a cord or a woven band, and can be tumbled about without danger to their contents. They are frequently kept filled with articles in storage in the loft of the house, and often are suspended by the above-mentioned cord or band from the rafters or from one of the timbers at the eaves. Sometimes these baskets are made for special purposes. This is the case with the long one shown in pl. XCIII, 2, which was made especially for the storage of spindles, though the usual spindle storage-basket is a long tubular one like those shown in figs. 8 and 12 of the same plate. Another special form is the very small hamper-shape basket, such as those shown in figs. 15–17; these are used as receptacles for trinkets.

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The bottle-shape bait basket, tū′ñūtcītcī (pl. XCIII, 3), is a very specialized form and, as its name implies, is made for the particular purpose of carrying live insect bait in the canoe while fishing. Its narrow neck is provided with a balsa stopper or with some leaves made into a bundle which serves the same purpose.

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Tubular baskets, called tcūrūkū′kū (pl. XCIII, 8, 12), are made especially for the storage of spindles, either full or empty. These baskets are usually from thirty to forty centimeters in length by from seven to fifteen centimeters in diameter. Such a basket is hung by one edge of its opening, so that it hangs at more or less of a slant. It is usually suspended from a rafter or other part of the house-frame near the eaves, within easy

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283 reach from the floor. The Cayapa women are very
285 industrious, and whenever not occupied about the daily
415 routine of their houses and fields, are spinning and weaving. The spinning tripod (pl. CVIII) is always kept in a convenient place at one side of the house, and one or two spindles are usually kept on the small woven shelf near the bottom of the tripod. All extra spindles, whether empty or filled, are, however, kept in these long tubular baskets. When several spindles are filled they are emptied by winding the thread into balls, in which form it is stored until needed.

231 One very special form of basket not mentioned in the
285 tabulation above is the large bottle-shape basket shown in pl. XCIII, 7. This unusual basket was made as a cage for a chicken. As a rule, rough baskets of the usual cylindrical form are utilized for this purpose, the opening being closed by binding its edges tightly together with a pitigua cord. This bottle-shape basket was the only one of its kind encountered, and no Cayapa name was given for it.

BASKETRY HANDLES

285 Most of the ordinary cylindrical baskets of small or medium size, regardless of technic, are provided with handles or bails such as those shown in pl. XCII, 3, and XCIII, 4. These handles are always of pitigua and are made in several forms.

The simplest handle consists of a plain piece of pitigua of the proper length, usually unsplit, tied at diametrically opposite points through the border of the basket. Usually it is passed through and brought up far enough

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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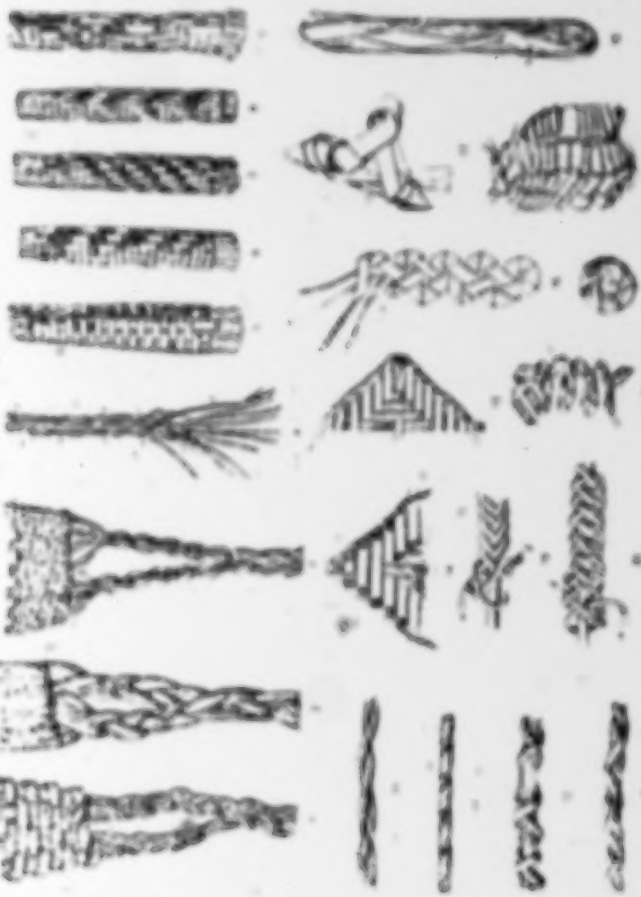

PL. CIII

BARRETT — CAYAPA INDIANS

HANDLES OF BASKETS AND FANS, AND BURDEN-BANDS

[p. 236 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
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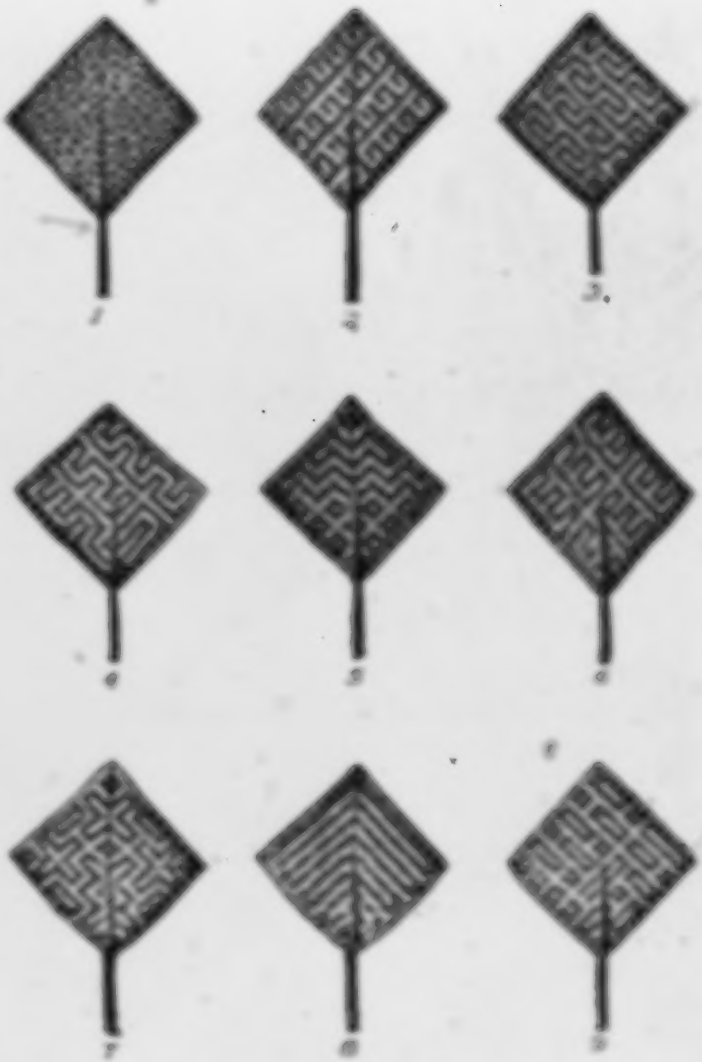

FANS

[p. 236(6)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

to tie in a slip-knot, thus giving it a secure hold. In cases where no considerable weight is to be borne by it, however, it may simply be passed through the sides and knotted at each end.

The construction of five of the more elaborately made types of handle are shown in pl. CXII, 10-13, 19, and 20. In that shown in fig. 10 the construction is simple, an unsplit piece of pitigua being passed through the sides of the basket and twisted about itself after the manner of a two-ply cord, the ends of the pitigua being tied together.

The handle shown in pl. CXII, 11, is similar to the one just described, except that the pitigua is flat, and there is no attempt at twisting; instead, the second element of the handle is simply wrapped round the first. The two handles shown in figs. 12 and 13 of the same plate are similarly constructed save that there are two central elements while the wrapping elements are respectively two and three in number. In all these the sole endeavor appears to be to secure sufficient strength.

In the handle shown in figs. 19 and 20 of the plate, however, there appears to be a definite attempt at ornamentation, since there is added to the central section of the handle, which is otherwise a single unsplit piece of pitigua, an elaborately woven covering, as it may be called. One side of this, usually placed as the upper side, has a herring-bone appearance, as shown in pl. CXII, 19, while the other side appears as in fig. 20. The details of the construction are also well shown in these illustrations and need not be further described.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

BURDEN-BANDS

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The burden-bands made by the Cayapa are used almost if not quite exclusively in carrying the two types of burden-basket above described. These bands, called in general ta′ñla, consist in every case of two parts: the broad "head-band," called in Cayapa pickai ka′ñnū, and the two long cords which pass round the basket, called picka′lyi nō tetsūī pañnū. These burden-band cords are made in two technics: a plain braiding (pl. CIII, 1–3), called wa′tse′ta, and an elaborate technic which produces a cord, square in cross-section (pl. CIII, 4), called pī′Xta kalara, or bi′ñda kalara.

The Cayapa recognize four kinds of burden-bands. The simplest of these (pl. CIII, 2) is made of kuna-kuna bark and is called wa′tcī kīka tañla. A strip of this tough fibrous bark, from two to three inches in width and of a length equal to the total length of the burden-band, is selected and its ends are shredded so as to leave an unshredded section of the natural bark about twelve or fifteen inches in length in the middle. This forms the head-band, and at its two ends it is sewed across with a piece of pita string to prevent splitting. The shredded bark immediately adjacent to this section is then divided into two parts, each of which is braided separately for a few inches, after which the two are merged into a single braid which continues on to the end of the cord. These details are all given in the section shown in pl. CIII, 2. The outer surface of this bark is rough, but the inner surface, which is quite smooth and soft, is used as the bearing surface of the band. This particular type of burden-band is sometimes used

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

upon the forehead, but is more frequently employed as a shoulder burden-band. 285 482

A second type of burden-band is that shown in pl. CIII, 1, which is made of pitigua and is called by the Cayapa te′tsū tañla. In this the head-band is made in wicker with fairly broad strips of pitigua used as warp and a broad strip of the same material passing back and forth as woof. These warp strips are then split and made in two small braids that later merge into one larger braid as is shown in the illustration last mentioned. This type of burden-band is used almost exclusively in connection with the flaring burden-basket, which is supported by the band passing across the forehead. The remaining two types are made of the slender but very strong fibers of the palma real and differ one from the other only in the technic of the cord. In one instance this cord is simply braided, as in the kuna-kuna bark and the pitigua bands just described. A section of one of these bands called in Cayapa nintcū′a tañla, is shown in pl. CIII, 3. The other band, called lū′ra balya tañla, has a cord which is square in cross-section and is produced by the intricate technic shown in fig. 4 of the same plate. The head-band in each case is made in the same wicker technic in which several palma-real cords are laid side by side to form a unit warp element, and a couple of these same palma-real fibers are placed side by side to form a unit woof element.

FANS

The Cayapa make extensively a special type of fan, called nyē′ve or nyiwē′wi, used for fanning the fire and 285 293 372

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 to a certain extent for fanning themselves. As is shown
293 in pl. CIV this fan is always square and has a substantial
372 handle extending from one corner. Almost the only
[824] material used for fans is the bark of the petiole of the fan-leaf palm. On rare occasions the bark of the hoja blanca is employed, and such fans almost always show a pattern in red produced by coloring one set of the twilling elements with achote. Both these materials are prepared in exactly the same manner as in making basketry.

285 The blade of the fan is always made in the over-three and under-three form of twilling, while the handle consists of a bundle of the elements which form the blade, this bundle having an outer surface of twilling or wickerwork, as shown in pl. CIII, 5–9. Such fans are usually eight or nine inches square, though they are sometimes larger and frequently smaller. The larger fans are used almost exclusively for fanning the fire, while the smaller ones are used for giving personal comfort.

285 Fans are decorated with a considerable variety of
531 geometric designs of the same character as those found on mats, and in lesser variety on twilled basketry. Pl. CV shows a number of these patterns, which in most instances are without special name and in no case are they symbolic, as has been pointed out in treating the decorative art of the Cayapa.

285 The exact manipulation of the splints used in fan-making is shown in pl. CIII, 14 and 15, which exhibit respectively the uppermost corner and the right-hand corner of the front or upper surface of the fan. In detail the manipulation is as follows: A single long

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

strip is bent double, always with its dark surface outward. Between the two splints which result from this doubling and at the point of the bend is passed a transverse splint with its lighter surface uppermost. Next another transverse splint is laid on top of this vertical double one, and the ends of the first transverse splint are bent over the second and passed down close to and parallel with the double vertical splint. In bending these ends from a horizontal to a vertical position they are simply turned over so that the fold in each case forms an angle of forty-five degrees with both its directions and the dark side of the splint is uppermost when the splint is given a vertical position. The third transverse splint is now laid on top of the original double vertical splint and over the two adjacent vertical splints made by bending down the ends of the first transverse splint. Next the ends of the second transverse splint are bent down over this third transverse splint. With this the first unit of three splints is obtained and the uppermost corner of the fan is made. 285

The next set of three transverse splints must now pass below the original double vertical splint. The first of this set passes below this double splint only. The next one passes below the double splint and the splint immediately adjacent on either side, and the third one passes under it and the two splints immediately adjacent on either side. As each succeeding horizontal splint is laid down, it is passed under and over the proper number of vertical splints required to produce the desired design. As each of these splints reaches the edges of the fan, the ends of the splint immediately preceding, which has

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 until now remained horizontal, are bent over as above described, and each of these ends forms another vertical splint passing down parallel to the original double splint used as a base in beginning the fan. Thus, while the transverse splints are all laid down with their white sides uppermost and facing the maker, when they are given this turn and pass downward at right angles to their former direction the dark side is brought into view. Hence all the transverse splints, when the fan is viewed from the side held uppermost in the weaving, are white, and all the vertical splints are dark. Thus, by causing the horizontal splints to pass in each case above or below the required number of vertical splints, the desired pattern is produced. These designs are, as above stated, always geometric, and the direction of their constituent lines is governed by the number of vertical elements crossed by the horizontal elements at the points where such direction changes.

By the addition, as above described, of as many horizontal splints as are desired, the upper half of the fan, which is a complete isosceles triangle the apex of which is a right angle, is formed. All the splints inserted in this upper half of the fan as horizontal elements become, by the above-described bending over, the vertical splints in the lower half of the fan.

When this upper half of the fan is finished, the last horizontal splint laid down is not turned over as in the case of the preceding ones. This splint marks the median line of the fan and is allowed to project horizontally out of its lateral corners until the blade of the fan is completed.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The second or lower half of the blade of the fan is 285 woven in the following manner: The horizontal element next preceding the median element was, like all the remaining horizontal elements in the upper half of the fan, folded over and brought into a vertical position. It is now given a second fold and brought again into a horizontal position. This fold is in the opposite direction to that given it above: that is to say, when a horizontal splint is given its original fold into the vertical position, the splint is folded over toward the operator, which brings the vertical portion of the element on top of the horizontal portion. When it is folded the second time and brought from the vertical again to the horizontal position, it is bent back away from the operator. This returning of the element from a vertical to a horizontal position is illustrated in pl. CIII, 15, which shows the right-hand corner of the blade of a fan. Thus each element which starts in a horizontal position and then becomes vertical in the upper half of the fan, regains its horizontal position in the lower half.

Its manipulation in the lower half of the fan is precisely the same as that in the upper half, and by the selection of the proper numbers of vertical elements over and under which it is to pass, the required design is produced in the lower half just as was done in the upper half. Each end of any given splint is bent over in the above described manner, and the two ends of any certain splint which was originally horizontal in the upper half pass back directly toward each other and together form the horizontal element in the corresponding position in the lower half of the fan. They meet along the vertical

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 middle line of this lower half, the end of each one projecting several inches out of the side of the fan. The end of one half of such a horizontal unit passes out on the front surface of the fan while the end of the other half passes out on the rear surface.

Thus, when the successive vertical elements are turned back into the horizontal position, as above described, and carried through the twilling until they reach the middle line of the lower half of the fan, there is left on each surface of the fan, when this lower triangular half is finished, a set of these projecting ends which is equal in number to that of the original horizontal elements used in making the upper half of the fan, minus one, which is the last horizontal element inserted. This, it will be remembered, was not turned down to form a vertical element as were the others. On each surface these ends project alternately toward the right and toward the left. Those on the front of the fan have their white surfaces uppermost; those on the rear have their dark surfaces uppermost, and it is from these two sets of projecting ends that the handle is woven. In the upper half of the fan, the original double vertical splint is kept as a unit, its two parts passing together above or below the transverse elements as if they were one. On the completion of the first half of the fan, however, these two are divided, one being passed down the front, the other down the back. These two now become the centers upon which the two sides of the handle are woven.

Taking first one side and then the other of the fan, the handle is woven in the following manner (fig. 24):

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The uppermost projecting end of the set of horizontal elements, that is, the one at the geometric center of the fan, is first bent directly back upon itself so that it projects in the same direction as the one immediately below, which in turn is bent back upon itself so that it projects in the opposite direction. As each of these splints is bent over, one of the halves of the original

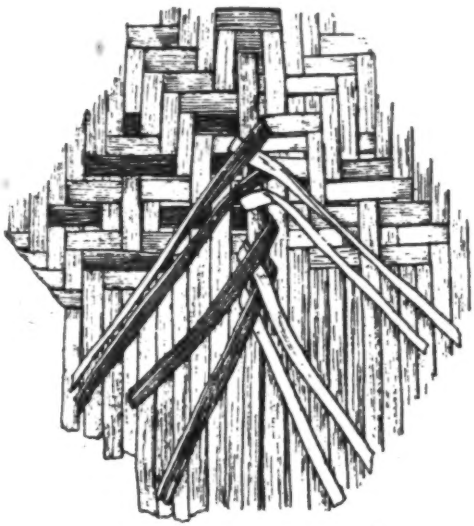

FIG. 24.—Details of fan technic

vertical element is included in the fold. The first end is next bent directly downward in the same manner as were the ends of the splints along the sides of the fan. The third end is then bent over so as to include the single strip of the original vertical element and the end which has just been bent down as above described. The end of the second element is then bent down into a vertical

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 position and the end of the fourth is bent across the three vertical elements of the handle thus far produced. The end of the third horizontal element is now bent down into the vertical position and across the fourth which was bent over as just described. Next the fifth horizontal element is bent across the bundle of vertical elements so far produced, and the fourth is now bent down across this fifth and into the vertical position. This process of bending first one element and then another into the horizontal and later into the vertical positions as above described continues until the lower point of the body of the fan is reached. By this time the ends of all the elements which were formerly projecting horizontally along the middle line of the lower half of the fan are bent into a vertical position and form a large bundle of splints, which constitutes this section of half the handle. These are now tied securely to prevent them from loosening. The fan is then turned over and the other half of the handle is made in the same manner by means of the ends of the horizontal splints which project on the other side of the blade of the fan. Having now completed the weaving, or plaiting, as it may more properly be called, of the two halves of the handle from the center of the blade of the fan down to its lowest point, the stem of the handle, or the part projecting below the lowest point of the blade, is made. Ordinarily the end of one of the last of these elements used in making the portion of the handle above described is wrapped several times tightly around the bundle of vertical splints above mentioned. This is usually an element that projects on the side of the fan which has

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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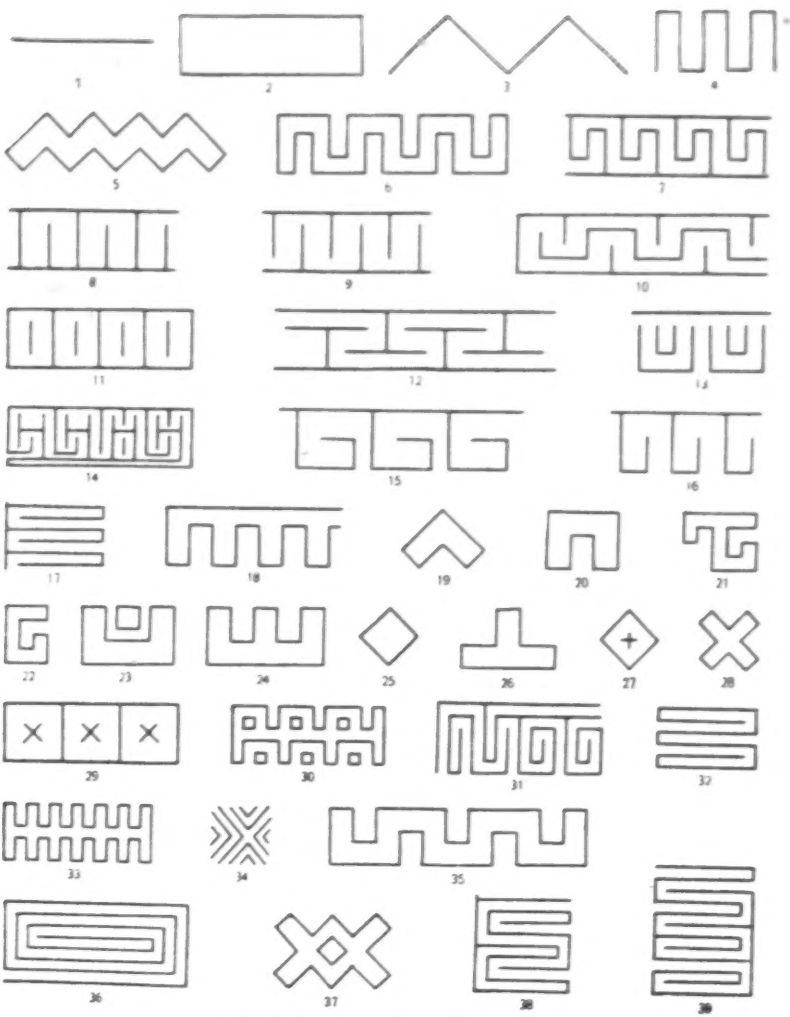

MAT AND FAN DESIGNS

[p. 246 (1)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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PL. CVI

MATS AND BARK CLOTH

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 246(6)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

been held uppermost in the weaving of the square blade itself. After this binding certain of the vertical splints are selected and the rest of the surface of the handle is covered by the ordinary twilling process or by wickerwork. In this a single splint is passed spirally round and round the handle, the requisite vertical splints being passed above or below this spiral in order to produce the desired design. In order to hold firmly the weaving at the end of the handle, those vertical splints used as the warp elements in the twilling or wickerwork of the outer surface are bent over and passed up along the surface of the handle. This is done before the handle is completely woven to its end, each of the doubled splints being used as a single element. The last turn of the spiral above mentioned passes through the folds of these vertical splints which are then pulled tightly so as to hold it and the remainder of the weaving firmly in place. This method of finishing the end of the handle by means of bending over the vertical splints is exactly the same as that employed in finishing the borders of all baskets of the wicker technic. Examples of these handles are shown in pl. CIII, 5–9. The last four are finished in twilling, while the first is in the wicker technic.

On completing the blade of the fan, and usually before the handle is woven, the last inserted or medial horizontal splint, which, it will be remembered, was left to project out of the corners of the fan, is turned directly over and passed back along itself. If this splint were simply bent over it would bring its dark surface uppermost and would cover a portion of the white surface of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 this middle horizontal line. However, a half-twist is given this element so as to bring its light-colored surface uppermost, as is shown in pl. CIII, 15. It is then passed on along itself and follows the same course it did originally, passing under and over the same vertical elements and thus maintaining the symmetry of the pattern. The ends of these returning sections are cut off, so that they are hidden under some of the transverse elements under which they pass and thus the smoothness of the finished surface is not interrupted by the appearance of the ragged ends of these elements.

MATS

Mats, called tya'pū, regardless of size and use, are made of the bark of the petiole of the fan-leaf palm, and are of the ordinary over-three and under-three twilling. [531] Their designs are identical with those found on fans, although they are not so varied as the fan designs.

As is done in beginning a hamper-shape basket (page 202), one of these mats is commenced by laying down two sets of splints and crossing them along a line which gives the desired width of the mat. This line is ordinarily a short distance from what is intended to be one end of the finished mat. A short section of each long splint lies on one side of this line, while the greater part of it extends outward in the opposite direction. After having woven a few courses under and over three, the one end of the mat is finished off. This is done by taking the short ends of the elements and weaving them to the point desired as the edge of the mat, where one set of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the elements is turned at right angles to its former course and passed in and out for a short distance along the same course taken by the other set of elements. This other set simply projects from the edge of the mat and is later cut off. An unfinished mat is shown in pl. CVI, 1. This shows the method of finishing off the first end and also of weaving a section of the body of the mat. Owing to the extreme length of the elements used in this mat it was necessary to coil them up in order to reduce the size of the object for shipment. As the mat is being woven these two sets of elements project out at right angles to each other in the form of a large V. In the case of such a large mat the elements used are often as much as fifteen or sixteen feet in length.

In weaving a mat, half of the elements, that is, all those passing in a given direction, have their light-colored surfaces turned upward; the other half, those passing in the opposite direction, have their dark surfaces upward. Now, in making the edge of the end of a mat, if the elements of the set whose light surfaces are uppermost are chosen as the ones to be turned and passed back as the binding, this turn brings the dark surface of each of these elements upward. These dark surfaces, therefore, superimpose themselves upon the dark surfaces of the elements of the other set along which they lie, since these short ends are passed over three and under three along exactly the same course as that taken by the set of elements which originally ran in the opposite direction. The same pattern is thus maintained. Ordinarily these short ends are run back over two courses of transverse splints, or a distance equal to the width

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 of twelve splints. They are cut off at their point of emergence from under the second transverse course. The splints of the other set, which, in the case above mentioned, are those which have their dark surfaces uppermost, are simply cut off at the edge of the end of the mat. Thus a smooth and solid end is produced.

In most cases the weaving is not carried to its fullest possible extent at the corners, but the elements which project out from each corner are turned back upon themselves and are passed back for the binding of the corner. They pass in the same direction which they originally had in the twilling, but are on the opposite surface of the mat. This gives the mat the appearance of having its corners cut off instead of giving it a sharp right-angled corner such as would be produced if the weaving had been continued to its fullest extent.

Each one of the long elements passes diagonally across the body of the mat and on reaching the edge of its side is folded over and passes back at right angles to its former course. It thus serves as an element of the other color and passes in the direction opposite to that which it had originally. When it reaches the edge of this opposite side it is again folded over. This brings its original color uppermost, and it takes a course parallel to that which it first had and at right angles to its immediately preceding course across the mat. Thus, in a very long mat such an element may go diagonally across three or even four times, as is the case in the large mat shown in pl. CVI, 2. On arriving at the opposite end of the mat, one set of these elements is turned under and passed back to form the edge at this point, and the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

ends of all the elements are cut off in the same manner as was done in making the end with which the mat was begun.

Mats of this kind are most frequently used by the Cayapa in the hammocks which serve as cradles. A small mat is placed crosswise in the hammock and holds its edges apart; the baby is then laid upon this mat and swung in the hammock as a cradle. Large mats are occasionally used as beds, but for this purpose bark cloth is preferred. An important use for mats also is as a drying surface upon which to spread cacao. In canoeing, a large mat serves as a canopy or sun covering for small children or for an invalid. If its ends are placed just inside the gunwales of the canoe, bow upward, a mat forms a convenient and very serviceable canopy by virtue of its natural stiffness. An instance of such a use is shown in pl. LXXX.

SPINNING

As was mentioned in speaking of agricultural products, the Cayapa raise considerable quantities of cotton, that is to say, all the cotton needed for weaving the cloth used for their mantas and clouts and for the belts used to hold the mantas in place. No one family raises any considerable number of plants, since a single plant produces almost continuously the year round and aggregates in the course of a year a considerable quantity of bolls. These plants are grown in any convenient place near the house or on the edge of a field of cane or of a grove of chocolate trees.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

which a slight attempt is made to ornament the edge of the shoulder of a vessel with a few incised lines or dots. No names are given to these simple decorations, and no attempt is made to work out any regular patterns even in the rare instances in which they are used.

The designs in hard textiles—twilled baskets, mats, and fans—are purely geometric, fairly simple (as is shown in pl. CV), and few in number. These conditions are quite natural and are imposed by the character of the material and the technic employed. There is comparatively little naming of these designs. Zigzags such as those shown in figs. 3 and 5 of the plate are called dê'tcû, and figures such as are illustrated in figs. 25 and 27 are commonly called kapû'ka, signifying "eye."

Soft Textile Designs

It is in the soft textiles that the greatest variety of both geometric and realistic designs appears and where the only detailed naming of designs occurs. A table of the names of the various manta designs shown in pl. CXXIII-CXXVII, together with a glossary, is given in the following pages. From these data various interesting facts concerning the names of manta designs are apparent.

The names may be classified as: mammals, birds, reptiles, insects, miscellaneous animate objects, parts of animate objects, plants, artificial objects, geometric figures, and untranslatable terms. The following tabulation will show the various numbers in each class.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Plate	Figure	
CXXVI	42	pala'cia (untranslatable)
		belt (tcū'mbū). (This term in full is tcū'mbū pilya, signifying belt design, and is applicable to all designs appearing on belts)
	43	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		bū'lara (untranslatable term)
	44	handkerchief design (te'mbū pilya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	45	tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
		tyū'ndyū tci lara (untranslatable)
	46	canoe design (kūm bi'lya)
		handkerchief design (te'mbū pilya)
	47	handkerchief design (te'mbū pilya)
		te'mbū balyalya (te'mbū signifies handkerchief; balya'lya is untranslatable)
	48	pala'tcū or palū'c lara (untranslatable)
	49	pala'tcū (untranslatable)
		cara (pū'ñge)
		centipede (se'pinde)
	50	No signification obtained
	51	No signification obtained
CXXVII	1	big zigzag (e' dū'tcū)
		e pala'tcū (e signifies big; pala'tcū is untranslatable)
		boa constrictor (we'sū)
	2	e bū'rūlara (e signifies big; bū'rūlara is untranslatable)
		pitigua design (tyūm bi'lya) (tyūm comes from ñi'tcūa, meaning pitigua)
	3	la'ndilas (a certain basketry technic). (This particular basketry technic is a kind of openwork which produces small squares similar to those shown here. It is clearly a case of the adaptation of this technic to this textile)
		bū'rūlara, bū'la (untranslatable)
	4	la'ndilas (a certain basketry technic). See fig. 3 above
		zigzag (dū'tcū). (This interpretation seems doubtful)
	5	bū'rūlara, bū'la, bū'rūla (untranslatable)

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[285]

juice called guarapo in Spanish. 000

Basketry. Fans, baskets, and pouches, are made in the same style and technique as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:183-250). There is a market for the fans which are used for fanning the embers in the fire-box when preparing a meal. They are often sold in the coastal towns of San Lorenzo and Esmeraldas as well as in the highland town of Ibarra. The money received for these fans is the property of the woman who made the fans, even though they were sold by her husband. 285 439 [372] [434] [562]

Weapons. The blowgun has disappeared from general use. Only a few specimens are left. All hunting today is done with the escopeta or muzzle-loading shotgun. Serving both as a tool and as a weapon is the machete or /mista/, and both men and women are quite adept in its use. 411 [224] [412]

Housing.

Probably the cultural feature of the Pacific lowlands which most quickly attracts the eye of the outsider is the type of house used by the rural Negroid population. This is the square or rectangular pile dwelling with four-shed hipped roof of thatch, a peculiar roof crown, and palm-lath floor 342 171

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[415] they are by bringing along "Mates" and "Calabazas," i.e. bowls and pitchers made of the rind of pumpkin-like fruit, into which they put the greatest part of the food and drink offered in order to carry them home. Only when everybody has eaten until he is ready to burst and the majority are rather drunk, the wedding draws to a close. The young couple is finally left alone and may go to their hut. But before the couple are allowed to enjoy their love to the full, they must pass through a long cruel (because it is continent) trial period. They live and sleep together under their
[286] common mosquito-net made of cotton with red flowers, but not as husband and wife, but as brother and sister, and they are not allowed to touch each other for an entire year. They must remain pious, chaste and abstemious, no matter how difficult it may be for them. The purpose is to steel the virtue of abstemiousness and the strength of will. Only when this period of fasting and trial is over, may they succumb to the ecstasies of love. Woe to those
684 who cannot withstand and secretely attempt to taste of the forbidden fruit before the end of the trial year—if discovered they pay for their crime with their lives or have to seek refuge immediately in another territory which cannot be reached by the punishing arm of their strict rulers. Only once I had occasion to watch how a fiancé, who was violently in love, gingerly and furtively with trembling hands touched the arm and naked breast of his betrothed.

302 During this year of betrothal they use red and black plant juices
584 to paint their faces, chests, arms and legs with streaks and dots. This custom corresponds to our engagement announcements and wedding rings.

846 Immediately after the birth of a baby, the young mother gets
[515] up from her bed, goes to the river and bathes. Bathing in the river is one of the Cayapas' passions. Each and everyone of them take at least two or even three baths per day. The young mother has barely left her child when the grandmother cleans it up a bit, puts it down again; and then the father lies down with it, staying in bed with the child from three to five weeks, letting his wife nurse him, just as though he were the woman in child-bed, who had gone through the pains of childbirth and was in need of recuperating and nursing care. The young mother, on the other hand, does her usual work already an hour after delivery, attending to her daily chores as though nothing had happened. This strange custom is connected with their religious concepts and their fear of evil spirits

291 Children wear no clothes at all until they are 6 or 8.

301 The hair is worn loose, long, and flowing by the women but is clipped
302 above the ears by the men. Both sexes wear necklaces and wristbands of glass and porcelain beads, coins, seeds, and beetle wings. Only women wear earrings.

302 The traditional *Chibcha* custom of frequently painting body and face is found among the *Cayapa*. Red, yellow, and black are used, and the designs are very numerous. Barrett reproduces many of the motifs and insists that there is no special significance attached to any of them, nor is there any age, sex, or property correlation.

TRANSPORTATION

501 **Watercraft.**—A large part of every *Cayapa's* life is spent on the water fishing and traveling. Canoes are built with great skill and care. They
[439] can withstand not only fluvial but also maritime travel and are routinely sold in the "civilized" coast towns. They are dugouts, usually 10 to 12 yards long but sometimes much larger. Balsa-wood logs are sometimes used as outriggers.

MANUFACTURES

000 Details of *Cayapa* manufactures are contained in Barrett's work, which describes and illustrates finished products and minutely discusses the techniques of preparation.

322 **Woodworking.**—Woodworking includes house building, making deadfall traps, and carving seats and children's dolls.

285 **Weaving and basketry.**—The women weave cotton cloth on a narrow
286 native loom, and the men do the sewing. The men also weave the fishing
462 nets and hammocks. Barrett's discussion of *Cayapa* basketry is outstanding. The *Cayapa* make many kinds of baskets, mats, and fans of bark and of various roots.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery is crude and undecorated. It is used particularly for
177 storage. Tradition claims that in their old Highland habitat the *Cayapa* made better pottery but that calabashes have since largely replaced ceramics.

324 **Stonework and metalwork.**—Stonework is limited to the metates
325 used in grinding corn and plantains. Although in aboriginal times Lowland Ecuador was a famous area of metallurgy, there is no evidence that the contemporary *Cayapa* practiced it.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapon most widely used today is the muzzle-loading
177 shotgun. The blowgun was important in the past, but today its use is restricted to boys, who shoot poison darts while playing at hunting. Hardwood lances are being given up, and the bow and arrow is said not to be mentioned in *Cayapa* tradition. The steel machete is ubiquitous.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

In addition to the foregoing food-producing plants, 248 there are various others that are valuable for other materials which they produce. One of these is cotton, called kū'a. The Cayapa are expert weavers and in 286 large measure produce all their own material. Their [439] textiles are made almost entirely of cotton, the only wool used being that obtained from the Quichua of the higher Andes, or in these days from the yarn of commerce. The yarn used by the Cayapa is always red or blue, and is employed for the sake of the colors, not for the material itself. They grow a white and also a brown cotton, the 248 former being, according to their statements, an intro- [386] duced species, the latter an indigenous one. These, together with the green and lavender dyes and the two colors of yarn, give them a total of six native colors. Cotton is usually grown from the seed, and requires little attention when once the plants have attained a fair size. Only a few plants of either the white or the brown cotton are grown by any one family, but they bloom perpetually and are sufficient to produce all the raw material needed. The cotton is allowed to mature completely, that is until the bolls have opened and the ripe cotton is nearly ready to fall. It is then gathered (being in the condition shown in pl. CVII, 11), thoroughly dried, and stored away in packages (such as that shown in fig. 12 of the same plate), and wrapped in leaves of the hoja blanca, until needed for spinning. To a limited extent also the [272] cotton plant is used in making a beverage, the leaves being boiled after the manner of tea.

Tobacco is considerably used by the Cayapa, but never 276

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

made more effective, in case the single log above mentioned is not sufficiently heavy, by superimposing upon it another which not only adds weight and enables the trap to kill larger animals, but accelerates its action and diminishes the possibility of the game escaping after the trap is sprung but before the log can fall. Such a second log is usually a foot or so shorter than the other.

Fishing

The numerous streams of the Cayapa region are well stocked with various kinds of fish, many of which are used as food by the Indians. They are at present caught by six different methods. There are three types of nets, the "re," or large set-net, the atarraya or conical casting-net, and the small dip-net, used incidentally in connection with the set-net. These are all used to a considerable extent, especially the set-net; but the "corral," or impounding trap, the pole and line, and the "gig," or fish-spear, are much more generally used. Of these six devices, four only, the set-net, the dip-net, the corral, and the gig, appear to be of aboriginal origin.

The re, called in Cayapa wa'kū, is, like the other two nets used by the Cayapa, made of pita fiber string and is used especially in catching a very excellent species of shad (Spanish, sabalo), called by the Cayapa awī'lī. For this purpose it is made with a mesh of about three inches, and varies in length from about twenty to sixty feet according to the width of the particular estero in which it is to be used. Usually near a house there are one or more esteros where shad are fairly abundant,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

fish and kills with a club the larger ones which might flop over the gunwale. Finally, all the fish possible having been taken in this manner, the set-net and the seine are taken up and brought back to the house. Both are carefully washed and cleaned at the river after having the stone sinkers removed, and are then hung up on a long bamboo pole, especially provided for this purpose, over the drying platform at the side of the house. When thoroughly dried these nets are each carefully folded and then compactly twisted, in such fashion as is shown in pl. CXX, 2. The stone sinkers are unwrapped and stored away in a basket until again needed. The floats used on the net here shown measure about four by eight inches by three-quarters of an inch. In many other cases the floats are of various other forms. They are quite often cylindrical.

Nets called atcī wa'kū, of the same kind but with smaller meshes, are made for catching certain other species of fish. In general, however, the use of the seine is confined largely to catching shad, as above described.

The atarraya, which name is corrupted by the Cayapa into a*t*a'ia, is a large conical casting net heavily weighted about its mouth with lead or, when this is not available, with stone sinkers. In pl. CXX, 1, is shown one of these nets weighted with lead sinkers weighing in the aggregate about twenty-five pounds. In this illustration it is shown folded at about its middle, while the upper end or apex of the cone is wrapped around the remainder of the net. To the point of the cone is attached a long, heavy cord, the end of which is held in the hand when

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

fish are allowed to fall into the bottom of the canoe or into a basket, and the net is then ready for a second cast. This net serves only for taking small fish, and is not very much used by the Cayapa. Apparently their knowledge concerning this form of net was acquired from the negroes. At any rate their knowledge of its use is comparatively recent.

The dip-net, called by the Cayapa cī′a, above referred to, is a small-meshed conical net and is used not only for fishing, as above described, but especially is it employed for catching the small lobster, or crayfish, called by the Cayapa pī′cū or a′bīcū, which is so abundant along the banks of the river and especially along the banks of the esteros tributary to the river. The opening of this dip-net is held in shape by a hoop made of a pliable vine simply bent around and its two ends tied firmly together. Thus one end of the hoop is rounding, and the opposite end, the one used as a handle, is fairly sharp-pointed. The dimensions of this opening are perhaps fifteen to twenty inches by thirty to thirty-six inches, and the distance from the rim to the point of the cone of the net itself is from twenty-four to thirty inches.

All nets are made from pita-fiber string, the details of the making of which, as also of net-weaving, are treated in the discussion of cordage and netting.

A corral, or impounding trap, such as that shown in pl. LXVII, is used by almost everyone living along the tidewater portion of this river system; and, owing to the level character of this coastal plain, the tidal rise

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

One is a jet black obtained by boiling the bark of a certain tree, and is used almost exclusively in the dyeing of old mantas or other pieces of cloth. The other is the red obtained from the achote and is used on rare occasions for coloring the material used in certain baskets and fans.

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386

WEAVING

Weaving is always done upon a crude, though fairly elaborate, loom consisting of twelve essential parts. In pl. CIX is shown a photograph of one of these looms as it appeared in use in a Cayapa house. This shows the parts of the loom to fair advantage, but they are even more clearly shown in pl. CX. These parts are as follow:

286 •

Lateral uprights, *a*, *b*	=	a′ipala
Cross-bars of frame, *c*, *d*	=	tyūnlū′ra
Warp guides, *e*, *f*	=	ya′ipe
Weaving batten, *g*	=	tsē′hwa
Shuttle, *h*	=	pī′picalyī
Warp separators, *i*, *j*	=	yade′mbū
Head bar, *k*	=	yade′mbū
Head stick to which the initial line of weaving is fastened, *l*		
Width gauge, *m*	=	ityu′lya

The lateral uprights (*a*, *b*) are two long and comparatively slender poles. One end of each is forked, and each point of the fork is sharpened to a chisel edge. The points of each of these poles are forced through one of the narrow cracks in the palmwood floor of the house and across one of the joists below. The upper end of the pole is bound securely to one of the beams of the house,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

•286 usually near the eaves. The foot of the pole is placed far enough from this beam so that when it is bound to the beam it forms an angle of about fifteen degrees with the perpendicular, thus carrying the upper part of the loom at a slight slant away from the weaver.

A heavy horizontal bar (*d*), usually about three inches in diameter, is next bound to the upright lateral poles at a distance of from three to six inches from the floor, and a similar bar (*c*) is bound farther up the poles, its position depending on the desired length of the cloth to be woven. It is always placed at a distance above the lower bar about six or eight inches greater than half the length of the piece of cloth to be made; thus for weaving an ordinary manta the bars are placed about three and a half feet apart. Both bars are fastened to the poles with heavy pita cords, those holding the upper cross-bar being simply bound around the pole, and those holding the lower bar being tied in through the forks at the bottom of the poles. The upper bar hangs down automatically, but the lower one is brought into place by means of two stout pita cords which pass round both transverse bars. Such cords are employed also to hold the movable bars (*i*, *j*) used as warp separators. Especially is this the case when the loom is being set up and before the warp threads are wound on it. These two cords hold the cross-bars in position by crossing, and are so placed that they are near either edge of the manta as it is being woven. The two uprights (*a*, *b*) and the two heavy transverse bars (*c*, *d*) are what may be termed the fixed elements of the loom, forming a rectangular framework upon which the warp is strung and the weaving done with what may be called the movable elements.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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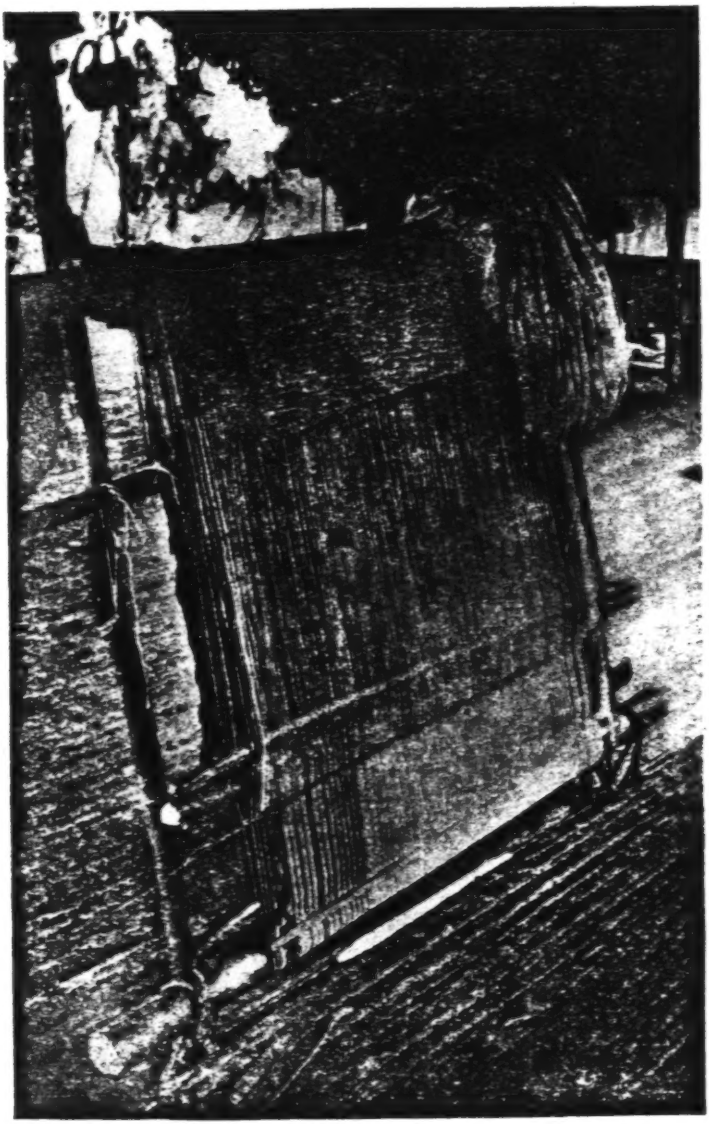

LOOM

[p. 260 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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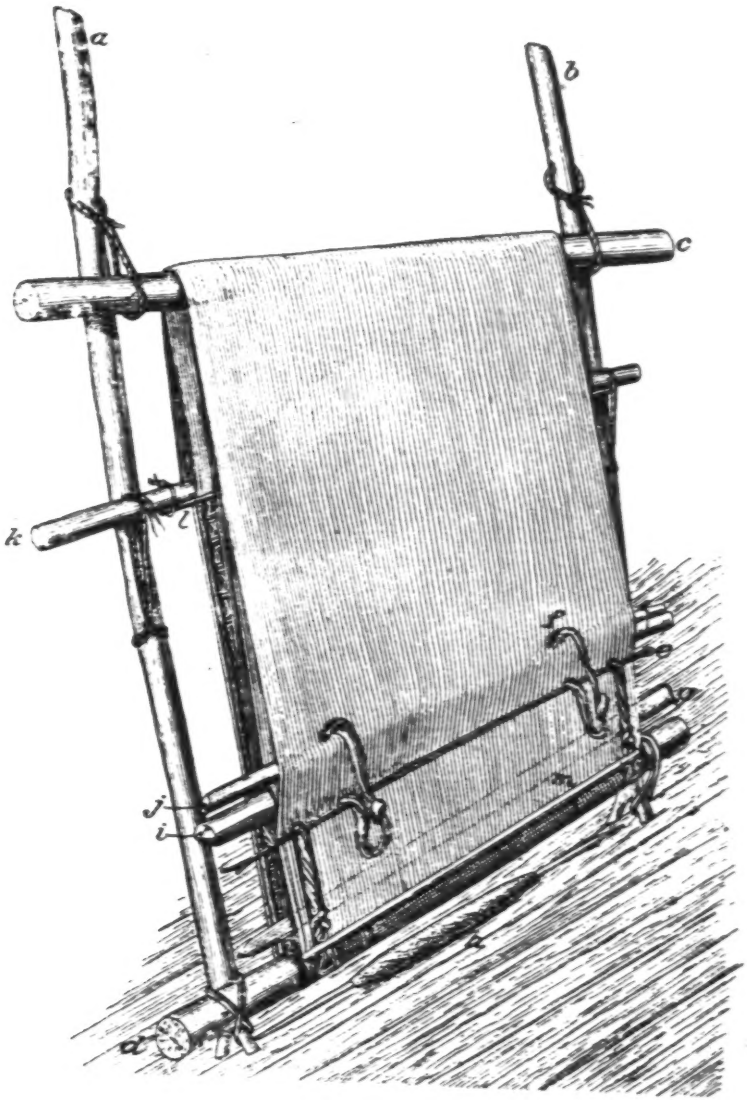

DIAGRAM OF LOOM

[p. 260(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

These active, movable elements are the two warp separators (*i*, *j*), the two warp guides (*e*, *f*), the shuttle (*h*), and the batten (*g*). The warp separators are fairly small transverse wooden bars, one usually somewhat smaller than the other, used in bringing to the front certain sets of warp strands as the weaving progresses. In certain cases where relatively simple designs are used, only one of these bars is required—the larger of the two is then employed. The warp guide (*e*) is employed in a similar manner; in fact this element consists chiefly of a long and fine pita string, which passes in and out of the warp strands and includes in its folds each alternate strand. As it comes to the front it passes round two flexible pitigua rods and thus forms a continuous line across the unwoven portion of the textile and serves, by virtue of the fact that in its folds are included each alternate warp strand, to bring to the front, as the pitigua rods are pulled outward, the warp strands which were at the rear when the shuttle was last passed through between the two sets of warp. On the other hand, since the horizontal rod *i* passes between these two sets of warp strands and has in front of it the set not included within the folds of the long string which forms *e*, the two work in opposition to each other, so that, when the warp strands controlled by *e* are brought forward, they may be again forced backward by rolling *i* down toward *e* sufficiently to carry back those controlled by *e* and bring forward those controlled by *i*. As above stated, the smaller rod *j* is not always used. When present, its function is to control certain strands of colored warp which it is desired to form into a design at regular intervals, such as an

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 alternation of small white and green squares. In mantas where such designs do not appear, the rod *j* is obviously not necessary.

While it is possible to control by such a rod as *j* the elements of a design composed of an equal number of strands at each insertion of the shuttle, and thus by a single downward movement of the rod to bring forward all the strands needed for several such lines of design, a special device, such as that at *f*, for sorting warp strands, is required in making more elaborate designs such as bird and animal forms and many geometric figures where varying numbers of warp strands are needed in different portions of the pattern. Such a device consists of loops of pita string, each including one of the colored warp strands used in making the particular set of designs under consideration. Having first manipulated the two portions of the warp in the general way provided for by the continuous string *e* and by the horizontal rods *i* and *j*, those particular warp strands used in making each one of the lines of especially elaborated designs must next be manipulated by a set of string loops such as those at *f*. This becomes simply a process of counting out the number of strands required for the particular part of the design in hand, this number varying as each different part of the bird, animal, or other pattern is reached. Having counted out and separated the loops containing the particular strands which it is desired to show at the front of the cloth, these loops are shoved down against *e*, the remainder being forced upward in order that they shall not interfere with the others when the two sets of strands are separated, which is done by simply

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

pulling upon those loops which contain the particular warp strands which it is desired to bring forward. When these are brought forward the weaving batten is passed behind them and the whole set of warp strands is properly separated and ready to receive the woof. This is accomplished by passing the shuttle through below the weaving batten, which is placed with its edges horizontally in order to separate the two sets of warp strands. 286

In threading up the loom, the warp threads are fastened to a thin, narrow, palm-wood rod (*l*). A heavier rod (*k*), on either side of which one-half of the warp strands pass, is fastened by means of loops to *a* and *b*, and bears the strain of the weaving as the batten is brought down with considerable force in order to drive down the preceding course of woof and produce a tightly woven piece of cloth.

The only remaining movable element of the loom, except the batten and the shuttle, is the width gauge (*m*), which is used to hold the manta to an exact width. This rod is made either of bamboo or of palm-wood, and is provided at either end with a single short and sharp point, which is stuck into the edge of the manta just below the line along which the weaving is being done. [824]

The batten (*g*) is a flat piece of wood, usually about two or two and one-half inches wide, and of a length six or eight inches greater than the width of an ordinary manta, or about three and one-half feet. Its edges and point are much like those of a heavy double-edged sword, and both the edges and the point are fairly sharp, thus permitting the point to be inserted easily between the warp strands and also allowing a direct and forceful blow

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 to be struck along the full width of the textile with the edge of the sword. These swords are always made of
286 the wood of the quende tree. This is a reddish, very hard
824 and durable wood, the surface of which is made extremely smooth with the leaf, lya'pic hakı, which is used especially for smoothing wooden objects. The quende is a rare wood in this region, and the battens are, on this account and also by reason of the difficulty of their manufacture, highly prized by the Cayapa. In fact, the
286 batten or sword is the only part of a loom which it is at all difficult to make and which cannot be easily replaced if broken or lost.

The shuttle is simply a cylindrical double-pointed rod of palm-wood, about half an inch in diameter and of a length slightly greater than the width of the cloth. Upon this rod is wound the weft. Beginning near the middle, the first winding is done in a space of six or seven inches along the middle of the shuttle. In passing the thread from one end to the other of this wound section, approximately a half-turn of the shuttle is made, the thread being given a complete turn about the shuttle at the end of the wound section, then being passed back with another half-turn to the opposite end of the wound section where another complete turn is given to hold it in place. So the winding proceeds back and forth from end to end of this middle section, each time the turn of the thread at the end of the section holding it from slipping. The wound section gradually increases in length until, when the shuttle is completely wound, it measures twelve or fifteen inches and forms at the middle of the shuttle a cigar-shape section from an inch to an inch and a half

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

in diameter. Since the thread is very fine, a great length may thus be wound on a single shuttle. 286

In setting up a loom, the upper horizontal bar (*c*) naturally falls into its proper place, but the lower bar (*d*) must, as above mentioned, be brought to its place by two pita strings, which pass from *d* to *c* and which serve also to hold the movable rods *i* and *j*. In inserting the movable rod *i*, the string which naturally comes at the front passes back of *i* and the one which naturally comes at the back passes in front of it, thus forming a sort of double figure eight. This holds the rod *i* in position, but at the same time admits of its movement up or down as may be desired. The rod *j* is similarly held. In this condition the loom is ready for threading.

Balls of warp thread of the desired colors are selected, white or brown cotton being used as the background, and lavender, green, red, and blue for working out the designs. In every case the warp elements are those which are visible and which produce the designs, and the stringing of the warp upon the loom requires considerable care in order to get the desired colors in the proper places and to get just the right number of warp strands in any given band. In stringing the loom the threads are wound round and round the two horizontal bars, *c*, *d*. The back of the loom when threaded appears as a sheet of fine parallel threads with nothing inserted among them. The front, on the other hand, presents a very different appearance, for in this winding every other thread passes behind the movable bar *i*, while the remaining threads pass in front of it. In this way *i* divides the front sheet of threads practically into two sections of equal numbers.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

•286 This is not strictly the case, however, for along those lines where it is intended to work out an elaborate pattern all the colored warp strands are passed back of the bar *i*.

Having completed the threading of the loom in this manner, two pieces of the flexible pitigua are obtained, together with a ball containing a very long and fine pita string. With these the guide *e* is made. The string is passed in and out between the adjacent warp strands upon the front surface of the loom, so that the warp strands in the rear half of this front sheet, that is, those strands lying back of the transverse bar *i*, are included, each in a separate turn of the string as it passes back between the warp strands that lie in the forward half of this sheet and again comes to the front. Each time this string comes to the front, it is wound in and out in the shape of a figure eight over the two flexible pitigua rods, the two rods being included in the loops of the eight. This holds the string firmly along this line at the front and permits it to pass back and to include another of the rear warp strands, after which it again comes to the front and repeats this course until the entire guide (*e*) is completed. As above stated, in weaving it is necessary only to pull forward upon these two transverse pitigua rods with their attached string to bring forward all the warp strands at the rear of this front sheet or set and pull them completely through, each individual strand passing between the adjacent warp strands lying in the front part of this set. Thus the strands which were at the rear now become the front strands, and those which were at the front become the rear strands. The lateral pressure of the strands upon one another is sufficient to hold

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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WOVEN FABRIC BEING STRETCHED

[p. 266 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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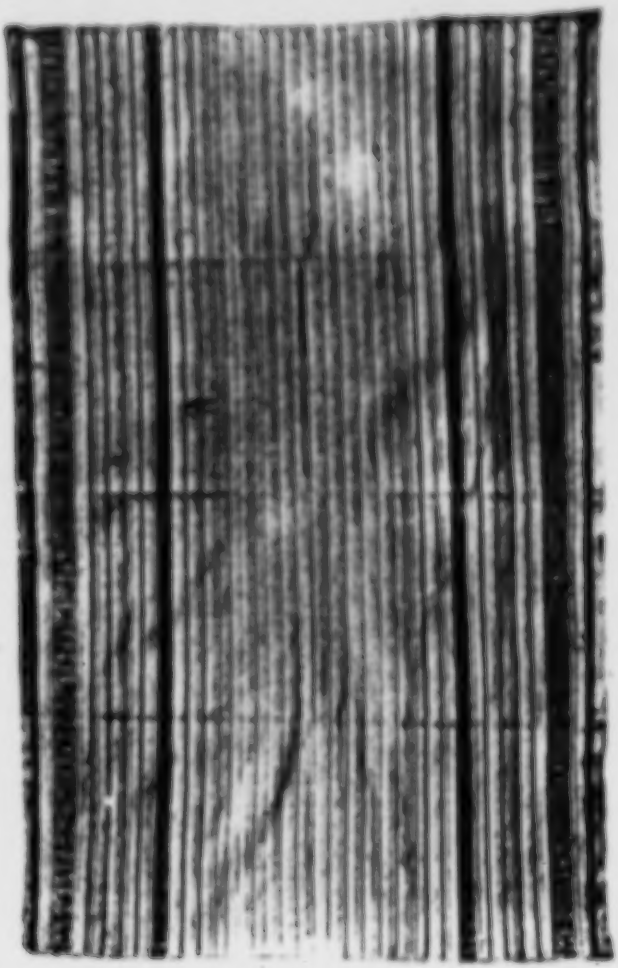

MANTA OR SKIRT

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 266(8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

them in place when once they have been drawn forward, 236
thus when it is desired to bring forward these rear strands, the transverse pitigua rods of *e* are pulled forward and the batten is inserted between what then becomes the front set of warp strands and those which are then at the rear. This sets the entire warp in the proper order for producing this certain course in all those simple designs which do not require special sorting of the warp elements.

By the use of the guide *e*, as above mentioned, the relative positions of the warp strands were reversed so that those which were originally at the rear and which passed back of the guide rod *i* are now at the front, and vice versa. Obviously, therefore, when it is desired again to reverse the relative positions of these two sets of warp strands, it is necessary only to bring the bar *i* down, which is always done with a rolling motion, thus gently forcing the strands that passed back of the bar, but which are now in front at the point where the shuttle and the batten were last inserted, again to the rear and bringing those which are now at the rear but which formerly passed over the front of the bar *i* again to the front at the point where the shuttle and batten are next to be inserted. By the use of the rod *i* and the guide *e* in this manner, it is of course possible to bring forward alternately the two sets of warp strands in a wholesale way, as they are required in the weaving.

If a perfectly plain piece of cloth were woven in this manner, no devices for shifting the warp other than the two above mentioned would be necessary, since no difficulty would be encountered in the matter of designs. A fairly simple device is used in those cases

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

• 286 where certain regular alternations only are needed. This is a smaller bar (*j*) which controls certain of those strands that pass in front of the bar *i*. This bar (*j*) has no connection with the rear set of these strands. Now, when all the strands passing in front of the bar *i* are forced to the rear by pulling the guide *e* and its set of warp elements forward, those certain strands of the set which pass in front of *i* but which are needed forward, are brought to the surface by rolling *j* down over *i* to a point where it is possible to insert the batten so as to bring these few elements to the front.

Where still more elaborate designs, such as complex geometric figures, animal and bird forms, and others, are desired, it is necessary each time to sort out by hand the special warp strands needed for the particular line of design then in hand. As above mentioned, the transverse bar *i* divides the set of warp strands into two groups approximately equal in numbers, the alternate strands passing respectively in front and behind the bar. All those colored warp strands, however, which are used for these more elaborate designs pass to the rear of bar *i*, and in order to sort these out and bring them forward as needed, a device (*f*) similar to that used in connection with the two transverse pitiguas in *e* is employed, though in this case the individual threads catching the warp strands are much longer. The threads employed in the guide *e* and which are used to bring the whole rear section of the warp to the front, are not attached to the particular strands controlled by *f*. The longer threads of *f* pass about these, and these only. Thus, after those strands which are controlled by *e* or those controlled by *i* have

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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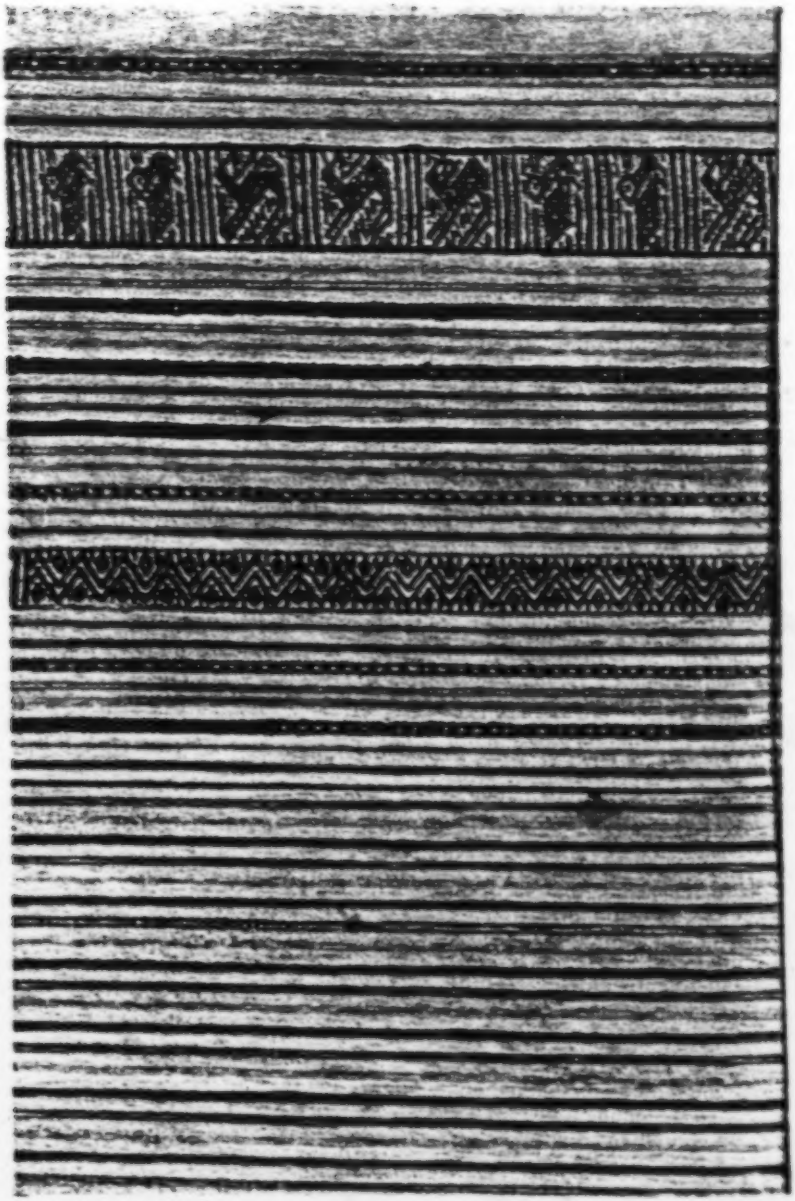

[Black and white reproduction of a color plate]

[p. 268(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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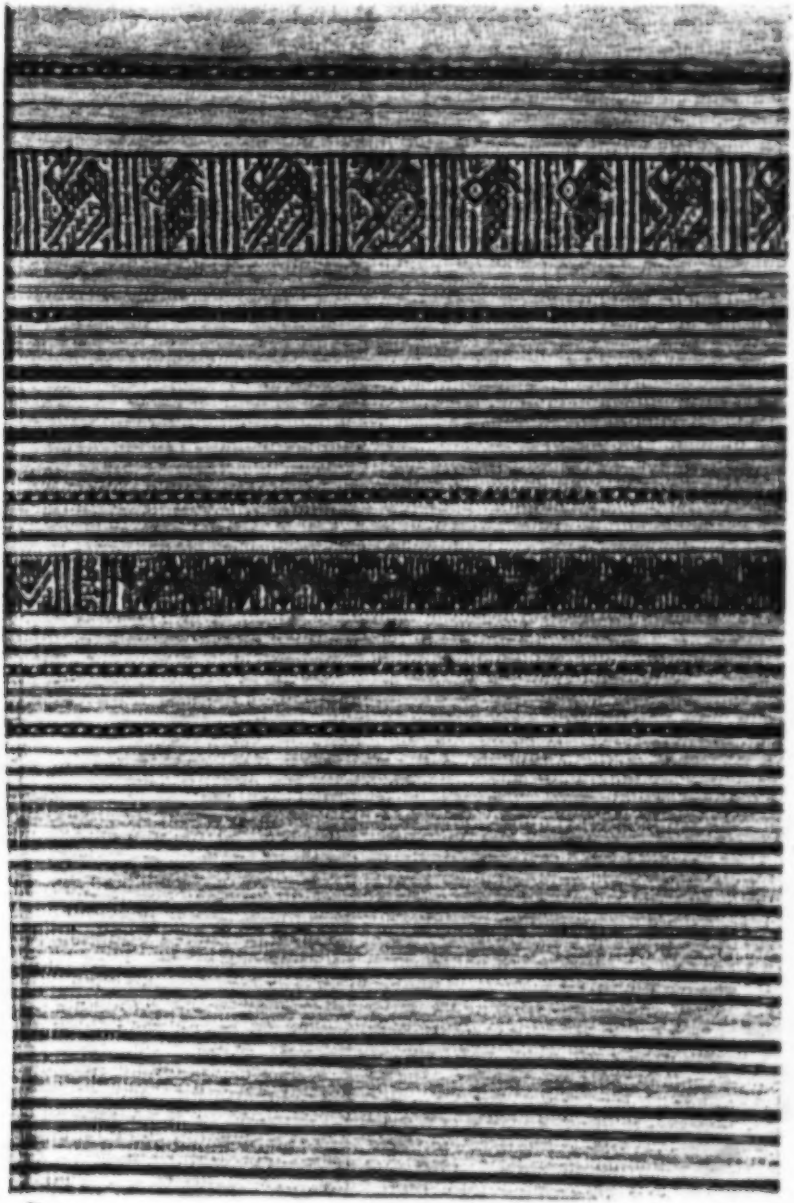

DETAIL OF MANTA PATTERN

[Black and white reproduction of a color plate]

[p. 268(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 been brought into their proper position and the warp set in a general way for the particular line of weaving in hand, the bunch of long strings comprising *f* is taken up and are sorted out. They are counted off and the ones attached to those particular warp strands which it is desired to bring to the front are passed downward, the remainder being passed upward to a distance of several inches from the former. Having arranged one after another of these sets of warp strands, and having thus set in proper order the particular strands which are to be brought to the front, the pointed end of the batten (*g*) is inserted and passed from the right toward the left. Those particular strands controlled by the strings of *f* which are needed at the front are pulled forward with the left hand as the batten is inserted. No attention need be paid to any of the remainder of the warp strands as the batten is inserted, since these are automatically controlled by *e*, *i*, and *j*.

Having thus properly inserted the batten, it is grasped at each end by one hand and is brought down several times with forceful and even blows, thus driving the warp strands, each pair of which crosses above the preceding horizontal weft element, down very closely upon it. The batten is then raised three or four inches and so turned that its flat surface lies horizontally. This spreads the two sets of warp elements apart and the shuttle is passed through between them, thus bringing another of the fine weft elements into position. This weft element is pulled very carefully into its place and given just the right tension, since any undue amount of tension upon it, or on the other hand any undue laxity,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 would cause an unevenness at the edge of the textile, or, what would be worse, a series of these might cause a puckering or a gaping at some point in the textile body. The batten is then withdrawn and the warp elements are crossed above this new weft element, and are set in their proper positions by means of the devices *e*, *i*, *j*, and *f*, as above described, after which the batten is again inserted and brought down edgewise with its forceful blows to drive firmly the new crossing of the warp elements down upon the newly inserted weft.

From the above description it will be seen that the patterns of Cayapa soft textiles are formed entirely by the warp elements, the weft being almost entirely invisible in the properly made cloth.

There is but this one cloth technic among the Cayapa, the only approximation to a variation of this being in those designs where a diagonal line is desired, in which case there is an arrangement of the elements that approximates twilling.

As before stated, the loom is so arranged that its lowest part is not more than four or five inches above the floor, and it is upon the lower portion of the loom that the [516] weaving itself is done. The weaver sits, tailor fashion, upon a piece of bark cloth only, or sometimes upon a very low stool, and weaves a section of cloth eight or ten inches in height, after which the lashings of the rod *k* are loosened so that the work may be slipped around as would an ordinary band upon the two transverse bars *c* and *d*, thus bringing the last line of the work down almost to the bar *d* again. Keeping the work low in this manner has a double advantage: it is easier to

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

PL. CXIV

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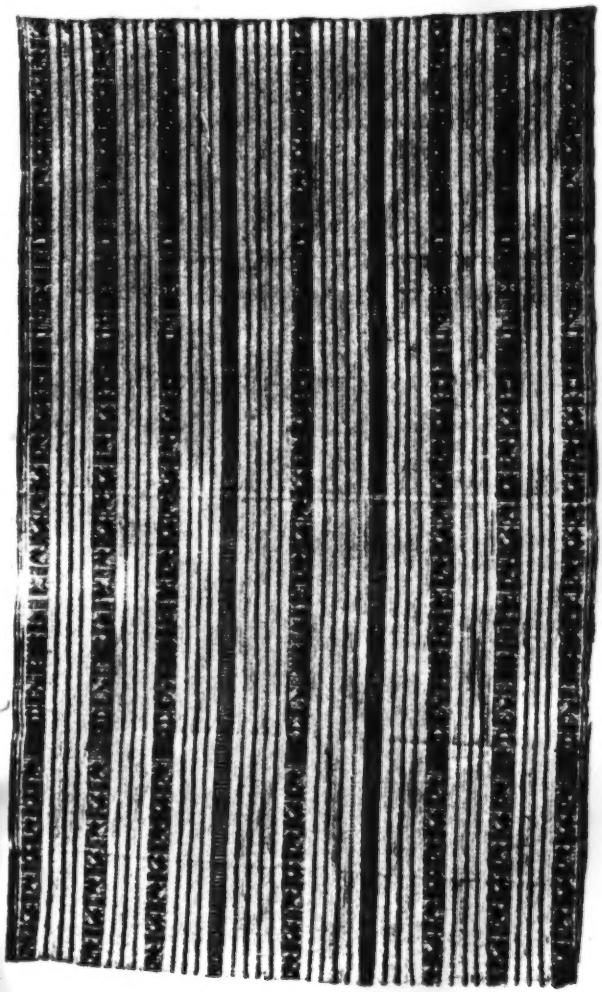
291



MANTA OR SKIRT

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 270(1)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 strike a forceful blow with the batten if it is struck at a point somewhat below the level of the shoulders, and it is easier to manipulate the several devices, *e*, *i*, *j*, and *f*, used for controlling the warp elements. Thus, by a series of such readjustments, the line along which the weaving is being actually done is kept uniformly low, and the labor therefore rendered as easy as possible. This continues until the proper length of the textile has been reached, when the two ends of the woven section are usually about a foot apart, the loom having been originally set up with this allowance. A narrower section of unwoven warp strands it would be impossible to have at this juncture in this particular technic, since with a narrower section there would not be sufficient room to manipulate the devices used for controlling these strands.

Having completed the weaving, two fine hard-twisted cotton or pita strings are prepared and with these the ends of the woven section are bound. This binding is done with two elements, one horizontal, passing on the front, and the other wrapping element passing spirally around the horizontal element in such manner as to include at each turn two pairs of warp strands. As it passes back it goes above the horizontal cord. It then takes a turn downward and toward the right in such a way as to include two pairs of warp elements and again comes out below the horizontal cord and on the front surface of the cloth, after which it goes up and over this horizontal cord and includes two other parts of warp elements as it again passes downward and behind the horizontal cord. By a repetition of this method the whole edge is securely bound from the left toward the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 right. When this is completed the batten is again inserted and this binding firmly driven home against the last row of weaving.

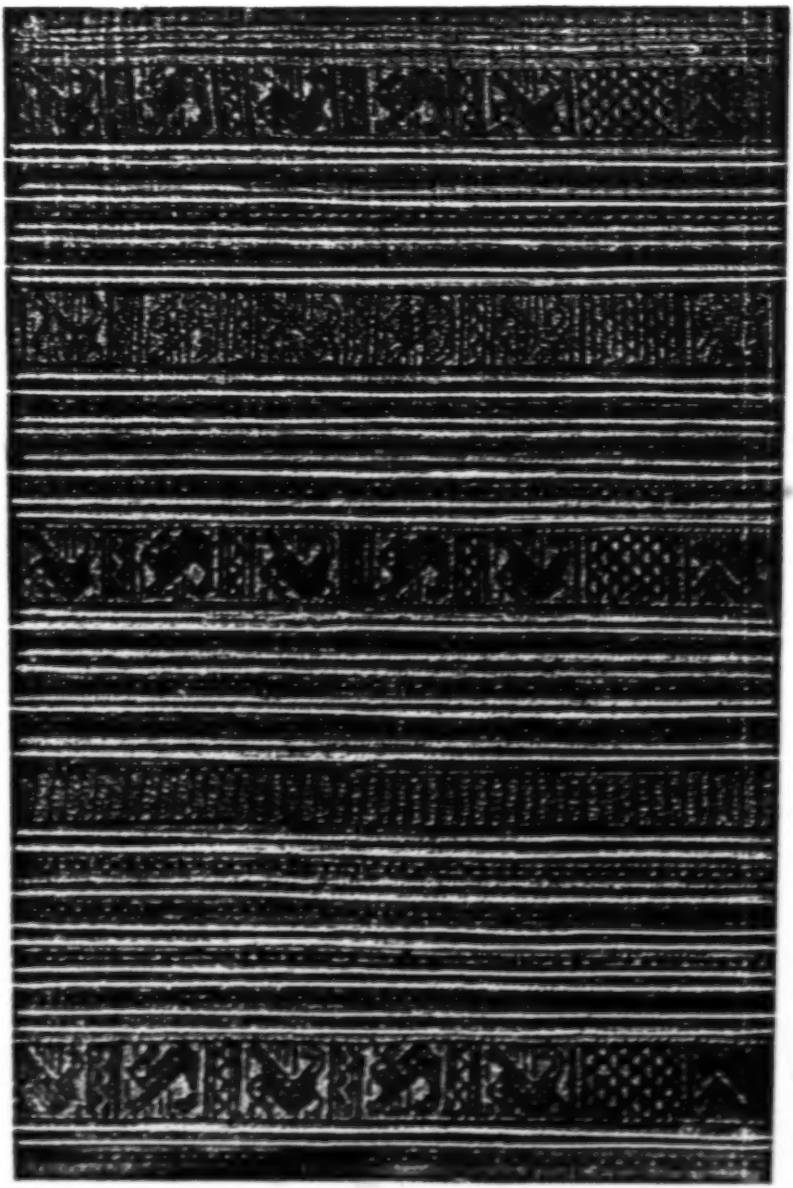
The colored warp elements are now carefully selected and cut out close to the two ends of the weaving. Thus there are left only the white or brown cotton threads used as the body of the warp and the background for the patterns. These are cut about midway between the two ends of the weaving, thus freeing the textile from the loom.

Now and then it happens that, in the course of weaving, some of the warp or weft elements are broken, when it is necessary to tie them. The loose ends of such a tied strand naturally appear on one or the other of the surfaces of the fabric, which is now carefully inspected and such projecting ends cut off with a sharp knife.

Two small wooden rods a few inches longer than the width of the textile are next procured and the textile at each end is tied by means of the fringe of warp elements to one of the rods. There are twenty or even thirty such ties made around each of the rods. The textile is then taken to the river-bank, where four posts are driven in such manner that it may be stretched horizontally by tying the ends of the rods to the posts (pl. CXI). The fabric is then thoroughly wet and allowed to dry in the sun, which shrinks it as much as is possible, adjusting the strands one to another and tending to reduce any stiffness in the textile.

286 412 When dried the fabric is taken down and the fringe untied from the rods. A hemispherical calabash vessel or other rounded surface is next provided and with a

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6



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[Black and white reproduction of a color plate]

[p. 272(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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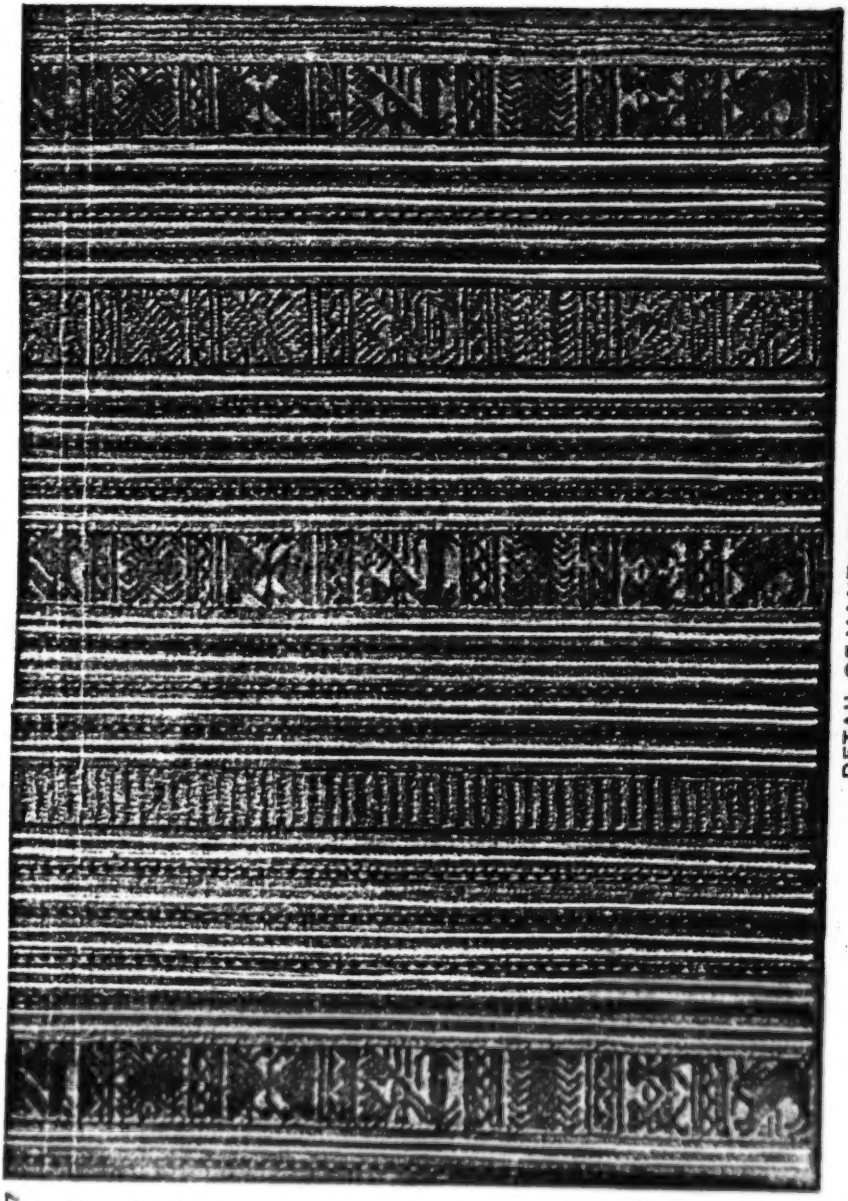

DETAIL OF MANTA PATTERN

[Black and white reproduction of a color plate]
[p. 272 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

sharp knife the fringe, placed against the calabash, is trimmed close to the binding at the edge. The fabric is now ready for use.

Mantas (pls. CXII–CXV), called tyū′nya by the Cayapa, used by the women as skirts, and also mochos (pl. CXVI), called wa′ra, are almost the only textiles now made. No other aboriginal garments are worn except the narrow belt (pl. CVII, 1, 2) used by the women in connection with the manta. These belts are woven in precisely the same manner as are the wider textiles, except that a loom is not used unless it is desired to make a wide and elaborate belt.

For narrow belts two short wooden pegs are driven into a section of a plantain or other succulent stem, and upon these the warp strands of the belt are set up on the two transverse bars (*c*, *d*) of a regular loom. For a narrow belt, pita string is often used as the weft. The wide belts are often nicely decorated with geometric or bird and animal figures. For weaving a narrow belt, no shuttle or batten is used ordinarily, the string being passed in the form of a ball between the warp elements, and the finger used to drive the weaving down tightly. The ends of narrow belts are not provided with a special binding; the warp strands at each end are simply braided, usually in two sections, the braids being used for the attachment of tassels made usually of red or blue woolen yarn.

Mantas, of course, are of various sizes, governed by the age of the persons for whom intended. The manta of an adult woman usually measures about thirty by sixty inches, and requires often several months for its weaving,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 since such weaving is done in large measure only at odd times.

The trunks or mocho (pl. CXVI) worn by the men is [294] made of cloth woven by the women, a special narrow fabric being produced for this purpose. One of these pieces of cloth contains enough for two mochos. It is always cut and sewed by the men themselves, some of [462] them being adept with the needle. The women know almost nothing about sewing. It ordinarily even falls to the men to make the small mochos for the boys until they are old enough to sew for themselves.

The subject of manta designs is treated under Decorative Art.

CORDAGE AND NETTING

283 [824] In most cases cordage and nets are made of the fine, long, white fibers obtained from the leaf of the plant called in Spanish pita and in Cayapa sa′nō, and to a much more limited extent the fibers from the bark of a tree called in Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa señgī′lya are used.

The preparation and manipulation of pita, to which reference has been made hitherto, are quite elaborate. The long, slender, full-grown leaves of the plant are cut off close to the ground and brought to the house in bundles, such as those shown leaning against the house in pl. LXVI. While the leaf is still green the fibers are extracted by first scraping off the succulent portion of the concave side of the leaf and then stripping out the fibers 283 from the remainder. For this scraping there are required 413 a semi-cylindrical log of palm-wood, called sañwi cī′nō,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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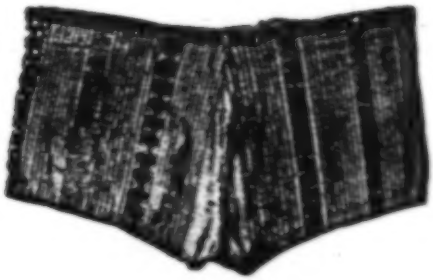

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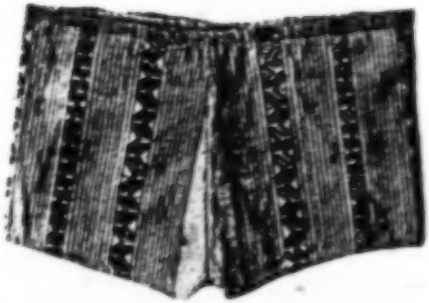

2

3

MOCHOS OR TRUNKS

[p.274(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283 several other cords are completed, these are added to the braids at the ends. Thus by adding group after group of these braids, when the whole bundle of cords is completed and both its ends are braided it forms a skein of cords which appears like that shown in pl. CXVIII, 3. The skein is kept in this form and the individual cords are extracted from its middle. This tends to pull backward and to loosen the braids at the two ends of the bundle and thus easily to free the ends of the individual cord from the braids.

[824] The other kind of string obtained from the bark of the tree called in Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa señgī'lya, is made in a manner similar to that employed in making pita string. The fibers used in making this string are obtained by beating out the bark by the method employed in making bark cloth. After being washed, as in the case of bark cloth also, these fibers are dried, folded, and bound into bundles (pl. CXIX, 2). When needed, the sheets are taken from the bundle and the fibers are separated and twisted into a heavy and rather loose cord which serves very well for making a hammock or as the main cable of a trot-line (pl. CXIX, 1), but otherwise is little used. The string bears the same Cayapa name as the tree itself, and its primary use is for hammocks, which are woven with the same technic as are fish-nets, shortly to be described. The meshes are, however, extremely large and are made without the aid of a mesh-stick, being kept sufficiently even by the eye alone.

[352 227]

•286

The Cayapa do not splice cords by twisting together the fibers at their ends, as is done by some Indians. An individual pita cord is usually from ten to sixteen feet

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

in length and is used as a distinct unit in the weaving. When the weaving has proceeded to within six or eight inches of the end of the cord, a second is simply tied to it in a square knot and thus is added a new unit of material. Hence no shuttle is required as among peoples who use a very long thread or cord. In fact the only implement required in weaving is the mesh-stick, which is usually of bamboo, although large ones are sometimes made of wood. It is ordinarily from five to seven inches in length and varies in width according to the size of mesh desired (fig. 26). The relatively wide ones used in weaving the large-meshed set-net are called wa'lō tcīpapa, thus differentiating this form from that known as a/a'ia tcīpapa, or ate' tcīyapa, used in weaving the casting net. The general term for mesh-stick is ya' tcīpapa.

FIG. 26.—Mesh-sticks or gauges for weaving nets

In weaving one of the large set-nets, such as that shown in pl. CXX, 2, and called by the Cayapa wa'kū, the required number of knots, usually five, is first tied to start the corner of one end. By adding a knot at each end, new meshes are added; and as each row of meshes is woven, the width of the net may be increased to any desired degree. This first portion of the net forms a right triangle, one side of which represents the width of the net, the other an equal length along one side of the net. The hypotenuse of the triangle is the line along

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 which the weaving is done. By weaving now evenly along this line without adding more meshes to the succeeding lines, a rectangular net of the desired length is produced. The final corner of the net is made by dropping knots and meshes in the succeeding rows of weaving: in other words, by exactly reversing the process employed in starting the original corner.

[284]

FIG. 27.—Net weaving and detail of knot

All nets are woven with the same type of knot, two details of which are exhibited in fig. 27. In *a* is shown one of these knots opened to a considerable extent, and in *b* this knot is shown as it appears closed and drawn tightly in the net. The use of the mesh-stick is also shown in the figure, which illustrates the beginning of a conical dip-net. The technic of this net differs somewhat from that of the set-net above described, but the knot employed and the use of the mesh-stick are the same.

[227]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Starting with a series of five knots and meshes at the point, this net is widened, as in the case of that above described, by adding an extra mesh at each end of each course. In addition, an extra mesh is added at the middle of each course, thus producing a double line down the middle of the net, as shown in fig. 27. To complete the net it is necessary only to join the open edges. This produces a conical net about two feet deep from the point to the opening, which is itself about thirty six by eighteen inches.

The principle of the conical casting net, shown in pl. cxx, 1, is presumably adopted from the negroes, being made in exactly the same way as the nets manufactured by them. Furthermore, it bears the name ata'is, clearly derived from the local Spanish term atarraya.

In general technic this net is similar to the set-net above described, although its point is started quite differently. First a considerable number of fine pita cords (in one instance forty were counted) are braided tightly together to form a strong loop about two inches long, into which is fastened the line by which the net is drawn in after a cast is made from the canoe. The loop must be very strong, and in order to add to its strength it is tightly wound for a space of three-quarters of an inch along its lower part. Out of this binding emerge therefore, in the above-mentioned instance, the forty pairs of strands which are immediately tied to form the first course of forty knots and meshes. The second course has the same number, but thenceforth the number increases. Into every alternate mesh of this second course is looped another cord, thus producing in the third course

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

284 sixty meshes. This number is kept up to the seventh course, where twenty more cords, distributed at regular intervals, are looped in. Hence in the eighth course eighty knots appear. Thus the additions proceed at these regular intervals, twenty new elements being added at every fifth course up to the sixty-second course of knots. Since this process begins at the second course, these additions are made to come on those courses whose numbers end in two and seven: two, seven, twelve, seventeen, etc. Hence, when the sixty-third course is tied there is a total of three hundred knots and meshes, and this number is maintained throughout the remainder of the one hundred and twenty-seven courses of the net. The meshes of this particular net are two centimeters square throughout its length of eight feet, seven inches. As it is cast by a fisherman it easily covers a circle ten or twelve feet in diameter.

287 286 These nets are usually made of fine pita cord in the upper part of the cone and of slightly coarser cord in the last quarter or third near its mouth. The heavier cord is apparently used in this portion of the net because of the greater wear and tear due to the struggles of the entrapped fish and because the net is weighted about its mouth with sinkers. These lead or stone sinkers often aggregate twenty-five to thirty pounds in weight and carry the net quickly to the bottom.

286 [288] The only other netted device made by the Cayapa is the hammock, which is made either of coarse pita string or of the heavy kuna-kuna string. The meshes of such a hammock are very coarse, hence comparatively few cords are required. To start with, the proper number

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

227
286

FISHING NETS
[p. 284(a)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

of cords is selected and of them is made a large loop, the lower inch or so of which is securely wrapped as in the case of the loop of the casting net, and it is from this wrapping that the cords emerge. In one instance, that of a hammock made of pita cord, there are fourteen of these cords coming out of this wrapping. To these are added the end of the cord with which the wrapping is done. With these fifteen cords the body of the hammock is woven. Each alternate course of knots numbers seven, while the next course contains eight. The meshes of such hammocks are not made over a mesh-stick, and hence vary somewhat in the same hammock. In the example above mentioned they range from four and one-half to six inches square. In this instance seventeen courses of knots were required to complete the hammock, which, when closed and stretched, measures eight feet in extreme length. The second end is finished off with the same kind of a loop as that above described. The description of this hammock will serve for all, there being little variation.

286

DECORATIVE ART

From considerations of technic the decorative art of the Cayapa falls into four classes: textile decoration, incised decoration, painting, and carving. In the first class belong such designs as appear on twilled baskets, fans, mats, and soft textiles; the second class is confined entirely to the surfaces of calabash utensils and to a slight extent to pottery; the third is found on canoes and on the human body; and the fourth class is confined to wooden dolls, paddle handles, and sometimes seats.

531

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

531
552
286

CLOTH DESIGNS: HUMAN AND MAMMAL FIGURES

[p. 288 (8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

which a slight attempt is made to ornament the edge of the shoulder of a vessel with a few incised lines or dots. No names are given to these simple decorations, and no attempt is made to work out any regular patterns even in the rare instances in which they are used.

The designs in hard textiles—twilled baskets, mats, and fans—are purely geometric, fairly simple (as is shown in pl. CV), and few in number. These conditions are quite natural and are imposed by the character of the material and the technic employed. There is comparatively little naming of these designs. Zigzags such as those shown in figs. 3 and 5 of the plate are called dē'tcû, and figures such as are illustrated in figs. 25 and 27 are commonly called kapû'ka, signifying "eye."

Soft Textile Designs

It is in the soft textiles that the greatest variety of both geometric and realistic designs appears and where the only detailed naming of designs occurs. A table of the names of the various manta designs shown in pl. CXXIII-CXXVII, together with a glossary, is given in the following pages. From these data various interesting facts concerning the names of manta designs are apparent.

The names may be classified as: mammals, birds, reptiles, insects, miscellaneous animate objects, parts of animate objects, plants, artificial objects, geometric figures, and untranslatable terms. The following tabulation will show the various numbers in each class.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Mammals:
- human being
- monkey (two species)
- horse
- burro
- cow
- dog
- goat
- sheep
- guinea pig
- deer

Birds:
- pi'tcû
- la'pitcû
- tû'mbitcîlûli
- hawk
- pelican
- turkey
- buzzard
- frigate bird
- duck
- egret
- dove (general term)
  - pactû'kû
  - wa'pû'pû
- chicken

Reptiles:
- snake (general term)
- boa constrictor
- lizard

Insects:
- centipede
- scorpion
- tick
- spider

Miscellaneous animate objects:
- crab
  - nê'lû
  - te'pûl nê'lû
  - There are also three compound terms in which the word crab appears.
- turtle
- toad

Parts of animate objects:
- eye (general term)
  - little eye
  - kapû'ka ya dêtcû
  - ka'pû tcilara
  - kapûka dalala ke"tû
  - dû'lalara kapûka
- ear
- lizard foot
- lizard egg
- tongue of sting-ray

Plants:
- pitigua
- fruit

Artificial objects:
- feast table
- belt or girdle
- ladder
- steps of ladder
- stick used for face painting
- top
- bait
- steel, of "flint-and-steel"
- canoe design
- cross
- handkerchief design
  - also te'mbû balya'lya

Geometric figures:
- zigzag
  - se'rañ dêtcû
  - ê' dêtcû
  - ûyû'mi dêtcû
  - de"pañmi dêtcû
  - dê'tcû serañ tsû'a
- horizontal

Miscellaneous:
- technic (the bandilas technic is mentioned).
- color

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Untranslatable terms:

balya'lya
balya'lyac
delam ba''ta
de'we
dū'lalara
hō'lara
hū''la
hū'lara
hū'rula
hū'rūlara
kūē'bū
nim bi'lya
pala'cla
pala'la
pala'c lara
pala'lac
pala'lara
pala'ra
palū'c lara
pala'tcū
petī
pū'ka ka
se'rañ
tapū'lyū
tē'pū balya'lya
tyūlya'lya
tyūm bi'lya
wīlū'cla
tyū'ndyū tcī lara

286
531
552

While there is a large series of geometric figures, as shown in pls. CXXV–CXXVII, and while these appear on mantas in fully as great as, if not in greater numbers than do the realistic figures, inspection shows that these are really variations of a comparatively few geometric elements, chiefly the zigzag, the cross, the triangle, and the rectangle, and that in reality there are not such a large number of distinctive designs as might at first appear. Furthermore, an inspection of the native names of these designs, most of which are of the untranslatable class, shows that the Cayapa recognize these similarities and that little realism is read into the designs by them. In fact the designs called eye, steps of a ladder, crab design (by which is meant the tracks made by a crab in the mud), and steel for striking fire, are the only ones of known significance that show evidence of a tendency toward realism in geometric forms. There may be among the untranslatable terms some which would, if their significations were known, show a similar tendency.

286
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286
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552

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 531 Conventionalization of realistic designs, on the other hand, is somewhat more common, though this conventionalization is such as might be expected to be imposed by the nature of the textile and by the technic employed. Among the best examples of this are such human beings as those shown in pl. CXXIII, 12–16, or such toads as those illustrated in 17 and 18 of the same plate.

Another good example of this tendency is shown in fig. 42, called pelican, and in fig. 45 which is called dog and also monkey. In general this tendency toward the conventionalization of realistic designs appears to be present chiefly among the more unskilled weavers, and it will be observed that as a rule the more finely woven and better textiles from a technical point of view show correspondingly greater skill in design and a greater tendency toward realism. In such textiles the designs are usually of such a nature that there can be no doubt as to their import.

Perhaps one of the most striking features of the textile patterns of the Cayapa is what may be termed an abhorrence of vacant spaces. It will be observed that in a design to which any claim to elaborateness can be made, the tendency is to fill all corners and small areas, not directly connected with the main motif of the pattern, with lines, dots, or other small figures.

531 In conclusion, therefore, it may be said that the decorative art of the Cayapa is characterized by the following features:

1. A predominance of geometric patterns which in a large measure bear no names and have no definite signification.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

2. The presence upon textiles, and to a lesser extent upon calabash utensils, of realistic designs, which in certain instances tend toward conventionalization.

3. A slight tendency toward the assignment of realistic significations to what appear to be purely geometric forms.

4. The abhorrence of vacant spaces, shown by the filling of all small areas about a large design with dots, lines, and other irrelevant devices.

TABLE OF MANTA DESIGN NAMES

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXIII	1	human being (tca'tcī)
	2	human being (tca'tcī)
	3	human being (tca'tcī)
	4	human being (tca'tcī)
		toad (sa'pū, Spanish sapo)
	5	human being (tca'tcī)
	6	human being (tca'tcī)
	7	human being (tca'tcī)
	8	human being (tca'tcī)
	9	pala'la (untranslatable)
	10	pala'la (untranslatable)
	11	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
	12	spider (mū'tele, Spanish araña)
		human being (tca'tcī)
	13	human being (tca'tcī)
	14	human being (tca'tcī)
	15	human being (tca'tcī)
	16	human being (tca'tcī)
	17	toad (sa'pū, Spanish sapo)
		hū'rūlara or hū''la (untranslatable)
	18	toad (sa'pū, Spanish sapo)
	19	human being (tca'tcī)
		toad (sa'pū, Spanish sapo)
	20	toad (sa'pū, Spanish sapo)
	21	hū''la or pala'tcu (untranslatable)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXIII	22	monkey (cū′rĭ, Spanish machin, mico; and wo′cū, Spanish mono)
	23	monkey (cū′rĭ, Spanish machin, mico)
	24	horse (k wa′lyū, Spanish caballo), with human being (tca′tcĭ)
	25	horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo)
	26	horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo) goat (tcĭ′bū, Spanish chivo)
	27	horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo) goat (tcĭ′bū, Spanish chivo)
	28	ho′lara (untranslatable) human being (tca′tcĭ)
	29	monkey (cū′rĭ, Spanish machin, mico)
	30	horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo), with human being (tca′tcĭ)
	31	monkey (cu′rĭ, Spanish machin, mico) horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo)
	32	No interpretation obtained
	33	horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo)
	34	horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo)
	35	cow (waga′ra, Spanish vaca)
	36	horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo)
	37	horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo)
	38	pelican (nana″ ka, Spanish alcatraz) crab (ne′lū, the small red land-crab) monkey (wa′cū, Spanish mono)
	39	monkey (cū′rĭ, Spanish machin, mico)
	40	deer (ma′na)
	41	deer (ma′na) hawk (hūya′lyū, Spanish gabilan)
	42	pelican (nana″ ka, Spanish alcatraz)
	43	human being (tca′tcĭ)
	44	No interpretation obtained
	45	dog (kū′tca) monkey (wo′cū, wa′cū, Spanish mono)
CXXIV	1	guinea pig (a″tse) sheep (ōic′a, Spanish oveja)
	2	guinea pig (a″tse)
	3	guinea pig (a″tse)
	4	sheep (ōica, Spanish oveja) guinea pig (a″tse)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXIV	5	human being (tca'tcī), with guinea pig (a''tse), or sheep (ōī'ca, Spanish oveja)
	6	human being (tca'tcī), with sheep (ōī'ca, Spanish oveja), or guinea pig (a''tse)
	7	horse (kawa'lyū, Spanish caballo) dog (kū'ıca)
	8	guinea pig (a''tse) sheep (ōī'ca, Spanish oveja)
	9	goat (tcī'bū, Spanish chivo)
	10	guinea pig (a''tse) cow (waga'ra, Spanish vaca)
	11	guinea pig (a''tse) burro (bū'rū)
	12	An animal form for which no name was obtained
	13	An animal design; no information available. It resembles a lizard and might be given by the Cayapa the name of any one of several species of lizards.
	14	horse (kawa'lyū, Spanish caballo)
	15	cow (waga'ra, Spanish vaca)
	16	monkey (cū'rī, Spanish machin, mico) sheep (ōī'ca, Spanish oveja)
	17	human being (tca'tcī) tyu'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
	18	An animal form; no name obtained
	19	dog (kū'tca)
	20	bird (pī'tcū; particular species not stated
	21	pelican (nana''ka) horse (kawa'lyū). These names apply to the large bird which is the chief figure in this design. The small triangular portion of this design is called tembū balya'lya or tembū pī'lya (tembū, a contraction of tembū'pū, signifying handkerchief)
	22	domestic turkey (kastē'lya walya'pa, literally Spanish or Castilian chicken) kūē'bū (untranslatable)
	23	bird (pī'tcū)
	24	bird (pī'tcū) dove (a small species of a reddish color, called by the Cayapa wa'pū'pū)

286
531
552

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXIV	25	pelican (nana″ka) dove (a large reddish species, called in Cayapa pactû′kû)
	26	pelican (nana″ka) chicken (walya′pa)
	27	No name was obtained. It resembles the design shown in figure 33, which was called pelican (nana″ka)
	28	horse (kawa′lyû, Spanish caballo). This interpretation appears to be in error. The design is clearly a bird form, not that of a horse. It resembles in all essential details the design shown in figure 33, which was called pelican (nana″ka)
	29	white egret (ka″tsû, Spanish garsa) bird (pî′tcû) pelican (nana″ka) dove; exact species not stated
	30	pelican (nana″ka)
	31	bird (pî′tcû) dove; exact species not stated
	32	No name was obtained for this design, but in many respects it resembles that shown in figure 45, which was called white egret (ka″tsû, Spanish garsa)
	33	pelican (nana″ka)
	34	frigate bird (nyambûwa′tû)
	35	pelican (nana″ka)
	36	buzzard (kû′ndûrûrû, petyû′tyû, Spanish gallinaso) pelican (nana″ka) horse (kawa′lyû, Spanish caballo) goat (tcî′bû, Spanish chivo)
	37	pelican (nana″ka) chicken (walya′pa)
	38	pelican (nana″ka) duck (pa′tû, Spanish pato)
	39	tu′mbîtsîîîî (a small black bird with red beak)
	40	pelican (nana″ka)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

CLOTH DESIGNS: MAMMAL, BIRD, AND INSECT FIGURES

[p. 296 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

PL. CXXV

CLOTH DESIGNS: MAMMAL GROUPS AND GEOMETRIC FIGURES

[p.296(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXIV	41	pelican (nana″ka)
	42	dove (a small reddish species, called by the Cayapa wa'pū'pū)
	43	No name was obtained for these two birds. They would be called birds (pī'tcū), at least, and would probably be given specific names
	44	bird, a small species, black and yellow in color, a good singer and is much kept by the Cayapa as a pet (la'pī'tcū, Spanish pichichu) buzzard (petyū'tyū, kū'ndūrūrū, Spanish gallinaso)
	45	white egret (ka″tsū, Spanish garsa)
	46	spider (mū'*t*ele, Spanish araña)
	47	spider (mū'*t*ele, Spanish araña)
	48	spider (mū'*t*ele, Spanish araña)
	49	scorpion (alaga'ra, Spanish alacrán) spider (mū'*t*ele, Spanish araña)
	50	scorpion (alaga'ra, Spanish alacrán)
	51	No name obtained for this butterfly-like design
	52	No name obtained for this bird-like design
	53	turtle (pītcī'lī)
	54	turtle (pītcī'lī)
	55	crab—the small red land-crab (nē'lū) crab—a certain coast species (*t*epūī ne'lū) karna'da (probably from the Spanish). The term is said to signify bait and also to be the name of a certain species of crustacean called in Spanish camaron brava
	56	crab—the small red land-crab (ne'lū)
	57	centipede (se'pīnde)
	58	bīmbū'ka (piande, a species of lizard) crab—the small red land-crab (ne'lū)
	59	turtle (pī'tcī'lī) toad (sa'pū, Spanish sapo)
CXXV	1	human being (tca'tcī)
	2	human being (tca'tcī)
	3	monkey (cū'rī, Spanish machin, mico)
	4	monkey (cū'rī, Spanish machin, mico)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXV	5	monkey (cū'rī, Spanish machin, mico)
	6	bird (pī'tcū) with monkey (cū'rī)
	7	No interpretation was obtained for these figures. They resemble some others which were called horses and are probably intended to represent that animal
	8	horse (kawa'lyū, Spanish caballo), with deer (ma'na)
	9	deer (ma'na)
	10	man (tca'tcī), with deer (ma'na), and bird (pī'tcū)
	11	deer (ma'na)
	12	deer (ma'na) with dogs (kū'tca)
	13	deer (ma'na) with bird (pī'tcū)
	14	horses (kawa'lyū, Spanish caballo), with bird (pī'tcū)
	15	zigzag (dē'tcū). The exact names of zigzags are governed by their relative size and their relations to those with which they are associated; viz.: de''pañmī dē'tcū = horizontal zigzag ūyūmī dē'tcū = vertical zigzag e' dē'tcū = big zigzag se'rañ dē'tcū, untranslatable form of zigzag lya'tena (the palm-wood steps of the house ladder). This name refers to the short lines which fill the spaces at the angles formed by the zigzag
	16	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above.
	17	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above. eye (kapū'ka). This term applies to the diamond-shape figures in the angles formed by the zigzag.
	18	big zigzag (e' dētcū)
	19	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above
	20	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above pitigua design (tyūm bī'lya) feast table (pa'kigī)
	21	pitigua design (etcūm bīū, from te'tcūnu bīlya) snake (pūnī)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXV	22	serafi dē'tcū (an untranslatable form of zigzag)
	23	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above eye (kapū'ka) and little eye (ka' kapūka) refer to the diamond-shape figures in the angles formed by the zigzag
	24, 25, 26	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above.
	27	big zigzag (e' dētcū) eye (kapū'ka and small eye (ka kapū'ka) refer to the diamond-shape figures in the angles of the zigzag
	28 29, 30	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above
	31	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above pūlya dē'we (pi'lya signifies design, and it appears that dē'we may possibly be related to dē'tcū, meaning zigzag. This design consists in part of a zigzag)
	32	big zigzag (e' dētcū) hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable) eye (kapū'ka). This term applies to the diamond-shape portions of the design
	33	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above
	34	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above tongue of sting-ray (tyū'wī ni'ka)
	35	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above hū'rūlara, hu''la (untranslatable)
	36	bimbū'ka (piande, a small species of lizard) e pala'tcū (e signifies big; pala'tcū is untranslatable)
	37	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above
	38	pala'ra (untranslatable) pala'tcū (untranslatable) hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
	39	No interpretation was given for this design, since it appears to be of modern origin. Such a modern design is usually called te'mbū pūlya, which signifies handkerchief design from the fact that they are derived largely from handkerchiefs of modern manufacture
	40	big zigzag (e' dētcū)
	41, 42, 43	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above

[77]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

•286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXV	44	palm-wood steps of the house ladder (lya'tena)
		belt (tcū'mbī). This term should be tcū'mbī pīlya, which signifies belt design and is applicable to any design which appears on a belt
CXXVI	1	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		eggs of a species of lizard called bīmbū'ka (bī'mbū napīpū)
	2	hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
		eggs of a species of lizard called bīmbū'ka
	3	(bī'mbū napīpū)
		pū'ka ka (this appears to be really ka' pūka which means small fruit)
		big zigzag (e' dētcū)
		balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
	4	hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
		balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		pū'ka ka (apparently signifies small fruit)
	5	foot of a small species of lizard (bī'mbū nyapa)
		e hū''la (e signifies large; hū''la is untranslatable)
	6	egg of a small species of lizard (bī'mbū napīpū)
		hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
	7	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyū'ndyu tcī lara (untranslatable)
	8	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
		handkerchief design (tē'mbū pīlya)
	9	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
		hū''lara (untranslatable)
		handkerchief design (te'mbū pīlya)
	10	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		belt design (tcū'mbī pīlya). (This term is applied to any design on a belt, regardless of the nature of the design)
		big zigzag (e' dētcū)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXVI	1	palm-wood steps of a house ladder (lya'tena). (This term applies to the horizontal lines which form part of this design)
		tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
	11	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		te'pū balyalya (untranslatable)
		pala'c lara (untranslatable)
	12	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
	13	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		horizontal design (de" pañ bīlya)
		tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
	14	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		handkerchief design (te'mbū pilya)
	15	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
	16	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		belt (tcū'mbī). (This term should be tcū'mbī pilya, signifying belt design. It is equally applicable to any design which appears on a belt)
	17	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		belt (tcū'mbī). (This term should be tcū'mbī pilya, signifying belt design. It is equally applicable to any design which appears on a belt)
	18	No interpretation obtained
	19	No interpretation obtained
	20	No interpretation obtained
	21	zigzag (dē'tcū). See pl. CXXV, fig. 15, above
		belt (tcū'mbī). (This term is applicable with equal propriety to all designs appearing on belts; its full form is tcū'mbī pilya)
	22	eggs of a species of small lizard called bimbū'ka (bī'mbū napipū)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
		hū'rūlara, hū"la (untranslatable)
		pū'te wūlūcla (pū'te signifies hamper-shape basket; wūlū'cla is untranslatable)
	23	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		ladder (lya'pū)

286
531
552

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

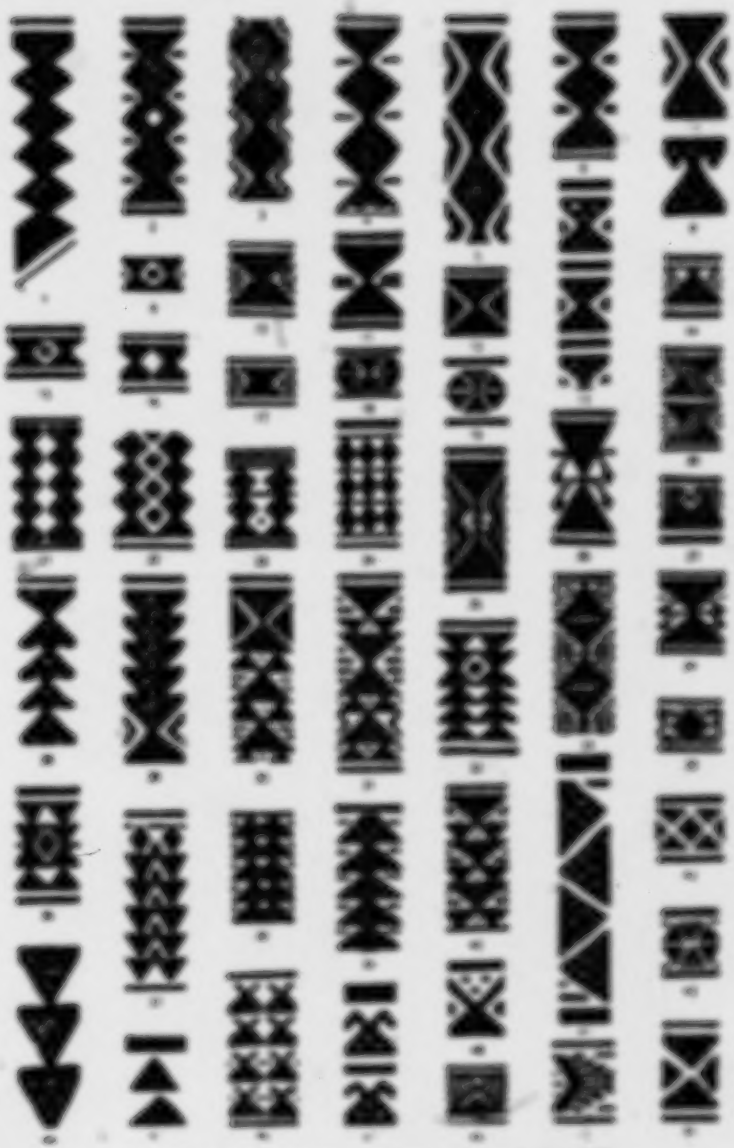
Plate	Figure	
CXXVI	24	No name obtained
	25	No name obtained
	26	No name obtained
	27	No name obtained
	28	belt (tcū'mbī). (This term applies to any design which appears on a belt; its full form is tcū'mbī pīlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	29	mō'pītcīpapa, mōpī ke'nū tcīpapa. (The carved stick used as an implement with which to apply the red and yellow face paint)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
		balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyūm bī'lya (bī'lya signifies design, tyūm appears to come from te'tcūa, signifying pitigua). (The connection of the design and name here is not very clear)
	30	handkerchief design (te'mbū pīlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
		pala'lara (untranslatable)
	31	handkerchief design (te'mbū pīlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	32	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyūm bī'lya (bī'lya signifies design, and tyūm appears to be derived from te'tcūa, signifying pitigua)
	33	No signification was obtained for this elaborate design
	34	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
	35	No signification obtained
	36	No signification obtained
	37	No signification obtained
	38	handkerchief design (te'mbū pīlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	39	No signification obtained
	40	handkerchief design (te'mbū pīlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	41	zigzag (dē'tcū). See pl. CXXV, fig. 15, above
		te'pū balya'lya (untranslatable)
		balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		fruit (pū'ka)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

PL. CXXVI

286
531
552



CLOTH DESIGNS: GEOMETRIC FIGURES

[p. 302(a)]

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CLOTH DESIGNS. GEOMETRIC FIGURES

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Plate	Figure	
CXXVI	42	pala'cla (untranslatable) 286
		belt (tcū'mbī). (This term in full is tcū'mbī pīlya, signifying belt design, and is applicable to all designs appearing on belts) 531 552
	43	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		hō'lara (untranslatable term)
	44	handkerchief design (te'mbū pilya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	45	tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
		tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
	46	canoe design (kūm bī'lya)
		handkerchief design (te'mbū pilya)
	47	handkerchief design (te'mbū pilya)
		te'mbū balyalya (te'mbū signifies handkerchief; balya'lya is untranslatable)
	48	pala'tcū or palū'c lara (untranslatable)
	49	pala'tcū (untranslatable)
		ears (pū'āge)
		centipede (se'pinde)
	50	No signification obtained
	51	No signification obtained
CXXVII	1	big zigzag (e' dētcū)
		e pala'tcū (e signifies big; pala'tcū is untranslatable)
		boa constrictor (we'sū)
	2	e hū'rūlara (e signifies big; hū'rūlara is untranslatable)
		pitigua design (tyūm bī'lya) (tyūm comes from te'tcūa, meaning pitigua)
	3	ba'ndilas (a certain basketry technic). (This particular basketry technic is a kind of openwork which produces small squares similar to those shown here. It is clearly a case of the adaptation of this technic to this textile) [285]
		hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
	4	ba'ndilas (a certain basketry technic). See fig. 3 above
		zigzag (dē'tcū). (This interpretation seems doubtful)
	5	hū'rūlara, hū''la, hū'rūla (untranslatable)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXVII	5	eye (kapū'ka) kapūka ya dē'tcu (eye ya zigzag)
	6	hū'rūlara, hu''la (untranslatable)
	7	e hū''la, hū''la (untranslatable)
	8	hū'rūlara, hū''la, pala'lac (untranslatable)
	9	ba'ndilas (a certain basketry technic). See fig. 3 above
	10	hū'rūlara, hū''la, e hū''la, ho' lara (untranslatable)
	11	zigzag (dē'tcū) hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
	12	ba'ndilas (a certain basketry technic). See fig. 3 above crab design (ne' pīlya) nim bī'lya (untranslatable) zigzag (dē'tcū). (The connection seems doubtful)
	13	ba'ndilas (a certain basketry technic). See fig. 3 above
	14	pala'la, pala'lara, pala'tcū (untranslatable)
	15	hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable) turtle (pītcī'lī)
	16	No interpretation obtained
	17	hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
	18	No interpretation obtained
	19	pala'tcū, tapū'lyū (untranslatable)
	20	cross (karū'sa, from the Spanish cruz) pala'tcu (untranslatable) top (tōmbe'ta, from the Spanish trompo)
	21	pala'cla (untranslatable) belt (tcū'mbī). (This term in full is tcū'mbī pīlya, belt design, and is equally applicable to all designs occurring on belts)
	22	big zigzag (ē' dētcu) i'clabō ñ (iron used with flint in striking fire)
	23	eye (kapū'ka)
	24	lya'tena (the palm-wood steps of a ladder) ne' pīlya tyūndyū tcī lara (ne' pīlya signifies crab design; the remainder of the term is untranslatable)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXVII	24	tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable) ladder (lya'pī) crab design (ne' pīlya)
	25	lya'tena (the palm-wood steps of a ladder) ne' pīlya tyūndyū tcī lara (ne' pīlya signifies crab design; the remainder of the term is untranslatable) ladder (lya'pī) crab design (ne' pīlya) tcū'mbī delam ba''ta (tcū'mbī signifies belt; the remainder of the term is untranslatable)
	26	lya'tena (the palm-wood steps of a ladder)
	27	crab design (ne' pīlya) nim bī'lya (untranslatable)
	28	ka'pū tcī lara (to turn the eyes in an upward direction) lya'tena (the palm-wood steps of a ladder)
	29	delam ba''ta (untranslatable) lya'tena (the palm-wood steps of a ladder)
	30	crab design (ne' pīlya)
	31	zigzag (dē'tcū). (The connection seems doubtful) The stick used to apply face-paint; it is called mō'pītcipapa, mōpī ke'nū tcipapa, and mū'pī kenū tcipapa, all variants of the same term
	32	crab design (ne' pīlya) nim bī'lya (untranslatable) crab eyes (ne' kapūka)
	33	zigzag (dē'tcū)
	34	crab design (ne' pīlya)
	35	No interpretation obtained
	36	No interpretation obtained for this design as a whole. Horizontal bars of this kind are called lya'tena, meaning the palm-wood steps of the house ladder, and the small rectangles are called ne' pīlya, signifying crab design, or nim bī'lya, in which nim is a term of unknown signification
	37	crab design (ne' pīlya)

286
531
552

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXVII	37	crab design white cotton (ne' pīlya fīhañ ūtcūa) nim bī'lya (untranslatable) crab design technic (ne' pīlya decīma) eye (kapū'ka)
	38	eye (kapū'ka) crab eye (ne' kapūka, nē'lū kapūka) dū'lalara kapūka, kapūka dala'la ke'tū (kapū'ka in each of these terms signifies eye. The remaining portions of these terms are untranslatable) balya'lyac (untranslatable) belt design (tcū'mbī pīlya). (This term belt applies equally to all designs occurring on belts)
	39	No interpretation obtained. Horizontal bars of this kind are usually called lya'tena, which signifies the palm-wood steps of a house ladder. As a matter of fact the design from which this figure was taken was a very small one and it is doubtful if this name would apply
	40	zigzag (dē'tcū) i'clabō'ñ (iron used with flint in striking fire)
	41	i'clabō'ñ (iron used with flint in striking fire)
	42	i'clabō'ñ (iron used with flint in striking fire) zigzag (dē'tcū) The rectangular closed figures are called kū'tca petī; kū'tca signifies dog, but pe'tī is untranslatable. The crossed lines between these rectangular figures are called pala'la, a term of unknown signification
	43	i'clabō'ñ 'the iron used with flint in striking fire)

[372]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Glossary of Manta Design Names

286●
531
552
177
104

bait, karna'da. Also said to be the name of a certain crustacean, called in Spanish camaron brava. CXXIV, 55.

balya'lyae (untranslatable). CXXIII, 11; CXXVI, 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 23, 29, 32, 34, 35, 41, 43; CXXVII, 38.

basket. See pū'te.

belt or girdle, tcū'mbī, a term that may be used as part of the name of any design on a belt. CXXV, 44; CXXVI, 16, 17, 21, 28, 42; CXXVII, 21, 38.

bird, pī'tcū. CXXIV, 20, 23, 24, 29, 31, 43; CXXV, 6, 10, 13, 14.

la'pī'tcū. A small black and yellow bird, a good singer, much kept as a pet by the Cayapa. Spanish, pichichu. CXXIV, 44.

tū'mbītcīlīlī. A small black bird with red beak. CXXIV, 39.

frigate bird, nyambīwa'tū. CXXIV, 34.

boa constrictor, we'sū. CXXVII, 1.

burro, bū'rū. CXXIV, 11.

buzzard, kū'ndūrūrū, petyū'tyū; Spanish, gallinaso. CXXIV 36, 44.

canoe design, kūm bī'lya: kūm, from kū'lo, canoe. CXXVI, 46.

centipede's hand, se'pinde tyapa; hand (not leg) = tyapa'pa. CXXIV, 57; CXXVI, 49.

chicken, walya'pa. CXXIV, 26, 37.

color. Frequently an informant gave as the name of a particular design the name of the color of the material from which it was made. Such names, of course, have no significance in the interpretation of designs, but are of interest in that often they were the only ones obtainable. The names particularly used in this connection were:

te'nda, green thread, from a small shrub called te'nda tcī, the leaves of which provide the pigment used in coloring this thread. [386]

ka'kō, lavender thread, this color being obtained from a small periwinkle-like mollusk.

The names for other colors were almost never used in this manner.

cow, waga'ra, from Spanish vaca. CXXIII, 35; CXXIV, 10, 15.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 531 552 177 104

crab, ne'lū, the small red land-crab. CXXIII, 38; CXXIV, 55, 56, 58.

tepui ne'lū, a certain species from the coast region. CXXIV, 55.

crab eye, ne'kapūka, ne'lū kapūka. This refers to the eye of the small red land-crab called ne'lū. CXXVIII, 32, 38.

crab design, ne' pīlya: ne from ne'lū, crab; pī'lya, design. CXXVII, 12, 24, 25, 27, 30, 32, 34, 37.

ne' pīlya tyūndyū tci lara: ne' pīlya, crab design, the remainder is untranslatable. CXXVII, 24, 25.

crab design technic (literally), ne' pīlya declīna. CXXVII, 37.

crab design white cotton (literally), ne' pīlya ffiañ ūtcūa. CXXVII, 37.

cross, karū'sa, from Spanish cruz. CXXVII, 20.

deer, ma'na. CXXIII, 40, 41; CXXV, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13.

delam ba''ta (untranslatable). CXXVII, 29.

design. In many cases informants simply gave the term pī'lya, or bī'lya, which signifies design or pattern. It would appear that it was employed in cases where the design was of unknown signification, or where it was newly introduced. Such a general term is, of course, applicable to all patterns.

belt design, tcū'mbi pīlya. This term applies to any pattern on a belt or girdle, regardless of its form. CXXVI, 10; CXXVII, 38. See belt.

horizontal design, de''pañ bīlya. CXXVI, 13.

dog, kū'tca. CXXIII, 45; CXXIV, 7, 19; CXXV, 12.

kū'tca petī: pe'tī is untranslatable. The rectangular figures of this pattern are referred to by this name. CXXVII, 42.

dove, Spanish, paloma. CXXIV, 29, 31.

pactū'kū. A reddish species as large as a chicken. CXXIV, 25.

wa'pū'pū. A small reddish species. CXXIV, 24, 42.

duck, Spanish, pato. CXXIV, 38.

dū'lalara kapūka (dū'lalara is untranslatable; kapū'ka, eye). CXXVII, 38.

ear, pū'ñge. CXXVI, 49.

egret, white, ka''tū; Spanish, garza. CXXIV, 45, 29.

e hū''la (e, bird; hū''la, untranslatable). CXXVI, 5; CXXVII, 7, 10.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552
177
104

e hū'rūlara (e, big; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 2.
e pala'tcū (e, big; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXV, 36; CXXVII, 1.
eye, kapū'ka. CXXV, 17, 23, 27, 32; CXXVII, 5, 23, 37, 38.
kapūka dalalake''tū (kapū'ka, eye; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 38.
ka' kapūka, "little eye." The small diamond-shape designs on mantas, etc. CXXV, 23, 27.
ka'pūka ya dētcū (kapū'ka, eye; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 5.
ka'pū tcī lara, to turn the eyes in an upward direction, i.e., to look decidedly upward. CXXVII, 28.
feast table, pa'kīgi, a contraction of piñba kīkI. CXXV, 20.
fruit, all classes, pū'ka. CXXVI, 41.
girdle. See belt.
goat, tcī'bū; Spanish, chivo. CXXIII, 26, 27; CXXIV, 9, 36.
guinea pig, a''tse. CXXIV, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11.
handkerchief, te'mbū balya'lya: te'mbū, a contraction of tembū'pū, handkerchief; balya'lya, untranslatable. CXXIV, 21; CXXVI, 47.
handkerchief design, te'mbū pūlya: tembū'pū, handkerchief. CXXIV, 21; CXXV, 39; CXXVI, 8, 9, 14, 30, 31, 38, 40, 44, 46, 47.
hawk, hūya'lyū; Spanish, gabilan. CXXIII, 41.
hō'lara (untranslatable). CXXIII, 28, 43; CXXVII, 10.
horse, kawa'lyū; Spanish, caballo. CXXIII, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37; CXXIV, 7, 14, 21, 28, 36; CXXV, 8, 14.
hū''la (untranslatable). CXXIII, 17, 21; CXXV, 32, 35, 38; CXXVI, 2, 3, 4, 6, 22; CXXVII, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17.
hū'lara (untranslatable). CXXVI, 9.
human being, tca'tcī. CXXIII, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 24, 28, 30, 43; CXXIV, 5, 6, 17; CXXV, 1, 2, 10.
hū'rūla (untranslatable). CXXVII, 5.
hū'rūlara (untranslatable). CXXIII, 17; CXXV, 32, 35, 38; CXXVI, 2, 3, 4, 6, 22; CXXVII, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17.
kūē'bū (untranslatable). CXXIV, 22.
kū'tca pe'tI (kū'tca, dog; pe'tī, untranslatable). The rectangular figures of this pattern are thus referred to. CXXVII, 42
ladder, lya'pī; Spanish, escalera. CXXVI, 23; CXXVII, 24, 25. lya'tena, i.e. palm-wood steps of a house-ladder, CXXV, 15, 44; CXXVI, 10; CXXVII, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 531 552 177 104

lizard. CXXIV, 13.

bĭmbū'ka, a large species; Spanish, piande. CXXIV, 58; CXXV, 36.

bĭ'mbū napīpū, i.e., egg of a lizard called bĭmbū'ka. CXXVI, 1, 3, 6, 22.

bĭ'mbū nyapa, foot of a lizard called bĭmbū'ka. CXXVI, 5.

monkey. cu'rĭ, a small species; Spanish, machin and mico. CXXIII, 22, 23, 29, 31, 39; CXXIV, 16; CXXV, 3, 4, 5, 6.

wo'cū, wa'cū, a species larger than the machin but smaller than the large black monkey called mongon; Spanish, mono. CXXIII, 22, 38, 45.

ne'lū kapūka. See crab eye.

nim bi'lya (untranslatable). This design is one of those most frequently employed. CXXVII, 12, 27, 32, 37.

pala'cla (untranslatable). CXXVI, 42; CXXVII, 21.

pala'c lara (untranslatable). CXXVI, 11.

pala'la (untranslatable). CXXIII, 9, 10; CXXVII, 14, 42.

pala'lac (untranslatable). CXXVII, 8.

pala'lara (untranslatable). CXXVI, 30; CXXVII, 14.

pala'ra (untranslatable). CXXV, 38.

pala'tcū (untranslatable; the only definition obtainable was the Spanish term garavata). CXXIII, 21; CXXV, 38; CXXVI, 48, 49; CXXVII, 14, 19, 20.

palû'c lara (untranslatable). CXXVI, 48.

pelican, nana''ka; Spanish alcatraz. CXXIII, 38, 42; CXXV, 21, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41.

petyū'tyū. See buzzard.

pilya dĕ'we: pĭ'lya, design; dĕ'we, possibly related to de'tcū, zigzag. CXXV, 31.

pitigua, etcūm bĭ'û: probably related to te'tcūmb ĭlya, from te'tcūa, pitigua, and bĭ'lya, design. CXXV, 21.

pū'ka ka (untranslatable). CXXVI, 3, 4.

pū'te wilû'cla: pū'te, hamper-shape basket; wĭlû'cla, untranslatable. CXXVI, 22.

ray, tongue of sting-ray. tyū'wĭ nĭ''ka. CXXV, 34.

scorpion, alaga'ra; Spanish, alacrán. CXXIV, 49, 50.

se'rañ dĕ'tcū (untranslatable). CXXV, 22.

sheep, bŏrrĭ'gō, usually called bŏrrĭ'gō by the Cayapa, but called also ōĭ'ca from Spanish oveja. CXXIV, 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 16.

shake, pĭnĭ. CXXV, 21.

spider, mū'tele; Spanish, araña. CXXIII, 12; CXXIV, 46, 47, 49.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

steel, ī'clabō'ñ, i.e., iron used with flint in striking fire. CXXVII, 22, 40, 41, 42, 43. 286

stick, with which achote face-paint is applied, mō'pītcīpapa, mōpī ke'nū tcīpapa, mū'pī kenū tcīpapa. CXXVI, 29; CXXVII, 31. 531 552

tapū'lyū (untranslatable) CXXVII, 19. 177

tcū'mbi delam ba''ta (tcū'mbi, belt or girdle; delam ba''ta, untranslatable). CXXVII, 25. 104

technic, ba'ndilas, a certain basketry technic. CXXVII, 3, 4, 9, 12, 13.

te'pu balya'lya (untranslatable). CXXVI, 11, 41.

toad, sa'pū, from Spanish sapo. CXXIII, 4, 17, 18, 19, 20, 59.

top, tombē'ta, from Spanish trompo. CXXVII, 20.

turkey, domestic, kaste'lya walyapa, literally Spanish or Castilian chicken. CXXIV, 22.

turtle, pītcī'lī; Spanish, tortuga. CXXIV, 53, 54, 59; CXXVII, 15.

tyūlya'lya (untranslatable). CXXVI, 22, 28, 29, 30, 31, 38, 40, 44, 45.

tyūm bī'lya (tyūm, probably from te'tcūa, pitigua; bī'lya, design). CXXV, 20; CXXVI, 29, 32; CXXVII, 2.

tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable). CXXIV, 17; CXXVI, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 45; CXXVII, 24.

zigzag (generic), dē'tcū. This term is usually preceded by an adjectival term which indicates the particular kind of zigzag; viz., ē' dētcū, se'rañ dētcū, ūyū'mī dētcū, de''pañmī dētcū. CXXV, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 41, 42, 43; CXXVI, 21, 41; CXXVII, 4, 11, 12, 31, 33, 40, 42.

dē'tcū serañ tsūa; (dē'tcū, zigzag; no definite translation for the remainder of the term could be obtained). CXXV, 29.

ē' dētcū; literally, big zigzag; given also as crossed zigzag, though this meaning is doubtful. CXXV, *18, 27, 32, 40*; CXXVI, 3, 10; CXXVII, 1, 22.

de''pamī dētcū, de''pañmī dētcū; horizontal zigzag. CXXV, 34.

silk or rayon shawl which can cover her head, face and breast when she is dancing. Her skirt, worn over a black cotton underskirt /tʸúnʸa/, falls just below the knee and is a wrap-around in a solid color. It is embroidered at the hem in the manner of the men's shirt fashions. A belt secures the underskirt, and the overskirt is tucked in at the waist. The women spend a good deal of time adjusting the overskirt. 292 [535]

For dancing or for receiving the blows of the cat-o^nine-tails /ástečúwa/ as punishment, the woman puts on over her usual skirts a woven wrap-around skirt made of heavy cotton and decorated with both geometric and realistic designs. Many colors are used, but blue, white, and red predominate. Since the present generation of women is almost completely ignorant of the weaver's art, the skirts are seldom their own handiwork. [535] [681] [286]

<u>Manufactures</u>. Woodworking: It is immediately apparent that canoes and their handling are extremely important to all the inhabitants of the area. Young boys often begin their lessons in canoemanship by playing on the drifting logs that come down stream when the river is in flood. They tumble and splash and learn 868

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

similar to that used in making the bark cloth of the region. When the fibers are beaten out and prepared for twisting into cordage, they are usually stored away in bundles, such as that shown in pl. CXIX, 2, until needed.

An important economic plant of the Cayapa country is that from which is made the bark cloth called by the local Spanish name damajaua and by the Cayapa name tû′ckī. This is beaten from the bark of an indigenous tree called tû′ckītcī. The tree is felled and a section of the bark the length desired, usually six to eight feet, is carefully removed, being split along one side only. The bark may then be beaten immediately upon the same log, but it is ordinarily rolled up and taken to the house where a log is kept especially for this beating, which is done with a short maul, called tatcī wima′so, such as that shown in fig. 6. One side of the maul, at least, is cut diagonally with grooves and corresponding ridges. The beating must be done within a few hours after the bark is taken from the tree, or before it dries considerably. Placing the strip of bark crosswise upon the log, it is beaten with considerable force with the grooved side of the maul, which is held at an angle of about forty-five degrees to the length of the bark. After beating one short section of the bark in this manner, it is moved across the log far enough to bring a new section into place, and in this way every part of the bark is reached.

FIG. 6.—Beater for bark cloth

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Having beaten the entire surface with the bark in this position, it is then reversed and placed lengthwise of the log and again beaten, the maul being held at about the same angle. This beating crushes into pulp the succulent portion of the bark, but, if properly done, it does not break the long, interlacing fibers themselves. As a result of this first beating the bark is usually about one-half wider than when taken from the tree, though it is very little if any longer. It is next placed in a canoe half filled with water and allowed to soak for several hours, usually over night. It is then thoroughly wrung, thus removing a large part of the juice and the pulpy portion of the bark, after which it is returned to the log and beaten again in order to remove the remaining pulp. Again it is thoroughly washed and wrung, and is finally spread out to dry. Just before being dried it is folded in the proper manner and creased along the lines of the folds in such a way that when dry it will readily fold along these lines and make a package with a surface about ten by eighteen or twenty inches. Pl. CVI, 3, shows one of these bark cloths partly unfolded. This is a large specimen and is folded three times lengthwise and three times crosswise. The four crosswise sections formed by the three folds are here visible. The full width of the cloth is thus seen, while only one-fourth of the length is shown. Bark cloth is usually from six to eight feet in length and varies in width from about four feet to perhaps eighteen inches, according to whether it is to be used by one or more persons at a time. The surface of the specimen illustrated plainly shows the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

287 imprint of the maul (fig. 6) with which it was beaten as numerous sets of short parallel lines, all at an angle of about forty-five degrees with the perpendicular. Bark cloth is never decorated in any way and is strictly utilitarian. It serves almost exclusively as a sleeping [352 513] mat, and constitutes, together with a mosquito canopy and a thin cotton sheet used as a cover, all that is considered necessary for a bed. It is used occasionally for wrapping a dismantled loom or for some other special purpose.

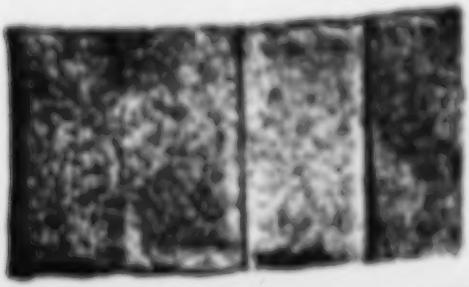
The beating of the cloth must be done very carefully in order not to cut or tear apart the fibers, thus making holes in the cloth which render it practically worthless. The fibers naturally criss-cross and interlace in such a manner that when the beating is carefully done the result is a cloth which, while very thin, is at the same time very firm. If for any reason, however, a hole does appear in the cloth during the process of beating, it may be mended by simply placing over it a piece of bark of sufficient size to somewhat more than cover it and beating this in. The beating mixes the fibers of the patch with those of the main fabric in such manner as to make the patch almost as firm as the cloth itself.

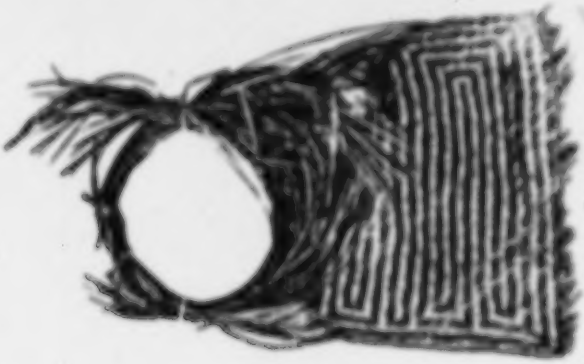
415 At the present time some of the most characteristic utensils of the Cayapa are made from calabashes. They claim that in their former life in the mountains these 177 utensils were of pottery and that the calabash came into use among them only after their arrival on the Rio Cayapas. It is said also that there was originally a calabash tree native to this region, but that the two

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285
287

R. 88





MATS AND BARK CLOTH

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 246(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

ends of all the elements are cut off in the same manner as was done in making the end with which the mat was begun. 285

Mats of this kind are most frequently used by the Cayapa in the hammocks which serve as cradles. A small mat is placed crosswise in the hammock and holds its edges apart; the baby is then laid upon this mat and swung in the hammock as a cradle. Large mats are occasionally used as beds, but for this purpose bark cloth is preferred. An important use for mats also is as a drying surface upon which to spread cacao. In canoeing, a large mat serves as a canopy or sun covering for small children or for an invalid. If its ends are placed just inside the gunvales of the canoe, bow upward, a mat forms a convenient and very serviceable canopy by virtue of its natural stiffness. An instance of such a use is shown in pl. LXXX. 285 352 [864] [287] [257] 285 501

SPINNING

As was mentioned in speaking of agricultural products, the Cayapa raise considerable quantities of cotton, that is to say, all the cotton needed for weaving the cloth used for their mantas and skirts and for the belts used to hold the mantas in place. No one family raises any considerable number of plants, since a single plant produces almost continuously the year round and aggregates in the course of a year a considerable quantity of bolls. These plants are grown in any convenient place near the house or on the edge of a field of cane or of a grove of chocolate trees. 248

[42] Their bodies are clean, and I have never seen a Cayapa who had a
[95] rash or boils, and only few who had scars. Their hair is thick, bristly
[22] and dull black in color; the beardless men wear it semi-long to the
nape of the neck, while the women let it hang loose and open so that
it not only covers their backs and ears, but in part even their fore-
●291 heads and cheeks. Their clothes are extremely modest. The men
wear a sleeveless, shirt-like, loose gown, which usually reaches to
the hips only, but is sometimes longer, reaching to the knees, in
which case it seems to be the holiday attire, and it looks richer hav-
ing a border of differently colored cloth. These clothes are made of
thin, very bright and cheap cotton materials. On special occasions
282 they even dress in gala clothes, which differ from their every-day
531 clothes in that they are decorated with straight lines or zig-zag de-
301 signs of shells. In addition they may deck themselves out in their
177 most precious ornaments consisting of two to ten long necklaces made
of multi-colored glass beads as well as (at least from their point of
view) especially beautiful neck and arm ornaments consisting of the
cardboards 6 cm. wide so well known to all of us, with a whole gross
of ordinary porcelain shirt-buttons on each just as they were delivered
by the European manufacturers. But even among them there are
282 dandies and fashion hounds, who manage to pick up a useless old
177 black waistcoat somewhere, which they then decorate with a lot of
white shells and buttons, wearing it as a sort of open vest over their
red or blue shirts. But imagine the happiness of the young man who
in addition to this splendor, has managed to acquire a stiff round felt
hat. No matter how shabby, battered, greasy and much too small it
may be on his fat pate with the thick mop of hair, he is proud of his
elegance and would not change places even with the governor. The
[22] Gobernador de los Cayapas (Governor of the Cayapas) is one of their
177 chiefs, of which each village or district has one--yes of course--he
282 is a great gentleman--he can afford it--he not only wears a shell
301 bedecked waistcoat over his red cotton shirt, but over it still another
long, black morning-coat, which he has bought from or been given
by Don So-and-so, because it had become too tight, unfashionable
or shabby for the latter. And around his neck and wrists he wears
especially wide cardboards with buttons in proportion to his dignity.
Naturally it would be considered unseemly for a governor to come to
town without suitable head-gear, even if it be only a self-made straw
panama hat for lack of a black felt hat. But even he does not wear
[43] trousers or shoes, which are considered superfluous and burdensome;
instead he carries in his right hand a wooden stick five feet long with
a silver knob as a symbol of his position and power.

301 The women's clothes are much simpler and scantier than the
●291 men's. They simply consist of a piece of cotton cloth dyed blue, black or red, about two yards long, which is tightly wrapped around the lower part of the body and is tied at the waist with flax cord. The upper part of the body, up to the waist, and legs, from the feet to the knees, remain totally uncovered. By way of ornaments they wear long strings of tiny colored beads around the wrists and long, colored bead necklaces around the neck, as well as self-made mother-of-pearl amulets and some of the more well-to-do women even wear strings of silver coins. Bead necklaces are also
[589] worn in large numbers by young men during the period of their betrothal. In other words the women's wardrobes are not a serious worry to the husbands. Up to their sixth year, children run about completely naked apart from some bead or button ornaments likewise hung on them.

681 The men walk ahead of their wives, a long leaf-shaped paddle
562 in one hand and a small net-like basket containing as little as
482 possible in the other, while the heavily laden women trot behind them with short, swaying steps, along with the children. Even from their visits to town one can observe that the woman has been given the role of the load and work-horse.

482 On her back the woman carries a heavily laden basket which is strapped around her forehead, while the youngest child sits thrust out in riding position on her hip, with the mother's arm holding him tightly. In her other hand she usually carries a bundle and a cooking pot.

579 One of their first visits in town is at the local priest's. The
797 latter claims that the Cayapa are Catholics. But this is not true.
301 Probably they only go to the priest because he seeks to prove the blessings of the Catholic Church by means of small presents and holy coins, which, one must admit, do look very pretty worn around the neck. At home they have their own cult.

681 Their happiness is apparent when they leave the vicarage, be-
198 cause they have again received presents. They amble down the business streets, curious, amazed and admiring at they go from one shop to the other. "Chindo, Kachindo, compadre?" the gutter-snipes call after them. (The first two words are in the Cayapa language, the third is Spanish; the sentence means: "Where ye going, fellow?") "Caminando, viendo, comprando, compadre"
[91] ("going for a walk, seeing, buying, brother") the men answer politely, but in very poor Spanish.

1: Heimann--10 F-4, 5 (1895-1910)1952 SD4 Cayapa SD4

Illus. 1. Cayapa Indians (with two Colombians).

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent canefields. 273

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry. 224 226 262

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported. 231

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked. 252 251

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Cayapa* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the people visit the *Cayapa*. 361 [347]

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive. 361 342 [347] 352 171

In addition to permanent houses, small temporary ranchos are sometimes built when people are far from home. The houses in the "village" are standard structures, but the church follows Spanish ways: it rests on the ground and has walls. 342 346

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Although *Cayapa* tradition records a period when the people wore blankets and even ponchos, today their clothes are scanty (pl. 59, *bottom*). The men wear a tight, small, white garment, made like bathing trunks, and a thin gaudy shirt of calico, with short and very tight sleeves. On festive occasions vests of European cut and manufacture are frequently donned over the shirt, and so are felt fedoras. 291 292

Women wear a long skirt of native cloth, girded with a narrow fringed belt. As in the Highlands, several skirts of different weights are sometimes worn. Head, shoulders, and chest are usually left bare. 291

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

291 Children wear no clothes at all until they are 6 or 8.

301 The hair is worn loose, long, and flowing by the women but is clipped
302 above the ears by the men. Both sexes wear necklaces and wristbands of glass and porcelain beads, coins, seeds, and beetle wings. Only women wear earrings.

302 The traditional *Chibcha* custom of frequently painting body and face is found among the *Cayapa*. Red, yellow, and black are used, and the designs are very numerous. Barrett reproduces many of the motifs and insists that there is no special significance attached to any of them, nor is there any age, sex, or property correlation.

TRANSPORTATION

501 **Watercraft.**—A large part of every *Cayapa's* life is spent on the water fishing and traveling. Canoes are built with great skill and care. They
[439] can withstand not only fluvial but also maritime travel and are routinely sold in the "civilized" coast towns. They are dugouts, usually 10 to 12 yards long but sometimes much larger. Balsa-wood logs are sometimes used as outriggers.

MANUFACTURES

000 Details of *Cayapa* manufactures are contained in Barrett's work, which describes and illustrates finished products and minutely discusses the techniques of preparation.

322 **Woodworking.**—Woodworking includes house building, making deadfall traps, and carving seats and children's dolls.

285 **Weaving and basketry.**—The women weave cotton cloth on a narrow
286 native loom, and the men do the sewing. The men also weave the fishing
462 nets and hammocks. Barrett's discussion of *Cayapa* basketry is outstanding. The *Cayapa* make many kinds of baskets, mats, and fans of bark and of various roots.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery is crude and undecorated. It is used particularly for
177 storage. Tradition claims that in their old Highland habitat the *Cayapa* made better pottery but that calabashes have since largely replaced ceramics.

324 **Stonework and metalwork.**—Stonework is limited to the metates
325 used in grinding corn and plantains. Although in aboriginal times Lowland Ecuador was a famous area of metallurgy, there is no evidence that the contemporary *Cayapa* practiced it.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapon most widely used today is the muzzle-loading
177 shotgun. The blowgun was important in the past, but today its use is restricted to boys, who shoot poison darts while playing at hunting. Hardwood lances are being given up, and the bow and arrow is said not to be mentioned in *Cayapa* tradition. The steel machete is ubiquitous.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

PLATE 59.—**Colorado and Cayapa Indians.** *Top: Colorado, early 20th century. Bottom: Cayapa, same period.* (After Rivet, 1905, opp. p. 186, and Barrett, 1925, p. 23.)

[p. 284(C)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

462 The women do all the spinning and weaving of cloth,
512 but the men sew all garments, not only for themselves
294 but also for the small boys who have not yet learned to
[291] sew. This is due largely no doubt to the fact that the single garment worn by the women requires no sewing whatever, while the two garments worn by the men must be sewn.

868 At a very early age boys begin to learn the arts practised by their elders, hence they are instructed in hunting, fishing, woodworking, and similar useful accomplishments of the men.

512 It is customary among the Cayapa to arise at dawn, usually between five and five-thirty o'clock, and to retire as soon as darkness comes, or between six-thirty and seven o'clock. These hours vary little throughout the year, owing to the proximity of the equator.

[527] The daily routine is usually about the same throughout the year, varying in event of a fiesta, or boda, which brings the people together at a particular village, from which, after some days of festivities, they return home.

[484] Another diversion is going down the river to the settlements. Sometimes this trip is made almost purely for

[439] pleasure and to obtain oysters and other sea foods, but more often these pleasure trips are combined with the selling of tagua, cacao, rubber, or plantains, and occasionally logs for lumber.

593 One of the most characteristic features of the daily life of the Cayapa is the devotion of the members of a family toward one another, especially that of parents toward their children. Few restrictions are placed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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HARVESTING CANE

[p. 62(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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YOUTH IN ORDINARY COSTUME

[p. 62(8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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MAN AND WOMAN IN EVERYDAY DRESS

[p. 62(C)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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A TYPICAL FAMILY GROUP

[p. 62(D)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

greater size of the structure calls for correspondingly larger and stronger timbers and pillars. Furthermore, the fact that the floor is at ground level makes unnecessary the timbers which in the dwelling are required to support the floor.

Dress

At the present time the everyday dress of the men consists chiefly of two pieces: a very small, tight-fitting clout (pl. CXVI, 1-3), similar in appearance to short bathing trunks, and an improvised shirt made of calico or of gaudily figured bandana handkerchiefs. On special occasions, such as at feasts and other gatherings, a man adds to this a hat of European or of American manufacture; necklaces of beads, buttons, and silver coins; wrist-bands and neck-bands of small white buttons; and decorations upon the face and exposed parts of the body in red, yellow, or black paint. These ornaments are used to some extent also in the everyday life of the people. In pls. LIII-LVI are shown various types of necklaces and neck- and wrist-bands, and in pls. XXXIX-LII are illustrated typical paintings of the face, arms, and legs. Some of the men paint very little, others very elaborately; some wear no necklaces or similar decorations, others wear many such ornaments; and still others bedeck themselves in both manners very profusely.

The small trunk is ordinarily made of the same kind of native cloth as is used by the women in their dress. It is cut from a piece woven specially for the purpose

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

291 294 [462] and containing a sufficient amount of cloth to make two clouts. Each clout consists of two pieces sewed along a seam running up the front and back. The cloth itself is woven by the women, as is the woman's dress or manta: but the sewing of the clout is done by the men, for the women almost never do any sewing for themselves or for others. The fact that the woman's dress requires no sewing may account for her lack of 291 knowledge in this direction. The clouts are made to fit very tightly, so tightly in fact that they make deep impressions in the muscles of the legs. On account of this tightness no gathering-string or other method of fastening is ordinarily required. Occasionally a man is found who makes his clout a trifle looser than customarily, and provides it, on the right-hand side, with a button [177] to hold it in place. This is said by the Indians to have been formerly the universal custom. In recent times, however, the very tight clout has almost entirely supplanted the other form.

291 177 The influence on the life of the Cayapa exerted at the present time by modern commerce and its manufactured articles is here again shown by the use of white muslin in the making of the clouts. In fact, at present the muslin clout is almost, if not quite, as common as is that made of the native cloth.

291 It is said that formerly, when the Cayapa were mountaineers, they used the poncho which at present is so common among the Indians of the interior Andean region. On migrating into the warmer and more humid coastal region, however, the poncho was found un-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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WOMAN WEARING NECKLACE AND BRACELETS

[p. 64(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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WOMAN WEARING DOUBLE MANTA

[p. 64(8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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WOMAN'S CUSTOMARY COIFFURE

[p. 69(c)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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SINGLE MANTA AND TASSELED GIRDLE

[p. 64(b)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

A FAMILY GROUP

[p. 64(F)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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A TYPICAL HAIR-CUT

[p. 69(4)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

comfortable and gave place to the lighter shirt which at present is made of bandana handkerchiefs or of calico. Such garments are worn by the men and boys shown in pl. XXV-XXXVIII. This shirt is made by sewing the cloth into the form of a bag, with an opening just large enough to admit the head, and with two openings at the corners for the arms. At the arm-holes the garment fits very tightly; otherwise it is a very light, loose-fitting shirt which protects to a certain extent the upper part of the body from the strong though diffused sunlight, and, to a much greater extent, from the attacks of insects. Often, when about the house or elsewhere under conditions which make it superfluous, the shirt is not worn.

Both men and women wear necklaces to a considerable extent as a part of their daily attire, and on festal occasions. These ornaments are at present made largely of glass and porcelain beads of various kinds, of small buttons, and of silver coins. In primitive times necklaces probably were as much used as at present, but they were made largely of the seeds of certain plants of the region and from the iridescent wing-covers of a large beetle, *Euchroma goliath*. Necklaces of some of these materials are sometimes still found, but they have been largely supplanted by those made of the intrusive materials described.

In pls. LIII-LVI are shown various neck and wrist ornaments. Those shown in pls. LIII, 2-6, and LIV are made of seeds of various kinds, selected for their sweet scent or for their color. The one presented in pl. LIII, 1,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

is of beads and coins; in pl. IV, 1, is shown a necklace consisting of four strands of glass beads, while in pl. IVI, 2, is represented a necklace of beads, coins, and sweet-scented leaves, with two pan-pipes attached to it. A unique type of neck-band is shown in pl. IV, 2, 3; these consist of a woven band to which are attached pendants of haliotis shell. In pls. IV, 4, and IVI, 1, are illustrated a neck-band and a pair of wrist-bands made of buttons, to the former of which are attached a number of coins.

Perforation of either the nose or the ears appears to have been an unknown custom among Cayapa men, hence no nose or ear ornaments worn by men are found. Some of the women at present perforate their ears and suspend from them, as ornaments, small strings of beads or other bright manufactured objects. Neither men nor women ever use native shoes or sandals of any description, nor in former times were hats worn by the men. Subsequent to the Spanish conquest, however, a hat, resembling in form that of the conquistadores, was made from pitigua and used to a limited extent by the men. At present the men use, especially at times of fiestas, the white-man's hat and other wearing apparel obtained from the settlements down the river. Vests and derby hats are highly prized, the former being decorated with buttons, bright-colored yarn, and especially with rows of small silver coins. Those who do not possess vests of the kind made by the whites often improvise a vest-like garment from ordinary cloth. Such a garment is in use by the larger individual seen

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

in pl. xxv. These improvised vests are often decorated with small holes in lines or in crosses or other patterns.

The everyday dress of the women consists of a manta, or skirt (pls. cxiii-cxv), girded about the waist usually with a narrow tasseled belt (pl. cvii, 1, 2). In addition, necklaces are almost always worn, and ear pendants are sometimes used. This simple attire is also the one worn at feasts and other gatherings, except on certain special occasions, such as dances and church ceremonies. At such times the head and upper part of the body are completely covered with bright-colored calico or with gaudy bandana handkerchiefs; also in canoeing on a hot day a similar covering for head and shoulders is made of black or bright-colored calico, or of handkerchiefs. With this head-covering for canoeing is usually worn a ma'te, or hemispherical calabash cup, as a further protection from the sun. The manta, or skirt, above mentioned, is almost always of native fabric, and consists simply of a rectangular piece of cloth sufficiently wide to reach from the waist to slightly above the ankles, and of such length as to pass once and a third round the body. The two vertical edges of the garment are made to overlap at the back, and by pulling from time to time upon the upper corners, the garment is held in place under the narrow woven belt or the pita cord which is sometimes used in its stead. Frequently also over this tightly woven and fairly heavy garment is worn another of lighter material, which passes in the opposite direction about the body, so that the edges overlap in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

front. In such cases, sometimes the belt is placed outside the two garments, but more frequently it binds the under-garment only, the ends of the light outer garment being merely tucked under the belt at the front. This outer skirt is very frequently of calico or other light cloth, and is in no way essential to the dress. It may, however, be a second manta, and as large and heavy as the main under-garment. In pls. XXX, XXI, XXII, are shown women wearing the single manta; in pl. XX is presented an instance in which a second outer manta is worn with its corners tucked under the belt at the front, and in pl. XXIII the larger of the two girls wears in a similar manner an outer garment made of calico.

Ordinarily, children up to the age of six, and sometimes even up to ten years, wear no clothing at all. Usually, however, a girl begins to wear her manta, and the boy a short calico shirt, at the age of six or eight years; but the boy does not put on a clout until later, often not until about the age of twelve. On the other hand, frequently very small children, even those two or three years of age, are provided with clothing which they wear in imitation of their elders on gala occasions.

Practically the only time that babies are clothed at all is while sleeping; they are then tightly wrapped and bound in cloth, but without a cradle-board or a basket. They are placed crosswise in a hammock provided with a mat or a piece of bark cloth to hold it open and thus to form a kind of cradle. At one side of the hammock is attached a long braided string, made from the young leaf of a certain species of fan-leaf or from an ordinary

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The mate has still another special use—that of a woman's cap. With it is worn a piece of light-weight black cloth or a double bandana handkerchief, which passes over the head and shoulders and hangs down the back as a protection from the sun. Usually this cap is decorated with incised lines and figures, and occasionally it is used as a drinking-cup in traveling, but it is never put to any of the ordinary uses in which common mates are employed. On long canoe journeys the women usually carry special mates for use as urinals.

By means of two small perforations at each of two opposite points, a hemispherical mate is bound to a long handle to serve as a dipper, especially in the distillation of rum. Such dippers, called sūmbū and ūīkala pī cūīnūnt-sū'mī, are shown in pls. LXIII and LXV.

Further, the bottom of a mate may be perforated to adapt it as a sieve or strainer, called cī'cūlya, in making green-corn mush and ripe plantain gruel. Attached to a long handle, such a strainer is employed for skimming the froth which rises in boiling cane juice preparatory to fermentation.

The third form of calabash implement is the spoon, called ci'ñ kūtcada, from Spanish cuchara. This implement is always made by cutting narrow sections from the side of an ellipsoidal calabash with the saw-like machete above mentioned. One of these fruits ordinarily provides material for six to eight spoons, varying in length from three or four to as much as fifteen inches. The large spoons are commonly used for stirring food while cooking, and both the large and the small

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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SPINNING (1) AND WINDING (2) COTTON THREAD

[p. 252 B]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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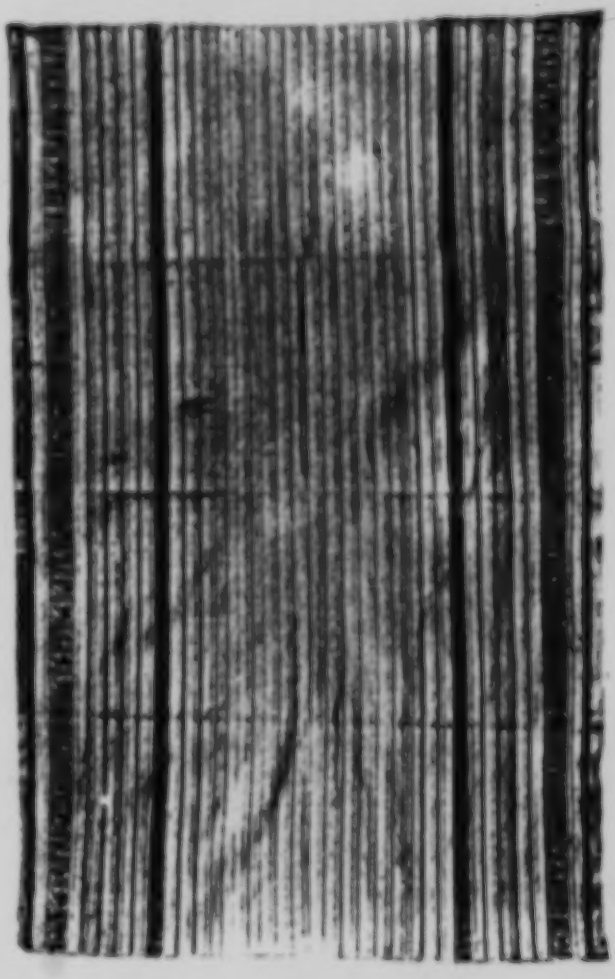

MANTA OR SKIRT

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 266(8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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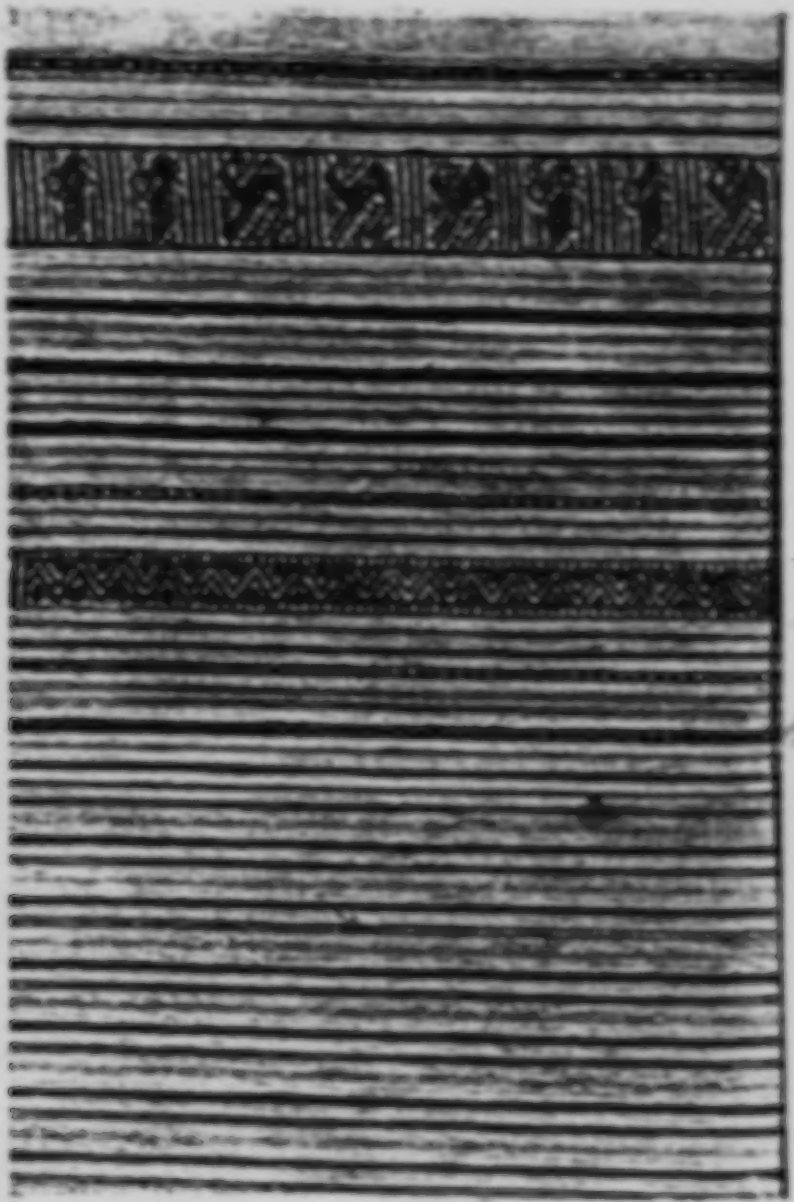

[Black and white reproduction of a color photo]

[p. 268(9)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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DETAIL OF MANTA PATTERN

[Black-and-white reproduction of color plate]

[p. 268(8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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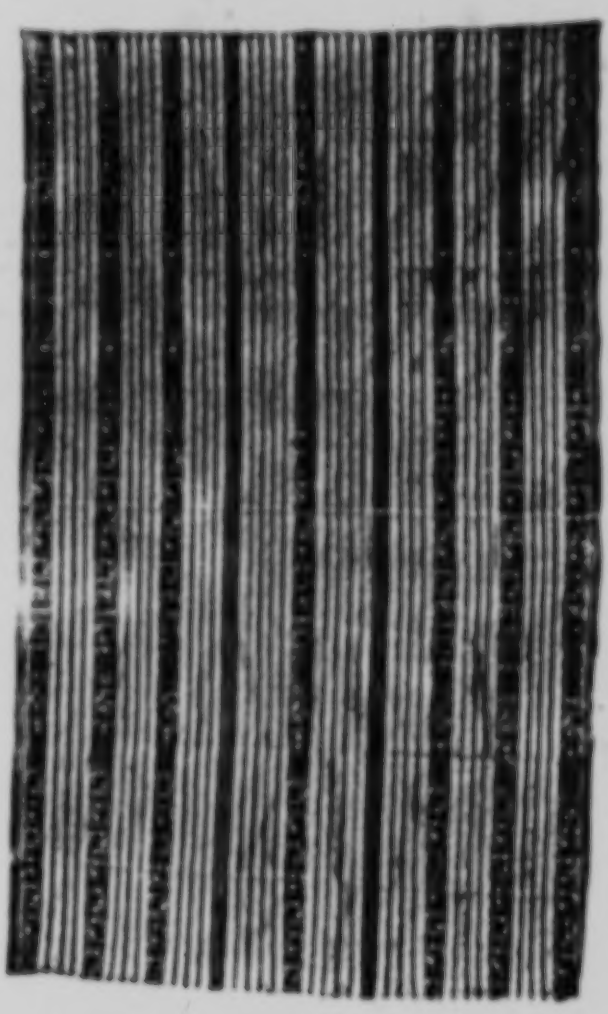

MANTA OR SKIRT

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

PL. CXCV

[p. 270(4)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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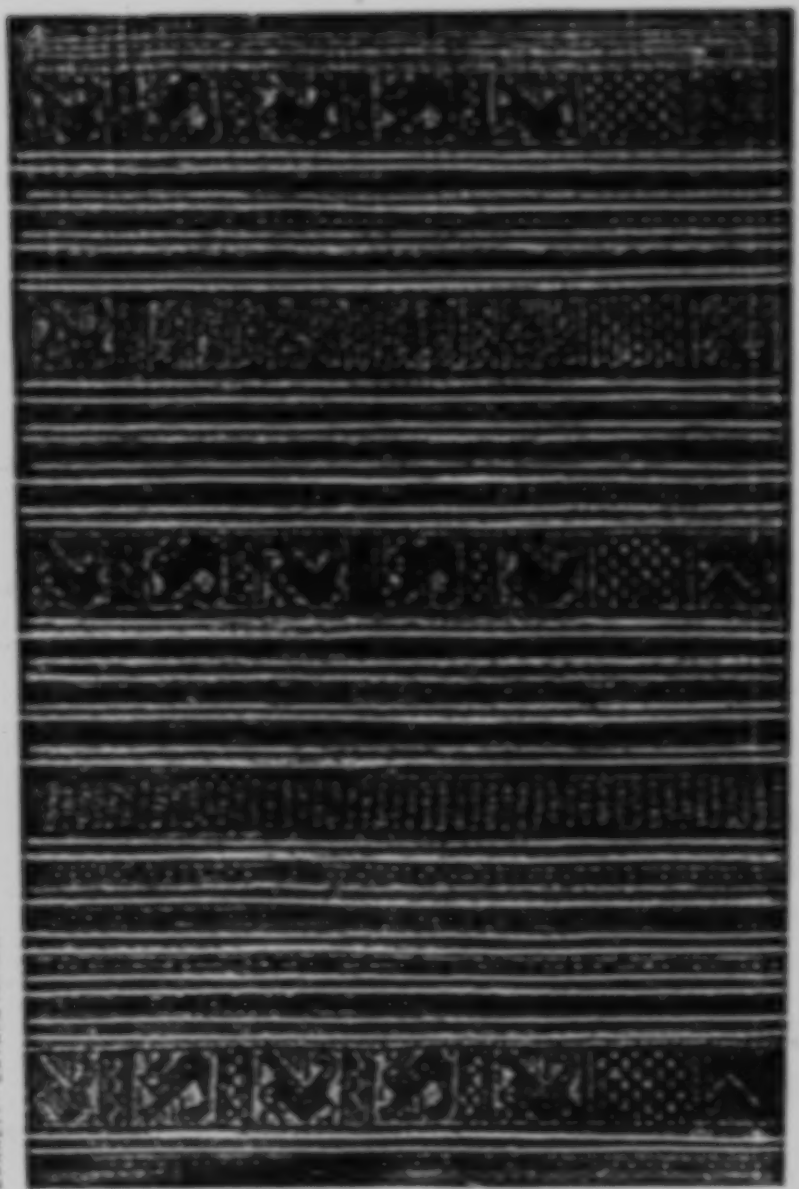

[Black and white reproduction of a color plate]
[p. 272(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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DETAIL OF MANTA PATTERN

[Black and white reproduction of a color plate]
[p. 272 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 412 sharp knife the fringe, placed against the calabash, is trimmed close to the binding at the edge. The fabric is now ready for use.

291 286 294 Mantas (pls. CXIII–CXV), called tyû'nya by the Cayapa, used by the women as skirts, and also mochos (pl. CXVI), called wa'ra, are almost the only textiles now made. No other aboriginal garments are worn except the narrow belt (pl. CVII, 1, 2) used by the women in connection with the manta. These belts are woven in precisely the same manner as are the wider textiles, except that a loom is not used unless it is desired to make a wide and elaborate belt.

286 For narrow belts two short wooden pegs are driven into a section of a plantain or other succulent stem, and upon these the warp strands of the belt are set up on the two transverse bars (*c*, *d*) of a regular loom. For a narrow belt, pita string is often used as the weft. The wide belts are often nicely decorated with geometric or bird and animal figures. For weaving a narrow belt, no shuttle or batten is used ordinarily, the string being passed in the form of a ball between the warp elements, and the finger used to drive the weaving down tightly. The ends of narrow belts are not provided with a special binding; the warp strands at each end are simply braided, usually in two sections, the braids being used for the attachment of tassels made usually of red or blue woolen yarn.

Mantas, of course, are of various sizes, governed by the age of the persons for whom intended. The manta of an adult woman usually measures about thirty by sixty inches, and requires often several months for its weaving,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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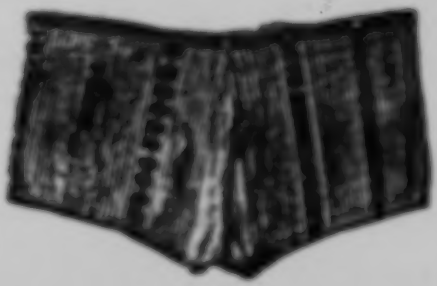

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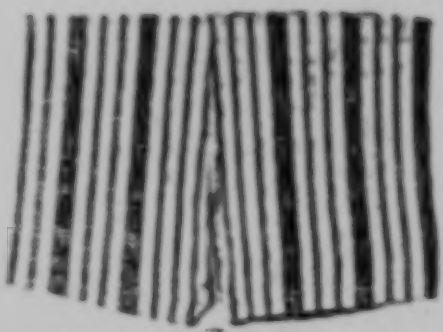

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MOCHOS OR TRUNKS

[p. 274(1)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

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CASTIGATOR WITH CAT-O'-NINE-TAILS

[p. 392(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

shown in pl. xx. Under ordinary circumstances most women wear their hair full-length in this way, but frequently a case (as in pl. xix) is found where the hair is comparatively short. This is due to the custom of cropping the hair on the death of a relative. An example of waviness of the hair is given in the case of the woman shown in the latter plate. The hair in this case is dark-brown. With advancing years the hair tends to become thinner, but no case of even partial baldness was observable either among the men or the women. Throughout life the hair retains its color in almost every instance, but rarely a person is seen who shows a sign of grayness, and one old man was found whose hair was white—it had become thus many years before, though no one knew the cause. No other individual with white or even partially white hair was encountered, and it was claimed by the Indians that the old man referred to was the only individual in the tribe who exhibited this peculiarity. The fact that the hair retains its color so well is probably due to the fact that the Cayapa practically never wear any form of head-covering.

Considerable variations are found in the form of the nose. In some it is wide and rather flat toward its tip, this appearance being due to a considerable distension of the nostrils, the openings of the nostrils being in many cases quite round. However, it escapes completely any approach to the true mongoloid type from the fact that in no case is there such a lack of bridge as is found in the real mongoloid nose. In fact, the contrary is quite the case, and in many instances the bridge is quite high, giving the nose the impression of slight aquilinity.

e Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

or the front may differ from the back in solid colors. Often the panels may be cut vertically or diagonally with different brightly hued colors. The shirt, which falls to knee-length, is usually tucked at the hem by the arms hand that joins the front and rear panels. Sometimes the multicolored hem may be overlaid with the panel material that has been cut in triangular points. This gorgeous array is usually topped off with a white plastic fedora that has been smuggled in from Colombia. If the feet are shod, they are usually encased in knee-length rubber boots. For festive occasions, the men wear lipstick and round patches of rouge on their cheeks. Sometimes they also place a round spot of rouge about an inch and a half in diameter in the middle of their foreheads. The over-all effect is quite striking.

Some men do not use cosmetics but prefer to dress up for fiestas in western clothing that often includes underwear and transparent nylon sport shirts in white, red, blue, yellow, or green. On occasion, a man will place a bright yellow straight plastic comb in his hair. Men quite often buy wrist watches for which they have no earthly use. The watches are fairly expensive, poorly

had never been teased in this manner before, and his eyes flashed pure hatred for the woman as he leaned forward, glaring at her. All laughter ceased; everyone gazed fascinatedly at the child. Shortly, the woman offered the candy again, and as it was taken, she jerked her arm back violently as if it had been burned. Clearly, a Cayapa child would never react in this manner; he would have remained passive. The group broke up shortly after this; the event doubtlessly became the subject of much conversation. Frank remained extremely popular with both Indians and Negroes, and passersby on the river before our house would call out his name. When the writer visited, I was asked to bring him along, and, he was never teased again.

By the age of three years, children are clothed in miniature replicas of their parents' clothing. Genital shame is marked by the age of five or six years. Bathing men and boys convulsively grasp their genitals as they enter the water; on the other hand, women and girls merely wade into the water and remove their skirts when they are waist deep in the river. Bathing is frequent, and swimming is considered to be a great sport by the children.

[Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado]

It was one thirty in the afternoon on Friday, when a very sick child was brought to the /ún^{y}i/ to be cured. Gabriel, was quite drunk, but he took the child and blew on the top of its head. He then passed the child to a Negress, who did the same thing, and then tossed the child up into the air. The /ún^{y}i/ then took the child and blew on its head again. The parents of the child stood by crying, as it was obvious that the child was in mortal danger. Some other Indians began taking turns blowing at the child's head, and one began to suck out at the nostrils, while another massaged the child's hands. The Negress suggested using some chocolate, but this advice was ignored. I offered some sulfa pills, but the father refused them. The /kapitán/ then began rubbing a commercial menthol ointment around the child's face, neck and chest. While he was doing this, the /ún^{y}i/ slumped down in a corner of the room and passed out drunk. The Negress kept urging the /kapitán/ to rub some of the ointment on the child's back, and he did so. Then the mother took the child, and offered it the breast, which was refused.

The child was gasping very hard. At this point, the father took off his western styled shirt, and put on a yellow Cayapa shirt. As he was doing this a young man took hold of the child's right wrist, and began blowing on the fingers, while another began to briefly blow on the child's head.

Eventually, the number of people working on the child dwindled to three men, including the /kapitán/, who are said to be brujos . . . they removed the child to an abandoned house site, and they sat on a log discussing what to do. Each brujo, as he drank from a bottle of rum, stated that he would use a very important and strong incantation; and then with a long look at the others, added, "and I am not afraid either." One began to whistle and chant, and another began sucking at the child's mouth, while the third kept complaining that I was too

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resistance. After a few minutes of severe mauling, a group of women took the aggressor off to one side and listened attentively, while she wailed and shook her fist at the other woman, who remained seated on the floor, alone. The /únʸi/ was in another part of the room seated on the floor, talking to a young man who was dressed in western clothing, and sporting high-lace boots without the laces. I asked Gabriel to explain what had just taken place, and he replied that nothing serious had happened at all. A woman had complained, he said, that the young fellow had molested her while he was drunk. This was a far-fetched version of what had actually happened as pieced together from the comments of the on-lookers.

[291]

The young man was an official of the Punta Venado section. Some people said that he was the /ténde/ 'lieutenant,' and others said that he was the capitán. He, himself, said that he was the capitán. He lived up the Río Onzole, and his duties were to bring culprits to trial and to judge cases with the other officials. He was charged with committing adultery with his /apínʸa/ 'father's brother's daughter,' who lived in the same

[835]

as though they were having the time of their lives, dashed out and returned very shortly, dragging a set of stocks that had been stored under the late /ũn^{y}i/, Arcilio's, house. Evidently the woman was going to be displayed as a horrible example! She kept up a running argument with the officials and denied the charge. Her husband backed her up, but to no avail. She was to be whipped fifty lashes. As the charge was completely unexpected, the woman had not prepared her ceremonial skirts and only wore a thin red rayon dress. With the first blow, she yelped in pain and turned to argue with the castigator. After a pause, another blow landed with the same results. After each blow, there were long intervals, probably out of consideration for the woman's pain. While the punishment was in progress, the castigator offered the culprit a bottle of rum from which to drink. However, a woman in the audience kept exhorting him to apply the lash heavily. In addition, she shook her fist at the rum drinking culprit, shouting that she had caught her with her husband in <u>flagrante delicto</u>. The malefactor's husband made a gesture of annoyance at the woman and told her to keep quiet. When she continued

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142 Their bodies are clean, and I have never seen a Cayapa who had a
[515] rash or boils, and only few who had scars. Their hair is thick, bristly
[302] and dull black in color; the beardless men wear it semi-long to the nape of the neck, while the women let it hang loose and open so that it not only covers their backs and ears, but in part even their fore-
291 heads and cheeks. Their clothes are extremely modest. The men wear a sleeveless, shirt-like, loose gown, which usually reaches to the hips only, but is sometimes longer, reaching to the knees, in which case it seems to be the holiday attire, and it looks richer having a border of differently colored cloth. These clothes are made of thin, very bright and cheap cotton materials. On special occasions
292 they even dress in gala clothes, which differ from their every-day
531 clothes in that they are decorated with straight lines or zig-zag de-
301 signs of shells. In addition they may deck themselves out in their
177 most precious ornaments consisting of two to ten long necklaces made of multi-colored glass beads as well as (at least from their point of view) especially beautiful neck and arm ornaments consisting of the cardboards 6 cm. wide so well known to all of us, with a whole gross of ordinary porcelain shirt-buttons on each just as they were delivered by the European manufacturers. But even among them there are
292 dandies and fashion hounds, who manage to pick up a useless old
177 black waistcoat somewhere, which they then decorate with a lot of white shells and buttons, wearing it as a sort of open vest over their red or blue shirts. But imagine the happiness of the young man who in addition to this splendor, has managed to acquire a stiff round felt hat. No matter how shabby, battered, greasy and much too small it may be on his fat pate with the thick mop of hair, he is proud of his elegance and would not change places even with the governor. The
622 Gobernador de los Cayapas (Governor of the Cayapas) is one of their
177 chiefs, of which each village or district has one—yes of course—he
292 is a great gentleman—he can afford it—he not only wears a shell
301 bedecked waistcoat over his red cotton shirt, but over it still another long, black morning-coat, which he has bought from or been given by Don So-and-so, because it had become too tight, unfashionable or shabby for the latter. And around his neck and wrists he wears especially wide cardboards with buttons in proportion to his dignity. Naturally it would be considered unseemly for a governor to come to town without suitable head-gear, even if it be only a self-made straw panama hat for lack of a black felt hat. But even he does not wear
[293] trousers or shoes, which are considered superfluous and burdensome; instead he carries in his right hand a wooden stick five feet long with a silver knob as a symbol of his position and power.

2 Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent canefields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported.

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Capaya* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the priests visit the *Cayapa*.

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive.

In addition to permanent houses, small temporary ranchos are sometimes built when people are far from home. The houses in the "village" are standard structures, but the church follows Spanish ways: it rests on the ground and has walls.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Although *Cayapa* tradition records a period when the people wore blankets and even ponchos, today their clothes are scanty (pl. 59, *bottom*). The men wear a tight, small, white garment, made like bathing trunks, and a thin gaudy shirt of calico, with short and very tight sleeves. On festive occasions vests of European cut and manufacture are frequently donned over the shirt, and so are felt fedoras.

Women wear a long skirt of native cloth, girded with a narrow fringed belt. As in the Highlands, several skirts of different weights are sometimes worn. Head, shoulders, and chest are usually left bare.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

greater size of the structure calls for correspondingly larger and stronger timbers and pillars. Furthermore, the fact that the floor is at ground level makes unnecessary the timbers which in the dwelling are required to support the floor.

Dress

At the present time the everyday dress of the men consists chiefly of two pieces: a very small, tight-fitting clout (pl. CXVI, 1-3), similar in appearance to short bathing trunks, and an improvised shirt made of calico or of gaudily figured bandana handkerchiefs. On special occasions, such as at feasts and other gatherings, a man adds to this a hat of European or of American manufacture; necklaces of beads, buttons, and silver coins; wrist-bands and neck-bands of small white buttons; and decorations upon the face and exposed parts of the body in red, yellow, or black paint. These ornaments are used to some extent also in the everyday life of the people. In pls. LIII-LVI are shown various types of necklaces and neck- and wrist-bands, and in pls. XXXIX-LII are illustrated typical paintings of the face, arms, and legs. Some of the men paint very little, others very elaborately; some wear no necklaces or similar decorations, others wear many such ornaments; and still others bedeck themselves in both manners very profusely.

The small trunk is ordinarily made of the same kind of native cloth as is used by the women in their dress. It is cut from a piece woven specially for the purpose

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FIESTEROS AND CHURCH AT PUNTA VENADO

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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YOUNG MEN DRESSED FOR FIESTA

[Photo (G)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME

[p. 64(1)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME COMPLETED WITH A VEST

[p. 611 (J)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME WITH FOREIGN HAT

[p. 66(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUMES

[p. 66(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD4

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BOY DRESSED FOR FIESTA

[p. 66(c)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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●292
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BOY DRESSED FOR FIESTA

[p.66(b)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUMES

[p. 66(E)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME

[p. 66 (F)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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301
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FIESTA COSTUME

[p. 66 (H)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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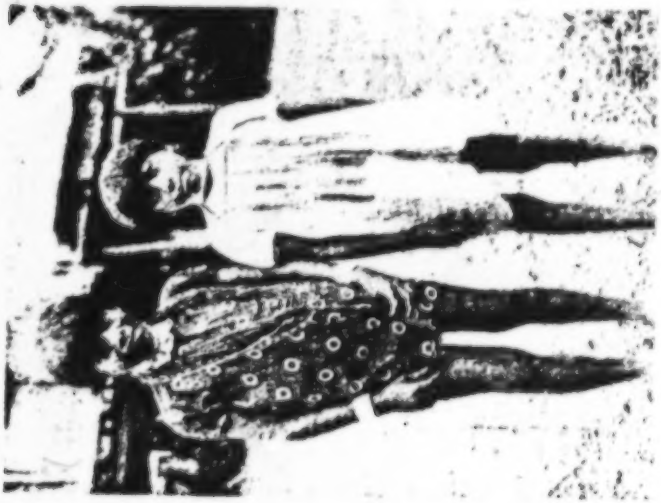
BOYS DRESSED FOR FIESTA



BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 66 (I)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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PL. XXXVIII

BOYS DRESSED FOR FIESTA

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 66(J)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

142 An interesting example of the possible differences in
484 skin color is shown, however, when any of the Indians journey to the coast, and especially if they voyage a considerable distance at sea, which they frequently do when some of them have occasion to visit Tumaco or Esmeraldas. On such occasions they take their canoes
[505] out to sea and paddle, skirting the shore-line for a considerable number of miles. The trip from Limones to Esmeraldas necessitates a journey of about fifty miles on the open sea, and ordinarily requires at least a week.
[292] For such trips the Cayapa usually dress specially, in that they put on extra necklaces, neckbands, and wristbands, and otherwise ornament themselves for the occasion. Their tight-fitting neckbands and wristbands are never taken off while they are away from home, consequently the portions of the skin covered by them are protected from the influence of the elements. When they return home, however, this finery is usually taken off. The
142 contrast between the covered portions of skin and the exposed parts is striking, even though the intervals of sunshine along the coast are practically as infrequent as along the river. The sea breeze has a marked tanning effect, consequently the traveler returns home almost as brown as many of our North American Indians who are subjected to sun and wind during much of the year. The covered portions of the skin, however, remain the same color as when the Cayapa leaves home, and it is therefore possible to contrast the natural color with the tan. No color charts were available for purposes of comparison and exact record, but the differences between these two tints are considerable and show the natural color of the Cayapa, as previously mentioned, to be

or the front may differ from the back in solid colors. Often the panels may be cut vertically or diagonally with different brightly hued colors. The shirt, which falls to knee-length, is usually bordered at the hem by the same band that joins the front and rear panels. Sometimes the multicolored hem may be overlaid with the panel material that has been cut in triangular points. This gorgeous array is usually topped off with a white plastic fedora that has been smuggled in from Colombia. If the feet are shod, they are usually encased in knee-length rubber boots. For festive occasions, the men wear lipstick and round patches of rouge on their cheeks. Sometimes they also place a round spot of rouge about an inch and a half in diameter, in the middle of their foreheads. The over-all effect is quite striking.

Some men do not use cosmetics but prefer to dress up for fiestas in western clothing that often includes underwear and transparent nylon sport shirts in white, red, blue, yellow, or green. On occasion, a man will place a bright yellow straight plastic comb in his hair. Men quite often buy wrist watches for which they have no earthly use. The watches are fairly expensive, poorly

made, and seldom in working order. The brand names are obvious imitations of well known trade-marks, and men may be seen sporting watches marked "Algin," "Danrus," or "Wiltham." If queried as to the time of day, the most likely response is "just today the watch stopped working."

Attractive as the Cayapa male is in his festive array, the woman is clearly the fashion leader. Because she is short-legged and thick-waisted, her adornment is calculated to conceal these features and to shift attention to her face instead. Like the male, she is rouged and lip-painted. Occasionally she paints a black line across her cheeks and upper lip. Her hair, which is waist length, is fastened at the side and front with multi-colored barrettes, while the crown of the head is covered by a Juliet's cap fabricated of shiny coins. Around her shoulders and neck depend row after row of brightly-hued glass and metal beads and strings of coins. The ultimate row of baubles may fall below the hip line. Beaded ligatures may be placed on her arms, and silver rings may adorn all of her fingers except the thumbs. Around her shoulders she wears a bright

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[535]

silk or rayon shawl which can cover her head, face and breast when she is dancing. Her skirt, worn over a black cotton underskirt /t^{y}ún^{y}a/, falls just below the knee and is a wrap-around in a solid color. It is embroidered at the hem in the manner of the men's shirt fashions. A belt secures the underskirt, and the overskirt is tucked in at the waist. The women spend a good deal of time adjusting the overskirt.

[535]
[681]

For dancing or for receiving the blows of the cat-o-nine-tails /ástečúwa/ as punishment, the woman puts on over her usual skirts a woven wrap-around skirt made of heavy cotton and decorated with both geometric and realistic designs. Many colors are used, but blue, white, and red predominate. Since the present generation of women is almost completely ignorant of the weaver's art, the skirts are seldom their own handiwork.

[280]

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Manufactures. Woodworking: It is immediately apparent that canoes and their handling are extremely important to all the inhabitants of the area. Young boys often begin their lessons in canoemanship by playing on the drifting logs that come down stream when the river is in flood. They tumble and splash and learn

Negroes present for Church services, because they like to hear them sing. One of the complaints voiced against the/ún^{y}i/ was that he had not invited enough Negro singers to the fiesta.

On Easter Sunday, there was a great deal of varied activity in all of the houses as the Cayapa prepared for the church activities. This meant that they put on their newest clothing, and young children were dressed in the kind of ornamentation ordinarily worn by women, they often had row upon row of beads and bangles hanging from the neck down to the waist. Around ten o'clock, the church bell rang, and people began drifting over to the church. The officials stood outside with their whips, and as people approached, they struck them several times across the buttocks. Some went into the church, where the chief stood in front of the altar. They bent forward and received the blows. Children were whipped also, but very lightly. Some of the officials went into each of the houses looking for stragglers. After all had been whipped, they whipped themselves and one of them whipped the chief. Only a few of the Negroes joined in the ritual, and, in these

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684 x
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She told him the story, and when Aurelio returned home, he notified the /únʸi/, Gabriel, and the case was brought up at Punta Venado during Christmas of 1960. Julio Tapullo, looking somewhat embarrassed, stood alone off to one side with his crippled left arm, supported by his right arm, laid across his chest. He was dressed in rather shabby clothing. [Most Cayapa try to wear new clothing to a fiesta.] His wife and Segundo stood somewhat apart in the center of a circle composed of about sixty people. Everyone, including the /únʸi/, was very drunk. Gabriel asked why María had left her husband, and she replied that Julio was not supporting her and that he never bought her cloth and jewelry. Julio flatly denied everything. People in the crowd were saying that Julio could do as much work with his one good arm as most men could do with two. In the discussion between Gabriel and the two culprits it became obvious that they had come into contact quite accidently. Segundo had been out looking for a second wife at the same time that María had left Julio, and they met on the Río Onzole. Gabriel asked Segundo why he had felt he had to look for another wife when he already had three children, but

[292]

142 Their bodies are clean, and I have never seen a Cayapa who had a
[515] rash or boils, and only few who had scars. Their hair is thick, bristly
[302] and dull black in color; the beardless men wear it semi-long to the
nape of the neck, while the women let it hang loose and open so that
it not only covers their backs and ears, but in part even their fore-
291 heads and cheeks. Their clothes are extremely modest. The men
wear a sleeveless, shirt-like, loose gown, which usually reaches to
the hips only, but is sometimes longer, reaching to the knees, in
which case it seems to be the holiday attire, and it looks richer hav-
ing a border of differently colored cloth. These clothes are made of
thin, very bright and cheap cotton materials. On special occasions
292 they even dress in gala clothes, which differ from their every-day
531 clothes in that they are decorated with straight lines or zig-zag de-
301 signs of shells. In addition they may deck themselves out in their
177 most precious ornaments consisting of two to ten long necklaces made
of multi-colored glass beads as well as (at least from their point of
view) especially beautiful neck and arm ornaments consisting of the
cardboards 6 cm. wide so well known to all of us, with a whole gross
of ordinary porcelain shirt-buttons on each just as they were delivered
by the European manufacturers. But even among them there are
292 dandies and fashion hounds, who manage to pick up a useless old
177 black waistcoat somewhere, which they then decorate with a lot of
white shells and buttons, wearing it as a sort of open vest over their
red or blue shirts. But imagine the happiness of the young man who
in addition to this splendor, has managed to acquire a stiff round felt
hat. No matter how shabby, battered, greasy and much too small it
may be on his fat pate with the thick mop of hair, he is proud of his
elegance and would not change places even with the governor. The
622 Gobernador de los Cayapas (Governor of the Cayapas) is one of their
177 chiefs, of which each village or district has one—yes of course—he
292 is a great gentleman—he can afford it—he not only wears a shell
301 bedecked waistcoat over his red cotton shirt, but over it still another
long, black morning-coat, which he has bought from or been given
by Don So-and-so, because it had become too tight, unfashionable
or shabby for the latter. And around his neck and wrists he wears
especially wide cardboards with buttons in proportion to his dignity.
Naturally it would be considered unseemly for a governor to come to
town without suitable head-gear, even if it be only a self-made straw
panama hat for lack of a black felt hat. But even he does not wear
[293] trousers or shoes, which are considered superfluous and burdensome;
instead he carries in his right hand a wooden stick five feet long with
a silver knob as a symbol of his position and power.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

[611] There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

work is still more apparent than in the one here referred to, because these composite, wide elements are made to pass under and over one another several times instead of only once. This process is never employed except at the starting point of this form of basket.

In detail the technics employed by the Cayapa in their basketry are as described below. Further, in addition to its use in basketry, twilling is employed in making mats and fans, and wicker is used in certain burden-bands and in fan-handles.

WICKERWORK

Wickerwork, the simplest of the two-element technics, consists of the passing of a single active or woof element over and under successive passive or warp elements. The Cayapa employ this technic almost solely in connection with the material derived from the aerial root called pitigua and for the making of five forms of basketry: a burden-basket, a shallow rectangular basket, a bottle-shape bait basket, a more or less globose basket used in carrying fruits and as a general household utensil, and a long tubular basket used especially as a receptacle for spindles. Examples of burden-baskets are shown in pl. XCII, 4, 7, while the other forms are illustrated respectively in pl. XCIII, 1, 3, 4, 12.

Ordinarily the Cayapa wickerwork is comparatively tightly woven, as is shown in illustrations referred to. There are, however, two special types of wicker basket which are open in their technic. Both are made for the purpose of allowing water to pass readily through them, being used especially as cages for live crayfish which are

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

downward, then outward to a position in front of the next pair of warp elements, and finally inward and behind the next pair of these elements. Along the outer surface and directly opposite the above-mentioned horizontal splint, another is passed, and these two are secured by two splints passing spirally and in the same direction along the entire border in such manner as to fasten firmly the pairs of turned-down warp elements. 285

As above mentioned, the wicker technic finds slight use outside of basketry. It is employed in weaving the broad head-bands of the burden-straps which are made of pitigua or of the fibers from the leaf of the palma real, and occasionally in weaving the outer surface of the handle of a fan. In the use first mentioned the elements employed are fairly broad strips of pitigua, as shown in pl. CIII, 1. In the second, the warp elements are made by placing from four to six of the small cylindrical palma-real fibers side by side to form a broad and fairly rigid element. The woof element consists sometimes of but a single palma-real fiber, but usually of two placed side by side as shown in pl. CIII, 3. Occasionally more than two of these fibers are used in such a woof element. The surfaces of fan handles are almost always made, like the blades, in twilled technic, but occasionally one is found which is in wicker, as in the example shown in pl. CIII, 5. 285 293 [482]

TWILLING

The second technic consisting of two elements is twilling. This is employed in the making of hamper-shape baskets (pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 6, 10, 11): long, tubular 285 415

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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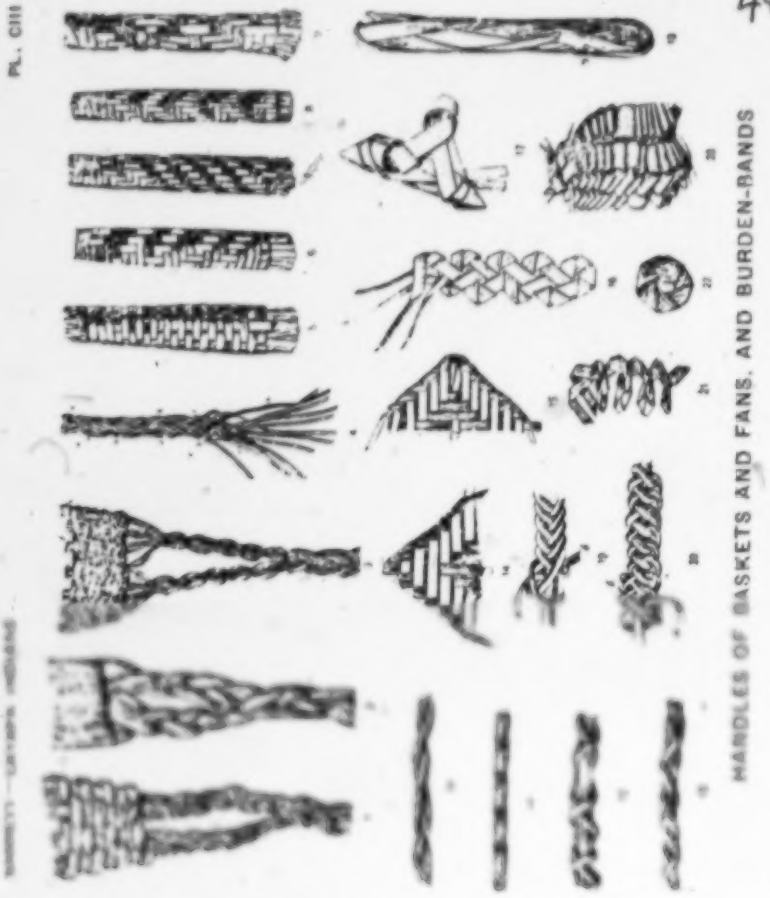

PL. CIII

HANDLES OF BASKETS AND FANS, AND BURDEN-BANDS

[p. 236 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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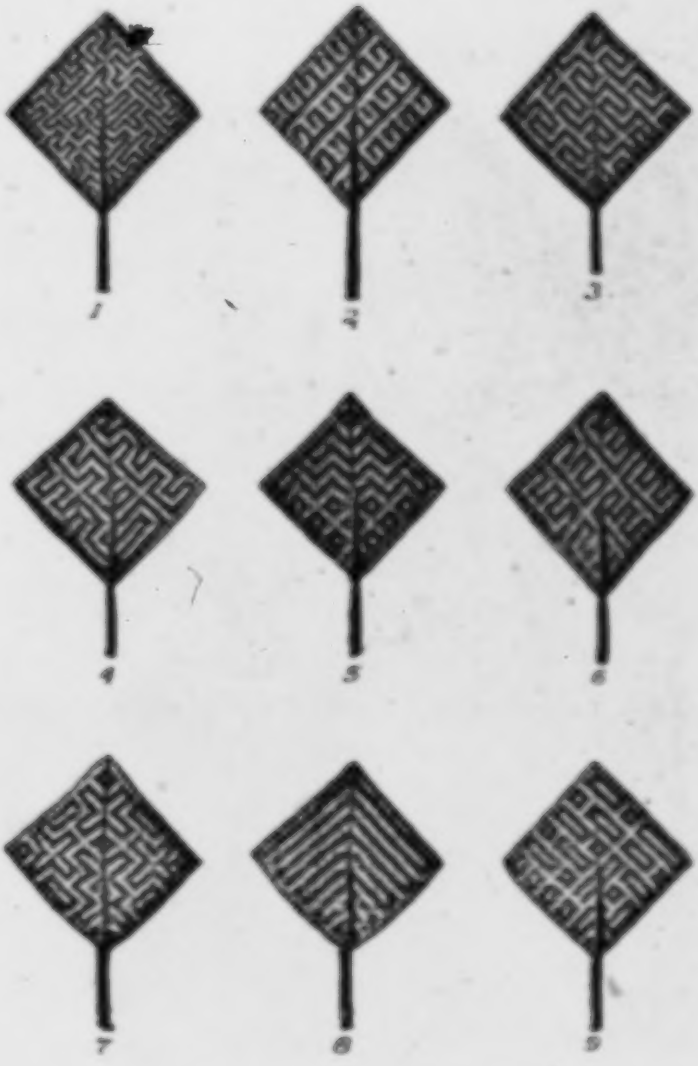

FANS

[p. 236(10)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

upon the forehead, but is more frequently employed as a shoulder burden-band. 285 482

A second type of burden-band is that shown in pl. CIII, 1, which is made of pitigua and is called by the Cayapa te'tsû tañla. In this the head-band is made in wicker with fairly broad strips of pitigua used as warp and a broad strip of the same material passing back and forth as woof. These warp strips are then split and made in two small braids that later merge into one larger braid as is shown in the illustration last mentioned. This type of burden-band is used almost exclusively in connection with the flaring burden-basket, which is supported by the band passing across the forehead. The remaining two types are made of the slender but very strong fibers of the palma real and differ one from the other only in the technic of the cord. In one instance this cord is simply braided, as in the kuna-kuna bark and the pitigua bands just described. A section of one of these bands called in Cayapa nintcû'a tañla, is shown in pl. CIII, 3. The other band, called lû'ra balya tañla, has a cord which is square in cross-section and is produced by the intricate technic shown in fig. 4 of the same plate. The head-band in each case is made in the same wicker technic in which several palma-real cords are laid side by side to form a unit warp element, and a couple of these same palma-real fibers are placed side by side to form a unit woof element.

FANS

The Cayapa make extensively a special type of fan, called nyê've or nyiwê'wi, used for fanning the fire and 285 293 372

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 to a certain extent for fanning themselves. As is shown
293 in pl. CIV this fan is always square and has a substantial
372 handle extending from one corner. Almost the only
[320] material used for fans is the bark of the petiole of the fan-leaf palm. On rare occasions the bark of the hoja blanca is employed, and such fans almost always show a pattern in red produced by coloring one set of the twilling elements with achote. Both these materials are prepared in exactly the same manner as in making basketry.

285 The blade of the fan is always made in the over-three and under-three form of twilling, while the handle consists of a bundle of the elements which form the blade, this bundle having an outer surface of twilling or wickerwork, as shown in pl. CIII, 5–9. Such fans are usually eight or nine inches square, though they are sometimes larger and frequently smaller. The larger fans are used almost exclusively for fanning the fire, while the smaller ones are used for giving personal comfort.

285 Fans are decorated with a considerable variety of
531 geometric designs of the same character as those found on mats, and in lesser variety on twilled basketry. Pl. CV shows a number of these patterns, which in most instances are without special name and in no case are they symbolic, as has been pointed out in treating the decorative art of the Cayapa.

285 The exact manipulation of the splints used in fan-making is shown in pl. CIII, 14 and 15, which exhibit respectively the uppermost corner and the right-hand corner of the front or upper surface of the fan. In detail the manipulation is as follows: A single long

3: Barrett E. . (1903-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

At an early age the girls are instructed in household duties of all kinds, and often begin to spin and weave, as well as to make pottery, basketry, and other articles, at the age of five or six years. They also take a hand in agriculture when very small. As they grow older and become more proficient in these various arts, they enter more and more into the regular daily work of the home, until they finally marry, which they usually do at an early age, often at about seventeen or eighteen years.

The daily life of the men is also a busy one. They do their share of the work in the fields, besides being industrious hunters and fishermen. They are expert woodworkers, making very excellent canoes, paddles, benches, images used as toys by children, musical instruments, certain cooking utensils, and various other objects of wood. They make and tend the fish corrals as well as set the seines when the water is in a favorable condition to divert fish to certain places. In addition to trapping and netting fish, they also do much fishing with hook and line. They hunt a great deal and procure a very important part of the food supply in that way, for the jungle abounds in many kinds of game. When about the house, they are, like the women, almost always busy at something, as adzing a canoe, weaving a net, or doing some one of the many kinds of work which fall to the man's lot in the Cayapa division of labor. Since the introduction of needles and thread among the Cayapa, the men have taken up sewing and have become very efficient tailors for their simple needs.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

462 The women do all the spinning and weaving of cloth,
512 but the men sew all garments, not only for themselves
294 but also for the small boys who have not yet learned to
[291] sew. This is due largely no doubt to the fact that the single garment worn by the women requires no sewing whatever, while the two garments worn by the men must be sewn.

868 At a very early age boys begin to learn the arts practised by their elders, hence they are instructed in hunting, fishing, woodworking, and similar useful accomplishments of the men.

512 It is customary among the Cayapa to arise at dawn, usually between five and five-thirty o'clock, and to retire as soon as darkness comes, or between six-thirty and seven o'clock. These hours vary little throughout the year, owing to the proximity of the equator.

[527] The daily routine is usually about the same throughout the year, varying in event of a fiesta, or boda, which brings the people together at a particular village, from which, after some days of festivities, they return home.

[484] Another diversion is going down the river to the settlements. Sometimes this trip is made almost purely for

[439] pleasure and to obtain oysters and other sea foods, but more often these pleasure trips are combined with the selling of tagua, cacao, rubber, or plantains, and occasionally logs for lumber.

593 One of the most characteristic features of the daily life of the Cayapa is the devotion of the members of a family toward one another, especially that of parents toward their children. Few restrictions are placed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

greater size of the structure calls for correspondingly larger and stronger timbers and pillars. Furthermore, the fact that the floor is at ground level makes unnecessary the timbers which in the dwelling are required to support the floor.

Dress

At the present time the everyday dress of the men consists chiefly of two pieces: a very small, tight-fitting clout (pl. CXVI, 1-3), similar in appearance to short bathing trunks, and an improvised shirt made of calico or of gaudily figured bandana handkerchiefs. On special occasions, such as at feasts and other gatherings, a man adds to this a hat of European or of American manufacture; necklaces of beads, buttons, and silver coins; wrist-bands and neck-bands of small white buttons; and decorations upon the face and exposed parts of the body in red, yellow, or black paint. These ornaments are used to some extent also in the everyday life of the people. In pls. LIII-LVI are shown various types of necklaces and neck- and wrist-bands, and in pls. XXXIX-LII are illustrated typical paintings of the face, arms, and legs. Some of the men paint very little, others very elaborately; some wear no necklaces or similar decorations, others wear many such ornaments; and still others bedeck themselves in both manners very profusely.

The small trunk is ordinarily made of the same kind of native cloth as is used by the women in their dress. It is cut from a piece woven specially for the purpose

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

and containing a sufficient amount of cloth to make two clouts. Each clout consists of two pieces sewed along a seam running up the front and back. The cloth itself is woven by the women, as is the woman's dress or manta: but the sewing of the clout is done by the men, for the women almost never do any sewing for themselves or for others. The fact that the woman's dress requires no sewing may account for her lack of knowledge in this direction. The clouts are made to fit very tightly, so tightly in fact that they make deep impressions in the muscles of the legs. On account of this tightness no gathering-string or other method of fastening is ordinarily required. Occasionally a man is found who makes his clout a trifle looser than customarily, and provides it, on the right-hand side, with a button to hold it in place. This is said by the Indians to have been formerly the universal custom. In recent times, however, the very tight clout has almost entirely supplanted the other form.

The influence on the life of the Cayapa exerted at the present time by modern commerce and its manufactured articles is here again shown by the use of white muslin in the making of the clouts. In fact, at present the muslin clout is almost, if not quite, as common as is that made of the native cloth.

It is said that formerly, when the Cayapa were mountaineers, they used the poncho which at present is so common among the Indians of the interior Andean region. On migrating into the warmer and more humid coastal region, however, the poncho was found un-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

comfortable and gave place to the lighter shirt which at present is made of bandana handkerchiefs or of calico. Such garments are worn by the men and boys shown in pl. XXV-XXXVIII. This shirt is made by sewing the cloth into the form of a bag, with an opening just large enough to admit the head, and with two openings at the corners for the arms. At the arm-holes the garment fits very tightly; otherwise it is a very light, loose-fitting shirt which protects to a certain extent the upper part of the body from the strong though diffused sunlight, and, to a much greater extent, from the attacks of insects. Often, when about the house or elsewhere under conditions which make it superfluous, the shirt is not worn.

Both men and women wear necklaces to a considerable extent as a part of their daily attire, and on festal occasions. These ornaments are at present made largely of glass and porcelain beads of various kinds, of small buttons, and of silver coins. In primitive times necklaces probably were as much used as at present, but they were made largely of the seeds of certain plants of the region and from the iridescent wing-covers of a large beetle, *Euchroma goliath*. Necklaces of some of these materials are sometimes still found, but they have been largely supplanted by those made of the intrusive materials described.

In pls. LIII-LVI are shown various neck and wrist ornaments. Those shown in pls. LIII, 2–6, and LIV are made of seeds of various kinds, selected for their sweet scent or for their color. The one presented in pl. LIII, 1,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

sharp knife the fringe, placed against the calabash, is trimmed close to the binding at the edge. The fabric is now ready for use.

Mantas (pls. CXII–CXV), called tyū′nya by the Cayapa, used by the women as skirts, and also mochos (pl. CXVI), called wa′ra, are almost the only textiles now made. No other aboriginal garments are worn except the narrow belt (pl. CVII, 1, 2) used by the women in connection with the manta. These belts are woven in precisely the same manner as are the wider textiles, except that a loom is not used unless it is desired to make a wide and elaborate belt.

For narrow belts two short wooden pegs are driven into a section of a plantain or other succulent stem, and upon these the warp strands of the belt are set up on the two transverse bars (*c*, *d*) of a regular loom. For a narrow belt, pita string is often used as the weft. The wide belts are often nicely decorated with geometric or bird and animal figures. For weaving a narrow belt, no shuttle or batten is used ordinarily, the string being passed in the form of a ball between the warp elements, and the finger used to drive the weaving down tightly. The ends of narrow belts are not provided with a special binding; the warp strands at each end are simply braided, usually in two sections, the braids being used for the attachment of tassels made usually of red or blue woolen yarn.

Mantas, of course, are of various sizes, governed by the age of the persons for whom intended. The manta of an adult woman usually measures about thirty by sixty inches, and requires often several months for its weaving,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

since such weaving is done in large measure only at odd times.

The trunks or mocho (pl. CXVI) worn by the men is made of cloth woven by the women, a special narrow fabric being produced for this purpose. One of these pieces of cloth contains enough for two mochos. It is always cut and sewed by the men themselves, some of them being adept with the needle. The women know almost nothing about sewing. It ordinarily even falls to the men to make the small mochos for the boys until they are old enough to sew for themselves.

The subject of manta designs is treated under Decorative Art.

CORDAGE AND NETTING

In most cases cordage and nets are made of the fine, long, white fibers obtained from the leaf of the plant called in Spanish pita and in Cayapa sa′nō, and to a much more limited extent the fibers from the bark of a tree called in Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa señgī′lya are used.

The preparation and manipulation of pita, to which reference has been made hitherto, are quite elaborate. The long, slender, full-grown leaves of the plant are cut off close to the ground and brought to the house in bundles, such as those shown leaning against the house in pl. LXVI. While the leaf is still green the fibers are extracted by first scraping off the succulent portion of the concave side of the leaf and then stripping out the fibers from the remainder. For this scraping there are required a semi-cylindrical log of palm-wood, called sañwi cī′nō,

brown. A few of them are tatooed on the arms and the blue of the ink stands out very clearly. Mongoloid characteristics such as the epicanthric fold, the Mongoloid spot, and high cheekbones are very common, but in contrast to the Mongoloid nose, the Cayapa nose is often bridged. Occasionally one finds individuals with very high-bridged noses of aquiline shape. Their eyes are uniformly dark brown, and the whites are seldom clear but have a brownish tinge that would seem to indicate a high incidence of liver disorders. Most Cayapa, especially the women, seem to be somewhat round-faced. The men, while short, are very well-proportioned and have tremendous strength in their arms and shoulders which probably stems from their technique of canoe handling. As a rule, the women are thick-waisted, the result, perhaps partly at least, of their characteristic canoe handling. They generally paddle in a seated position, using a very short paddle, which requires many rapid short strokes for effective maneuvering, and they necessarily have to lean forward to make efficient use of the short paddle.

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Clothing and Adornment. Many men are quite

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adept at tailoring, and make their own clothing. Children learn from their fathers. A few men own sewing machines which they sometimes rent out; some take tailoring orders from their less skillful neighbors. Some men may even make their wives' skirts /pihtahal^{y}i/. The man wears western-style trousers with pegged cuffs that are shaped to permit easier gathering of the trouser leg at the calf, if wading should be necessary. The trousers are held up by leather belts that are purchased. The colors of the trousers are usually dark tones of blue, grey, khaki, or black. The Cayapa are restricted in color choice simply because the available trouser cloth that is purchased in the coastal towns tends to come in these shades. On the other hand, shirt material is available in a wide variety of colors and every conceivable color combination is used, very often in harlequin fashion.

The shirt /huwál^{y}i/ is cut in a rectangular fashion with a short slit neck which forms a 'vee' when worn. Tight short sleeves run down about three inches from the shoulders. The front and rear panels are joined together at the sides by colored strips of varying widths. The panels may be of the same bright color,

142 Their bodies are clean, and I have never seen a Cayapa who had a
[515] rash or boils, and only few who had scars. Their hair is thick, bristly
[302] and dull black in color; the beardless men wear it semi-long to the nape of the neck, while the women let it hang loose and open so that it not only covers their backs and ears, but in part even their fore-
291 heads and cheeks. Their clothes are extremely modest. The men wear a sleeveless, shirt-like, loose gown, which usually reaches to the hips only, but is sometimes longer, reaching to the knees, in which case it seems to be the holiday attire, and it looks richer having a border of differently colored cloth. These clothes are made of thin, very bright and cheap cotton materials. On special occasions
292 they even dress in gala clothes, which differ from their every-day
531 clothes in that they are decorated with straight lines or zig-zag de-
301 signs of shells. In addition they may deck themselves out in their
177 most precious ornaments consisting of two to ten long necklaces made of multi-colored glass beads as well as (at least from their point of view) especially beautiful neck and arm ornaments consisting of the cardboards 6 cm. wide so well known to all of us, with a whole gross of ordinary porcelain shirt-buttons on each just as they were delivered by the European manufacturers. But even among them there are
292 dandies and fashion hounds, who manage to pick up a useless old
177 black waistcoat somewhere, which they then decorate with a lot of white shells and buttons, wearing it as a sort of open vest over their red or blue shirts. But imagine the happiness of the young man who in addition to this splendor, has managed to acquire a stiff round felt hat. No matter how shabby, battered, greasy and much too small it may be on his fat pate with the thick mop of hair, he is proud of his elegance and would not change places even with the governor. The
622 Gobernador de los Cayapas (Governor of the Cayapas) is one of their
177 chiefs, of which each village or district has one—yes of course—he
292 is a great gentleman—he can afford it—he not only wears a shell
301 bedecked waistcoat over his red cotton shirt, but over it still another long, black morning-coat, which he has bought from or been given by Don So-and-so, because it had become too tight, unfashionable or shabby for the latter. And around his neck and wrists he wears especially wide cardboards with buttons in proportion to his dignity. Naturally it would be considered unseemly for a governor to come to town without suitable head-gear, even if it be only a self-made straw panama hat for lack of a black felt hat. But even he does not wear
[293] trousers or shoes, which are considered superfluous and burdensome; instead he carries in his right hand a wooden stick five feet long with a silver knob as a symbol of his position and power.

301 The women's clothes are much simpler and scantier than the
291 men's. They simply consist of a piece of cotton cloth dyed blue, black or red, about two yards long, which is tightly wrapped around the lower part of the body and is tied at the waist with flax cord. The upper part of the body, up to the waist, and legs, from the feet to the knees, remain totally uncovered. By way of ornaments they wear long strings of tiny colored beads around the wrists and long, colored bead necklaces around the neck, as well as self-made mother-of-pearl amulets and some of the more well-to-do women even wear strings of silver coins. Bead necklaces are also
[584] worn in large numbers by young men during the period of their betrothal. In other words the women's wardrobes are not a serious worry to the husbands. Up to their sixth year, children run about completely naked apart from some bead or button ornaments likewise hung on them.

481 The men walk ahead of their wives, a long leaf-shaped paddle
562 in one hand and a small net-like basket containing as little as
482 possible in the other, while the heavily laden women trot behind them with short, swaying steps, along with the children. Even from their visits to town one can observe that the woman has been given the role of the load and work-horse.

482 On her back the woman carries a heavily laden basket which is strapped around her forehead, while the youngest child sits thrust out in riding position on her hip, with the mother's arm holding him tightly. In her other hand she usually carries a bundle and a cooking pot.

574 One of their first visits in town is at the local priest's. The
797 latter claims that the Cayapa are Catholics. But this is not true.
301 Probably they only go to the priest because he seeks to prove the blessings of the Catholic Church by means of small presents and holy coins, which, one must admit, do look very pretty worn around the neck. At home they have their own cult.

481 Their happiness is apparent when they leave the vicarage, be-
198 cause they have again received presents. They amble down the business streets, curious, amazed and admiring as they go from one shop to the other. "Chindo, Kachindo, compadre?" the gutter-snipes call after them. (The first two words are in the Cayapa language, the third is Spanish; the sentence means: "Where'ye going, fellow?") "Caminando, viendo, comprando, compadre"
[91] ("going for a walk, seeing, buying, brother") the men answer politely, but in very poor Spanish.

846 and demons; on the other hand it also aims at inducing the father to identify himself intimately with the child. Obviously the women, for whom these customs do not provide the least amount of consideration, quickly lose their earlier beauty and after a few years, they wilt and become horridly ugly.

594 The marriage of the Cayapa is most harmonious. They do not
[595 have polygamy or polyandry, and adultery never occurs or only
837] [287] very rarely. Women or girls who have relationships with
[689] white or black men or those of any other race, are killed without pity. In fact they are even forbidden to enter into innocent conversation with such men under threat of severe penalty. If one of the spouses dies, they do not remarry, remaining faithful to the
[764] dead. The dead are only buried when the corpse is already in a state of decomposition and when the pestilent smell has become unbearable.

574 While the villagers and inhabitants of other races in these parts
648 are very hospitable and will always offer hospitality to travelers, no matter how poor they are, even without expecting any remuneration, the Cayapa are an exception to this rule. They fear strangers on account of their women, who are not always safe from them; but most particularly they hate the Negroes who have repeatedly attacked their women forcibly. For this reason it is not easy to obtain shelter in Cayapa villages. As they have frequently also been robbed and mistreated by Negroes, they leave their huts as soon as a Negro settles in the neighborhood, and keep on withdrawing further inland. Thus they have already completely disappeared from the banks of the Santiago River and the lower course of the Cayapa River.

135 There still is a lot of gold in their region, as indeed there are
316 small layers of alluvial gold in all these rivers. But these Indians, with the exception of a few, more modern minded, and the renegades, do not collect it, nor do they wear gold ornaments. On the other hand none of them would tell a stranger where the yellow metal could be found, even if he were offered a fortune for his secret. From the Cayapa point of view gold is an accursed thing, which brought the white and the black devils into the country and was responsible for their being pushed back into the interior and
[648] robbed of their dominion. The Negroes, however, are their sworn enemies because they have too often had to suffer bitter injustice from them.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

291 Children wear no clothes at all until they are 6 or 8.

301 The hair is worn loose, long, and flowing by the women but is clipped
302 above the ears by the men. Both sexes wear necklaces and wristbands of glass and porcelain beads, coins, seeds, and beetle wings. Only women wear earrings.

302 The traditional *Chibcha* custom of frequently painting body and face is found among the *Cayapa*. Red, yellow, and black are used, and the designs are very numerous. Barrett reproduces many of the motifs and insists that there is no special significance attached to any of them, nor is there any age, sex, or property correlation.

TRANSPORTATION

501 **Watercraft.**—A large part of every *Cayapa's* life is spent on the water fishing and traveling. Canoes are built with great skill and care. They
[439] can withstand not only fluvial but also maritime travel and are routinely sold in the "civilized" coast towns. They are dugouts, usually 10 to 12 yards long but sometimes much larger. Balsa-wood logs are sometimes used as outriggers.

MANUFACTURES

000 Details of *Cayapa* manufactures are contained in Barrett's work, which describes and illustrates finished products and minutely discusses the techniques of preparation.

322 **Woodworking.**—Woodworking includes house building, making deadfall traps, and carving seats and children's dolls.

285 **Weaving and basketry.**—The women weave cotton cloth on a narrow
286 native loom, and the men do the sewing. The men also weave the fishing
462 nets and hammocks. Barrett's discussion of *Cayapa* basketry is outstanding. The *Cayapa* make many kinds of baskets, mats, and fans of bark and of various roots.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery is crude and undecorated. It is used particularly for
177 storage. Tradition claims that in their old Highland habitat the *Cayapa* made better pottery but that calabashes have since largely replaced ceramics.

324 **Stonework and metalwork.**—Stonework is limited to the metates
325 used in grinding corn and plantains. Although in aboriginal times Lowland Ecuador was a famous area of metallurgy, there is no evidence that the contemporary *Cayapa* practiced it.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapon most widely used today is the muzzle-loading
177 shotgun. The blowgun was important in the past, but today its use is restricted to boys, who shoot poison darts while playing at hunting. Hardwood lances are being given up, and the bow and arrow is said not to be mentioned in *Cayapa* tradition. The steel machete is ubiquitous.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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A TYPICAL FAMILY GROUP

[p. 62(D)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

greater size of the structure calls for correspondingly larger and stronger timbers and pillars. Furthermore, the fact that the floor is at ground level makes unnecessary the timbers which in the dwelling are required to support the floor.

Dress

At the present time the everyday dress of the men consists chiefly of two pieces: a very small, tight-fitting clout (pl. CXVI, 1-3), similar in appearance to short bathing trunks, and an improvised shirt made of calico or of gaudily figured bandana handkerchiefs. On special occasions, such as at feasts and other gatherings, a man adds to this a hat of European or of American manufacture; necklaces of beads, buttons, and silver coins; wrist-bands and neck-bands of small white buttons; and decorations upon the face and exposed parts of the body in red, yellow, or black paint. These ornaments are used to some extent also in the everyday life of the people. In pls. LIII-LVI are shown various types of necklaces and neck- and wrist-bands, and in pls. XXXIX-LII are illustrated typical paintings of the face, arms, and legs. Some of the men paint very little, others very elaborately; some wear no necklaces or similar decorations, others wear many such ornaments; and still others bedeck themselves in both manners very profusely.

The small trunk is ordinarily made of the same kind of native cloth as is used by the women in their dress. It is cut from a piece woven specially for the purpose

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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WOMAN WEARING NECKLACE AND BRACELETS

[p. 64(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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WOMAN WEARING DOUBLE MANTA

[p. 64(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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WOMAN'S CUSTOMARY COIFFURE

[p. 691]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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SINGLE MANTA AND TASSELED GIRDLE

[p. 69(b)]

A FAMILY GROUP

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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PL. XXIV

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

FIESTEROS AND CHURCH AT PUNTA VENADO

[p. 64(F)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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YOUNG MEN DRESSED FOR FIESTA

[p. 64 (G)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME

[p. 64(I)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME COMPLETED WITH A VEST

[p. 64 (J)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

comfortable and gave place to the lighter shirt which at present is made of bandana handkerchiefs or of calico. Such garments are worn by the men and boys shown in pl. XXV-XXXVIII. This shirt is made by sewing the cloth into the form of a bag, with an opening just large enough to admit the head, and with two openings at the corners for the arms. At the arm-holes the garment fits very tightly; otherwise it is a very light, loose-fitting shirt which protects to a certain extent the upper part of the body from the strong though diffused sunlight, and, to a much greater extent, from the attacks of insects. Often, when about the house or elsewhere under conditions which make it superfluous, the shirt is not worn.

Both men and women wear necklaces to a considerable extent as a part of their daily attire, and on festal occasions. These ornaments are at present made largely of glass and porcelain beads of various kinds, of small buttons, and of silver coins. In primitive times necklaces probably were as much used as at present, but they were made largely of the seeds of certain plants of the region and from the iridescent wing-covers of a large beetle, *Euchroma goliath*. Necklaces of some of these materials are sometimes still found, but they have been largely supplanted by those made of the intrusive materials described.

In pls. LIII-LVI are shown various neck and wrist ornaments. Those shown in pls. LIII, 2–6, and LIV are made of seeds of various kinds, selected for their sweet scent or for their color. The one presented in pl. LIII, 1,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

301 is of beads and coins; in pl. LV, 1, is shown a necklace consisting of four strands of glass beads, while in pl. LVI, 2, is represented a necklace of beads, coins, and sweet-scented leaves, with two pan-pipes attached to it. A unique type of neck-band is shown in pl. LV, 2, 3; these consist of a woven band to which are attached pendants of haliotis shell. In pls. LV, 4, and LVI, 1, are illustrated a neck-band and a pair of wrist-bands made of buttons, to the former of which are attached a number of coins.

301 304 Perforation of either the nose or the ears appears to have been an unknown custom among Cayapa men, hence no nose or ear ornaments worn by men are found. Some of the women at present perforate their ears and suspend from them, as ornaments, small strings of beads or other bright manufactured objects. Neither 291 men nor women ever use native shoes or sandals of any 177 description, nor in former times were hats worn by the men. Subsequent to the Spanish conquest, however, a hat, resembling in form that of the conquistadores, was made from pitigua and used to a limited extent by the men. At present the men use, especially at times of fiestas, the white-man's hat and other wearing apparel obtained from the settlements down the river. Vests and derby hats are highly prized, the former being decorated with buttons, bright-colored yarn, and especially with rows of small silver coins. Those who do not possess vests of the kind made by the whites often improvise a vest-like garment from ordinary cloth. Such a garment is in use by the larger individual seen

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUMES

[p. 66(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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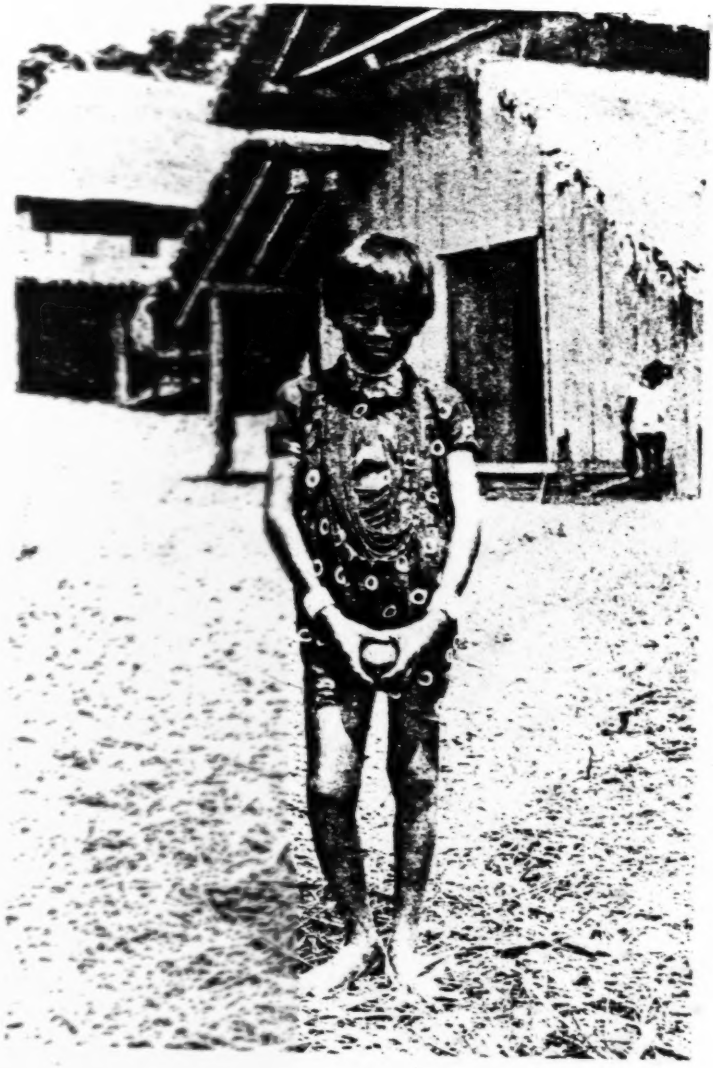

BOY DRESSED FOR FIESTA

[p. 66(c)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUMES

[p. 66(E)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME

[p. 66 (F)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME
[p.66(c)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME

[p. 66 (H)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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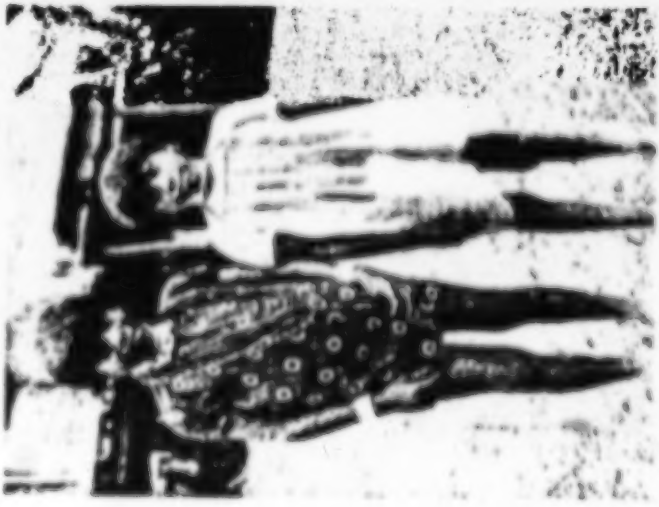
BOYS DRESSED FOR FIESTA



BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 66(1)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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BOYS DRESSED FOR FIESTA

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

in pl. xxv. These improvised vests are often decorated with small holes in lines or in crosses or other patterns. 291 177

The everyday dress of the women consists of a manta, or skirt (pls. cxiii-cxv), girded about the waist usually with a narrow tasseled belt (pl. cvii, 1, 2). In addition, necklaces are almost always worn, and ear pendants are sometimes used. This simple attire is also the one worn at feasts and other gatherings, except on certain special occasions, such as dances and church ceremonies. At such times the head and upper part of the body are completely covered with bright-colored calico or with gaudy bandana handkerchiefs; also in canoeing on a hot day a similar covering for head and shoulders is made of black or bright-colored calico, or of handkerchiefs. With this head-covering for canoeing is usually worn a na'te, or hemispherical calabash cap, as a further protection from the sun. The manta, or skirt, above mentioned, is almost always of native fabric, and consists simply of a rectangular piece of cloth sufficiently wide to reach from the waist to slightly above the ankles, and of such length as to pass once and a third round the body. The two vertical edges of the garment are made to overlap at the back, and by pulling from time to time upon the upper corners, the garment is held in place under the narrow woven belt or the pita cord which is sometimes used in its stead. Frequently also over this tightly woven and fairly heavy garment is worn another of lighter material, which passes in the opposite direction about the body, so that the edges overlap in 291 301 302 291

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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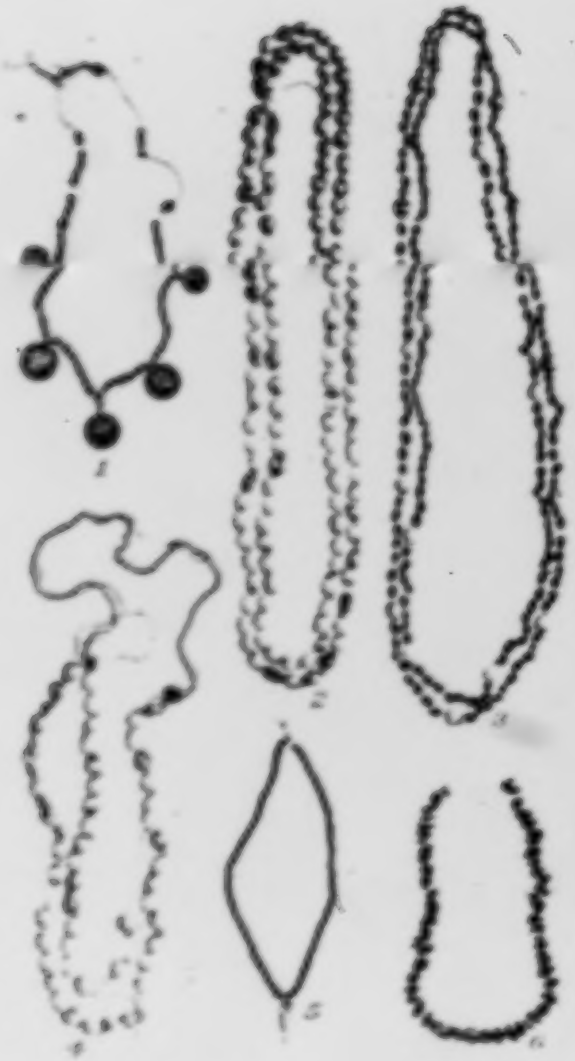


NECKLACES OF BEADS AND OF SEEDS

[p. 70(E)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

●301

NECK ORNAMENT OF SEEDS

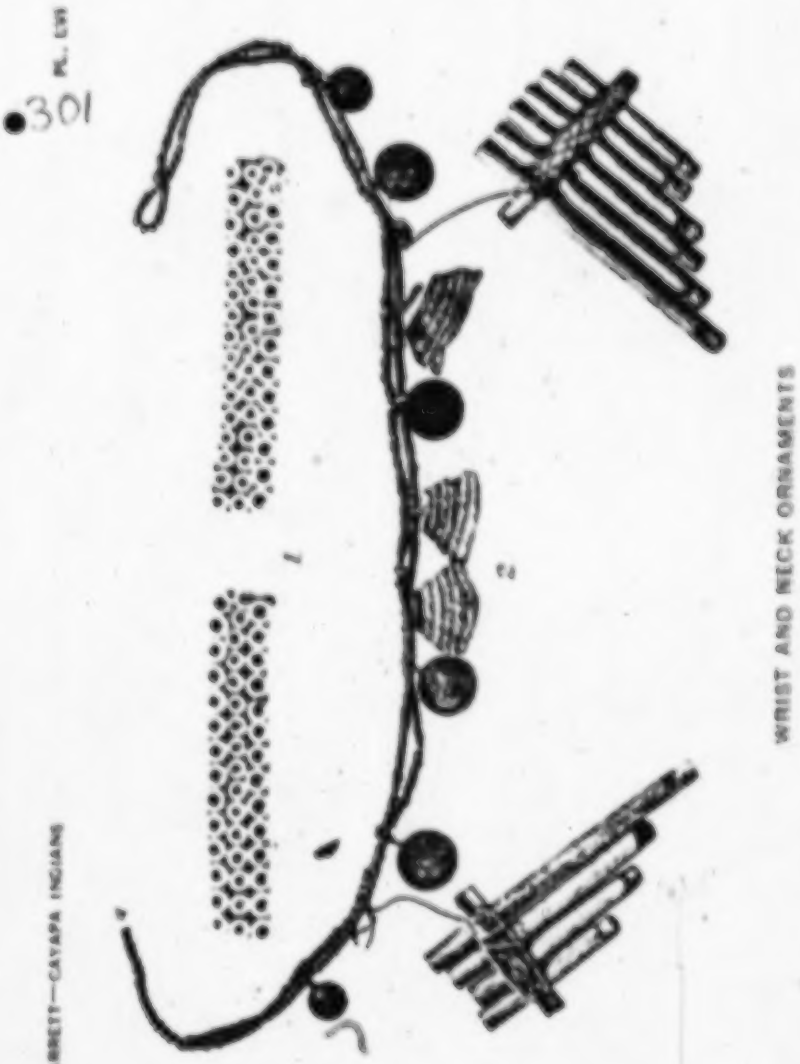
[p. 70 (F)]

NECKLACES

[p. 70(e)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6



[p. 70(H)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

222 Of these species the one most commonly found about the houses and the most used is pū′ cīlyū, a wide-spreading tree reaching a height of about forty feet. A general view of this species is shown in pl. v, in which the broad, branching top of one of the trees is shown prominently against the sky toward the left of the center of the picture. The habits of growth of the other varieties are similar to this.

247 A species of small Compositæ, called lu′lyū, which 301 somewhat resembles the marigold, is grown with con- [527] siderable care, its special use being to provide decorative flowers for fiestas. The flowers are made up into long garlands which are draped about the altar of the church or are worn about the necks of those celebrating the fiesta. They are also sometimes inserted in the hair, over the ears, or about the clothing.

249 Upon the drying platform attached to the house there is almost always a fragment of an old canoe or some broken pots or other utensils in which are grown several of the various species of medicinal herbs, such as limoncillo, or of other plants valued for the scent of their leaves or seeds, or plants used as teas.

245 In addition to those already mentioned in greater 262 detail, there are several other introduced fruits, such as the papaya, the caimito, the orange, the lemon, the lime, and the sour sap, which are grown so rarely by the Cayapa as to make them almost negligible in a consideration of the vegetal products of the people. They spring up almost always by the accidental falling of seeds in favorable soil, rather than by intentional

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

upon the floor. First, the godfather of the groom, who at the same time is master of ceremonies, danced with the bride; next the groom danced with the godmother of the bride; and finally the chief, followed in order of rank by the other officials, danced with the bride. The groom danced but once during the day, whereas the bride was kept dancing almost constantly. She, however was relieved from time to time by some other member of her family, who danced in her place for a few minutes. During all this time the groom sat at one end of the dance hall with his mouth covered, and conversed with no one except his godfather, and rarely with him. During the intervals between dances the bride sat likewise in silence in an adjoining room. The dancing was kept up during the entire afternoon and night, with a single brief intermission. During this intermission the bride and groom put on new clothing and were decked with pendants and necklaces of silver coins, and with garlands of the yellow flowers so much used by the Cayapa for decorating the images of saints in the church.

After donning this finery, the groom resumed his place at the end of the hall and the bride continued her dancing, which lasted till nearly morning. With the coming of night, light, as usual, was provided in the dance hall by means of candles, small kerosene torches, and native torches (nī'lyū). Throughout the entire period the dance had been the simple one used by the Cayapa, but finally there was danced what is called the "San Juan," a recent importation from the mountain region which appears to be more or less, if not entirely, of Spanish origin.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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CASTIGATOR WITH CAT-O'-NINE-TAILS

[P. 392(A)]

or the front may differ from the back in solid colors. Often the panels may be cut vertically or diagonally with different brightly hued colors. The shirt, which falls to knee-length, is usually bordered at the hem by the same band that joins the front and rear panels. Sometimes the multicolored hem may be overlaid with the panel material that has been cut in triangular points. This gorgeous array is usually topped off with a white plastic fedora that has been smuggled in from Colombia. If the feet are shod, they are usually encased in knee-length rubber boots. For festive occasions, the men wear lipstick and round patches of rouge on their cheeks. Sometimes they also place a round spot of rouge about an inch and a half in diameter, in the middle of their foreheads. The over-all effect is quite striking.

Some men do not use cosmetics but prefer to dress up for fiestas in western clothing that often includes underwear and transparent nylon sport shirts in white, red, blue, yellow, or green. On occasion, a man will place a bright yellow straight plastic comb in his hair. Men quite often buy wrist watches for which they have no earthly use. The watches are fairly expensive, poorly

made, and seldom in working order. The brand names are obvious imitations of well known trade-marks, and men may be seen sporting watches marked "Algin," "Danrus," or "Wiltham." If queried as to the time of day, the most likely response is "just today the watch stopped working."

Attractive as the Cayapa male is in his festive array, the woman is clearly the fashion leader. Because she is short-legged and thick-waisted, her adornment is calculated to conceal these features and to shift attention to her face instead. Like the male, she is rouged and lip-painted. Occasionally she paints a black line across her cheeks and upper lip. Her hair, which is waist length, is fastened at the side and front with multi-colored barrettes, while the crown of the head is covered by a Juliet's cap fabricated of shiny coins. Around her shoulders and neck depend row after row of brightly-hued glass and metal beads and strings of coins. The ultimate row of baubles may fall below the hip line. Beaded ligatures may be placed on her arms, and silver rings may adorn all of her fingers except the thumbs. Around her shoulders she wears a bright

Negroes present for Church services, because they like to hear them sing. One of the complaints voiced against the/ĩn^{y}i/ was that he had not invited enough Negro singers to the fiesta.

On Easter Sunday, there was a great deal of varied activity in all of the houses as the Cayapa prepared for the church activities. This meant that they put on their newest clothing, and young children were dressed in the kind of ornamentation ordinarily worn by women, they often had row upon row of beads and bangles hanging from the neck down to the waist. Around ten o'clock, the church bell rang, and people began drifting over to the church. The officials stood outside with their whips, and as people approached, they struck them several times across the buttocks. Some went into the church, where the chief stood in front of the altar. They bent forward and received the blows. Children were whipped also, but very lightly. Some of the officials went into each of the houses looking for stragglers. After all had been whipped, they whipped themselves and one of them whipped the chief. Only a few of the Negroes joined in the ritual, and, in these

142 Their bodies are clean, and I have never seen a Cayapa who had a
[515] rash or boils, and only few who had scars. Their hair is thick, bristly
●[302] and dull black in color; the beardless men wear it semi-long to the
nape of the neck, while the women let it hang loose and open so that
it not only covers their backs and ears, but in part even their fore-
291 heads and cheeks. Their clothes are extremely modest. The men
wear a sleeveless, shirt-like, loose gown, which usually reaches to
the hips only, but is sometimes longer, reaching to the knees, in
which case it seems to be the holiday attire, and it looks richer hav-
ing a border of differently colored cloth. These clothes are made of
thin, very bright and cheap cotton materials. On special occasions
292 they even dress in gala clothes, which differ from their every-day
531 clothes in that they are decorated with straight lines or zig-zag de-
301 signs of shells. In addition they may deck themselves out in their
177 most precious ornaments consisting of two to ten long necklaces made
of multi-colored glass beads as well as (at least from their point of
view) especially beautiful neck and arm ornaments consisting of the
cardboards 6 cm. wide so well known to all of us, with a whole gross
of ordinary porcelain shirt-buttons on each just as they were delivered
by the European manufacturers. But even among them there are
292 dandies and fashion hounds, who manage to pick up a useless old
177 black waistcoat somewhere, which they then decorate with a lot of
white shells and buttons, wearing it as a sort of open vest over their
red or blue shirts. But imagine the happiness of the young man who
in addition to this splendor, has managed to acquire a stiff round felt
hat. No matter how shabby, battered, greasy and much too small it
may be on his fat pate with the thick mop of hair, he is proud of his
elegance and would not change places even with the governor. The
622 Gobernador de los Cayapas (Governor of the Cayapas) is one of their
177 chiefs, of which each village or district has one—yes of course—he
292 is a great gentleman—he can afford it—he not only wears a shell
301 bedecked waistcoat over his red cotton shirt, but over it still another
long, black morning-coat, which he has bought from or been given
by Don So-and-so, because it had become too tight, unfashionable
or shabby for the latter. And around his neck and wrists he wears
especially wide cardboards with buttons in proportion to his dignity.
Naturally it would be considered unseemly for a governor to come to
town without suitable head-gear, even if it be only a self-made straw
panama hat for lack of a black felt hat. But even he does not wear
[293] trousers or shoes, which are considered superfluous and burdensome;
instead he carries in his right hand a wooden stick five feet long with
a silver knob as a symbol of his position and power.

437 They have sold the new small canoes, tree bark mats
501 (damajaguas), palm-leaf fans, rubber and rolls of liana (these are
285 used in the construction of bamboo huts to tie up the palm-leaves
283] on the [284] roofs and for some other purposes in lieu of string),
which they have brought from the villages and with the cash they
have earned they now make their small purchases. They have
few wants and do not need much: a few feet of cotton cloth, a
chopping knife, some salt, a small mirror, glass beads, fish hooks,
[411] powder and small shot for the old muzzle-loader which a few of
them may own. This would be all their heart desires. It is little,
even very little, and yet it takes long, even very long, until they
have made their choice and finally decided to buy. First they
talk it over among themselves in their guttural and sónorous lan-
guage and then they start bargaining, and then they count out their
money slowly and cautiously; finally having managed to get the
[462] desired goods, they packed them into the nearly full basket car-
ried by the wife. The women and girls timidly hide behind their
576 menfolk. When spoken to, they do not answer, although they
571 understand sufficient Spanish. Their jealous menfolk have strictly
[191] forbidden them to enter into conversation with men of other races
or tribes. They draw back bashfully. But if the husband is not
present, only the mother or brother, the women become very
loquacious, especially when their tongue has been untied by a
small present—a mirror, necklace or something of the kind. And
they are happy beyond words if you caress their little child, who
looks like a Japanese baby painted brown, and has a friendly smile
even for a stranger. It is amusing to watch the women meeting a
fashionably dressed lady in one of the shops; then they surround
her laughing, amazed and admiring, but they do not appear to be
jealous of the lace dresses worn by European women. The men,
on the other hand, do not honor even the most beautiful and most
elegant white lady with so much as a glance.

142 The Cayapa girls are pretty from the age of 12 to 16 years,
● 302 their bodies somewhat plump, but still with a beautiful shape.
584 Sometimes young men and women can be seen with red and black
streaks and dots on their faces, chest, arms and legs; this is a
sign that they are engaged.

505 Once their business in town is finished they prepare for the re-
turn journey to their villages. "Adios compadre, adios compadres,"
and chattering and laughing, happy and content, they hurry to
the shore where their canoes are moored. On their way they

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[415] they are by bringing along "Mates" and "Calabazas," i.e. bowls and pitchers made of the rind of pumpkin-like fruit, into which they put the greatest part of the food and drink offered in order to carry them home. Only when everybody has eaten until he is ready to burst and the majority are rather drunk, the wedding draws to a close. The young couple is finally left alone and may go to their hut. But before the couple are allowed to enjoy their love to the full, they must pass through a long cruel (because it is continent) trial period. They live and sleep together under their
[286] common mosquito-net made of cotton with red flowers, but not as husband and wife, but as brother and sister, and they are not allowed to touch each other for an entire year. They must remain pious, chaste and abstemious, no matter how difficult it may be for them. The purpose is to steel the virtue of abstemiousness and the strength of will. Only when this period of fasting and trial is over, may they succumb to the ecstasies of love. Woe to those
684 who cannot withstand and secretely attempt to taste of the forbidden fruit before the end of the trial year—if discovered they pay for their crime with their lives or have to seek refuge immediately in another territory which cannot be reached by the punishing arm of their strict rulers. Only once I had occasion to watch how a fiancé, who was violently in love, gingerly and furtively with trembling hands touched the arm and naked breast of his betrothed.

302 During this year of betrothal they use red and black plant juices
584 to paint their faces, chests, arms and legs with streaks and dots. This custom corresponds to our engagement announcements and wedding rings.

846 Immediately after the birth of a baby, the young mother gets
[515] up from her bed, goes to the river and bathes. Bathing in the river is one of the Cayapas' passions. Each and everyone of them take at least two or even three baths per day. The young mother has barely left her child when the grandmother cleans it up a bit, puts it down again; and then the father lies down with it, staying in bed with the child from three to five weeks, letting his wife nurse him, just as though he were the woman in child-bed, who had gone through the pains of childbirth and was in need of recuperating and nursing care. The young mother, on the other hand, does her usual work already an hour after delivery, attending to her daily chores as though nothing had happened. This strange custom is connected with their religious concepts and their fear of evil spirits

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

241 Children wear no clothes at all until they are 6 or 8.

301 The hair is worn loose, long, and flowing by the women but is clipped
302 above the ears by the men. Both sexes wear necklaces and wristbands of glass and porcelain beads, coins, seeds, and beetle wings. Only women wear earrings.

302 The traditional *Chibcha* custom of frequently painting body and face is found among the *Cayapa*. Red, yellow, and black are used, and the designs are very numerous. Barrett reproduces many of the motifs and insists that there is no special significance attached to any of them, nor is there any age, sex, or property correlation.

TRANSPORTATION

501 **Watercraft.**—A large part of every *Cayapa's* life is spent on the water
[639] fishing and traveling. Canoes are built with great skill and care. They can withstand not only fluvial but also maritime travel and are routinely sold in the "civilized" coast towns. They are dugouts, usually 10 to 12 yards long but sometimes much larger. Balsa-wood logs are sometimes used as outriggers.

MANUFACTURES

600 Details of *Cayapa* manufactures are contained in Barrett's work, which describes and illustrates finished products and minutely discusses the techniques of preparation.

322 **Woodworking.**—Woodworking includes house building, making deadfall traps, and carving mats and children's dolls.

285 **Weaving and basketry.**—The women weave cotton cloth on a narrow
286 native loom, and the men do the sewing. The men also weave the fishing
442 nets and hammocks. Barrett's discussion of *Cayapa* basketry is outstanding. The *Cayapa* make many kinds of baskets, mats, and fans of bark and of various roots.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery is crude and undecorated. It is used particularly for
177 storage. Tradition claims that in their old Highland habitat the *Cayapa* made better pottery but that cobblestones have since largely replaced ceramics.

324 **Stonework and metalwork.**—Stonework is limited to the metates
325 used in grinding corn and plantains. Although in aboriginal times Lowland Ecuador was a famous area of metallurgy, there is no evidence that the contemporary *Cayapa* practiced it.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapon most widely used today is the muzzle-loading
177 shotgun. The blowgun was important in the past, but today its use is restricted to boys, who shoot poison darts while playing at hunting. Hardwood lances are being given up, and the bow and arrow is said not to be mentioned in *Cayapa* tradition. The steel machete is ubiquitous.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

PLATE 50.—**Colorado and Cayapa Indians.** *Top:* Colorado, early 20th century. *Bottom:* Cayapa, same period. (After Rivet, 1908, opp. p. 186, and Barrett, 1925, p. 23.)

[p. 284(C)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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YOUTH IN ORDINARY COSTUME

[p. 62(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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MAN AND WOMAN IN EVERYDAY DRESS

[p. 62(C)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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A TYPICAL FAMILY GROUP

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

greater size of the structure calls for correspondingly larger and stronger timbers and pillars. Furthermore, the fact that the floor is at ground level makes unnecessary the timbers which in the dwelling are required to support the floor.

Dress

At the present time the everyday dress of the men consists chiefly of two pieces: a very small, tight-fitting clout (pl. CXVI, 1-3), similar in appearance to short bathing trunks, and an improvised shirt made of calico or of gaudily figured bandana handkerchiefs. On special occasions, such as at feasts and other gatherings, a man adds to this a hat of European or of American manufacture; necklaces of beads, buttons, and silver coins; wrist-bands and neck-bands of small white buttons; and decorations upon the face and exposed parts of the body in red, yellow, or black paint. These ornaments are used to some extent also in the everyday life of the people. In pls. LIII-LVI are shown various types of necklaces and neck- and wrist-bands, and in pls. XXXIX-LII are illustrated typical paintings of the face, arms, and legs. Some of the men paint very little, others very elaborately; some wear no necklaces or similar decorations, others wear many such ornaments; and still others bedeck themselves in both manners very profusely.

The small trunk is ordinarily made of the same kind of native cloth as is used by the women in their dress. It is cut from a piece woven specially for the purpose

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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WOMAN WEARING NECKLACE AND BRACELETS

[p. 64(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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WOMAN WEARING DOUBLE MANTA

[p. 64(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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WOMAN'S CUSTOMARY COIFFURE

[p. 64(c)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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SINGLE MANTA AND TASSELED GIRDLE

[p. 64(D)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

A FAMILY GROUP

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[p. 69(E)]

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FIESTEROS AND CHURCH AT PUNTA VENADO

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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YOUNG MEN DRESSED FOR FIESTA

[p. 64 (G)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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A TYPICAL HAIR-CUT

[p. 64(H)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME

[p. 64(1)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME COMPLETED WITH A VEST

[p. 64 (J)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME WITH FOREIGN HAT

[p. 66(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUMES

[p. 66(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS PL. XXXI

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BOY DRESSED FOR FIESTA

[p. 66(c)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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BOY DRESSED FOR FIESTA

[p. 66 (b)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUMES

[p. 66(2)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME

[p. 66 (F)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

FIESTA COSTUME

[p.66(4)]

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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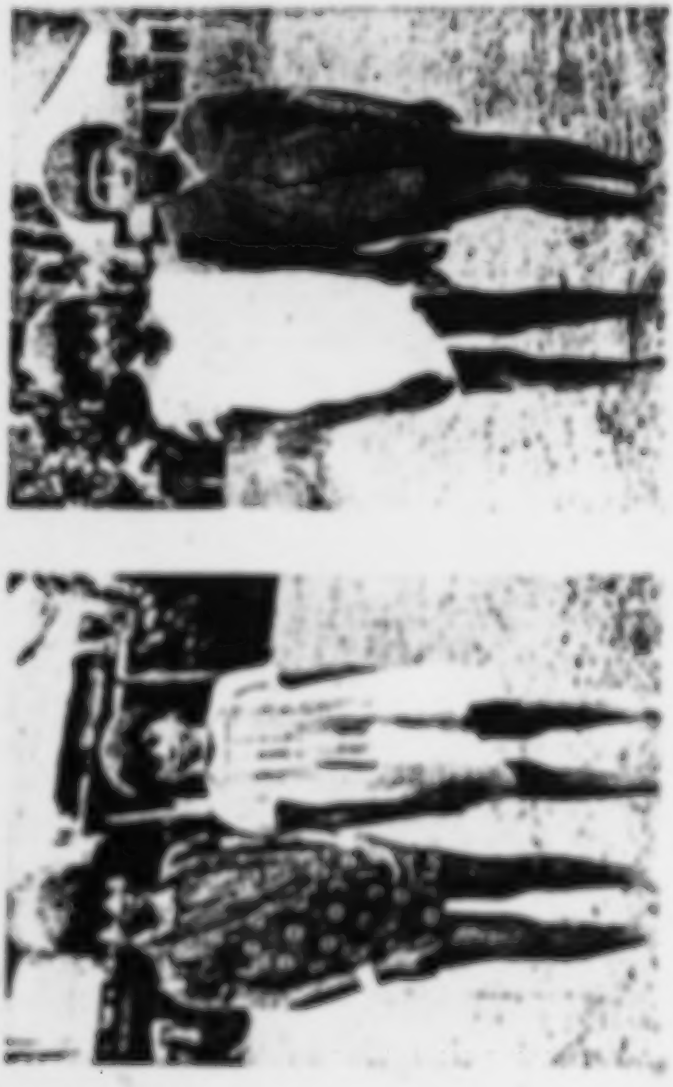
FIESTA COSTUME

[p. 66 (6)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6



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[p. 66(1)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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PL. XXXVIII

BOYS DRESSED FOR FIESTA

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 66(J)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

in pl. xxv. These improvised vests are often decorated with small holes in lines or in crosses or other patterns.

The everyday dress of the women consists of a manta, or skirt (pls. cxii-cxv), girded about the waist usually with a narrow tasseled belt (pl. cvii, 1, 2). In addition, necklaces are almost always worn, and ear pendants are sometimes used. This simple attire is also the one worn at feasts and other gatherings, except on certain special occasions, such as dances and church ceremonies. At such times the head and upper part of the body are completely covered with bright-colored calico or with gaudy bandana handkerchiefs; also in canoeing on a hot day a similar covering for head and shoulders is made of black or bright-colored calico, or of handkerchiefs. With this head-covering for canoeing is usually worn a ma'te, or hemispherical calabash cap, as a further protection from the sun. The manta, or skirt, above mentioned, is almost always of native fabric, and consists simply of a rectangular piece of cloth sufficiently wide to reach from the waist to slightly above the ankles, and of such length as to pass once and a third round the body. The two vertical edges of the garment are made to overlap at the back, and by pulling from time to time upon the upper corners, the garment is held in place under the narrow woven belt or the pita cord which is sometimes used in its stead. Frequently also over this tightly woven and fairly heavy garment is worn another of lighter material, which passes in the opposite direction about the body, so that the edges overlap in

FACE PAINTINGS

[p. 688(4)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

302
PL XL

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p.688]

FACE PAINTINGS

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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[p. 68(c)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

302

[p.68(b)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

302

[p. 68 (R)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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[p. 68(r)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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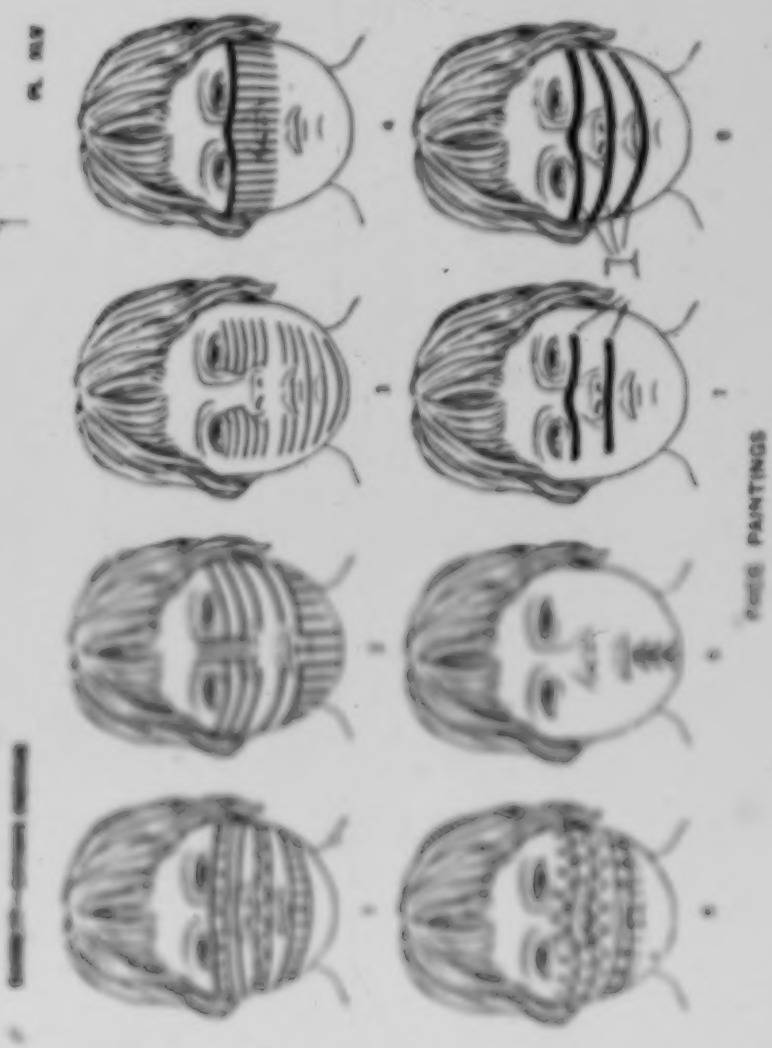
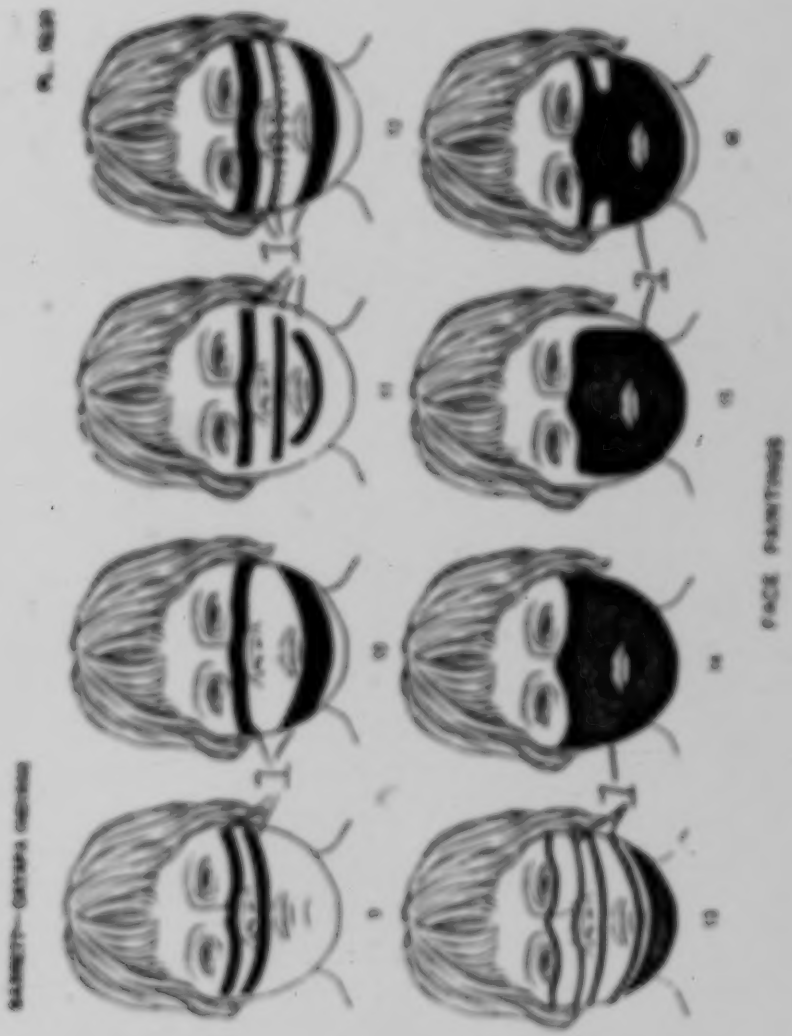


[6.1 indicates red color -- Analyst]
[p.68(6)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

●302



[No. 1 indicates red color -- Analyst]
[p.68 (H)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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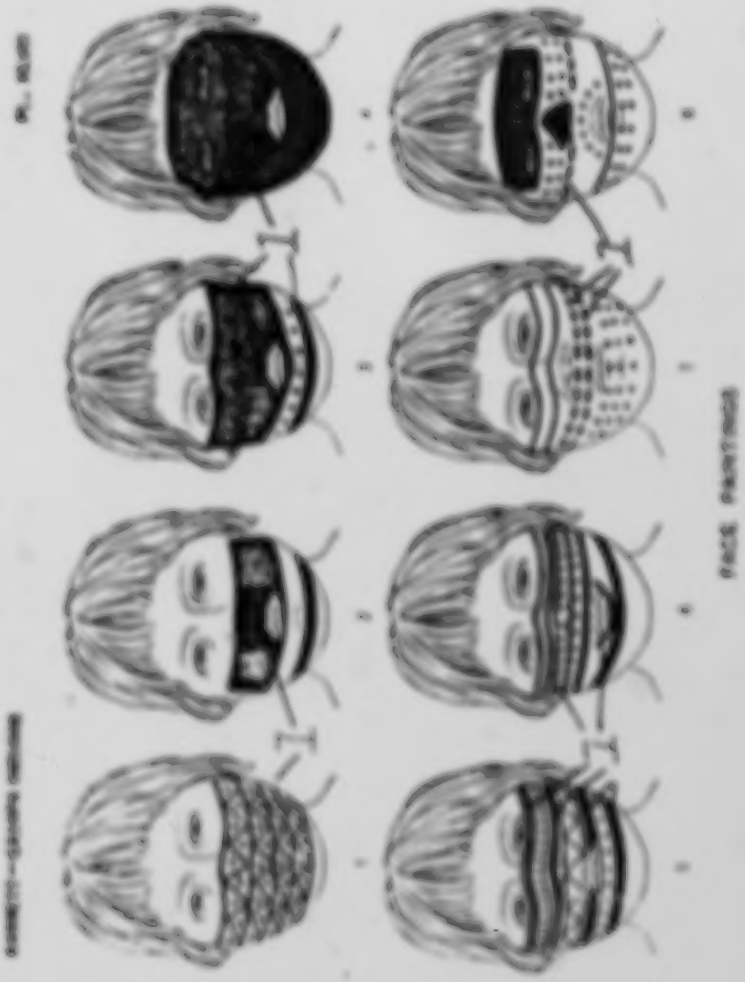

[No. 1 indicates red color -- Analyst]

[p. 68(2)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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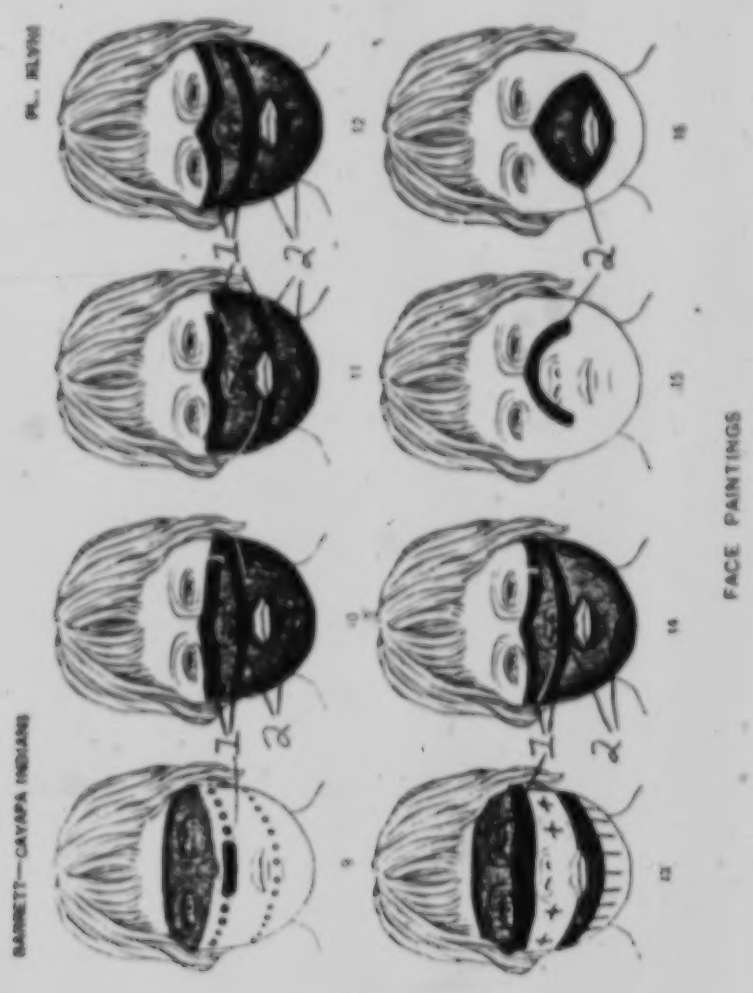

[No. 1 indicates red color, No. 2 indicates yellow color. --Analyst]
[p. 68(J)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

554 twisted string of pita, by means of which one of the older
[283] members of the family, while performing some other task, keeps the hammock swinging.

302 Aboriginally both men and women wore long loose hair, without braiding or other special mode of dressing; but now long hair is worn only by the women, the men keeping their hair cut short. Some of the women cut the front hair even with the eyebrows, otherwise their hair is never cut, nor is it dressed in any special fashion, being simply parted in the middle and allowed to fall loosely over the back and breast. The only time that the hair is ever worn otherwise is when a woman is engaged in some very hot work; it is then often coiled up on the head or tied in a large knot at the back. The hair of little girls is never cut, but that of boys is cut when they are very young. As a rule the men have no special mode of dressing the hair; it is simply kept cropped to an even length all round, and is allowed to grow from the crown straight down in all directions, without parting or other training. Now and then a man may part his hair in the middle, but this practice is exceptional. These styles of hair-dressing are shown in pls. XVI-XXXVIII.

A characteristic feature of Cayapa life is the custom of painting the face and other exposed parts of the body with red, yellow, and black pigment, and in many different designs. The red and yellow pigments, called in 302 Cayapa mû' and la''mû' respectively, are derived from the seed-pods of a small shrub known by the colloquial Spanish name achote and by the Cayapa name can-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

yû'ñ-tcî. This achote is of two different species, almost identical in general appearance. The seeds of one are surrounded with a yellow covering, those of the other with a red covering. When ripe, these pods are gathered, the seeds removed, and the color drawn off by soaking the pods in water for a considerable length of time. This red or yellow liquid is then boiled down to a pasty consistency and mixed with any fairly hard fat, such as lard or the fat of the jaguar, the puma, or other wild animal. It is said that the viscous milky juice of a species of tree called sande is sometimes used instead of one of these fats; but the paint produced with it is not so good as that in which the fat is used. This strong, greasy pigment is applied with either a small pointed stick, if small dots or narrow lines are required, or with a wide carved stick called mûpîtcpal'pa (pls. CXXI, CXXII) if a wide line is desired or if a considerable surface is to be colored.

The black pigment, called ma'lyû, is obtained from the fruit of a tree called ha'wû. This fruit, which is globose in form and from two to three inches in diameter, is gathered while green and cut in halves. The seeds and the inner fleshy parts are then extracted and ground to pulp upon a metating stone such as is used for grinding plantains. At the same time there is ground into the pulp a quantity of charcoal, and the result is a thin black paste. When dots and narrow lines are desired, this paste is applied to the skin with a small stick tipped with cotton; but when a wide line is to be made, it is applied with a finger.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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[p. 70(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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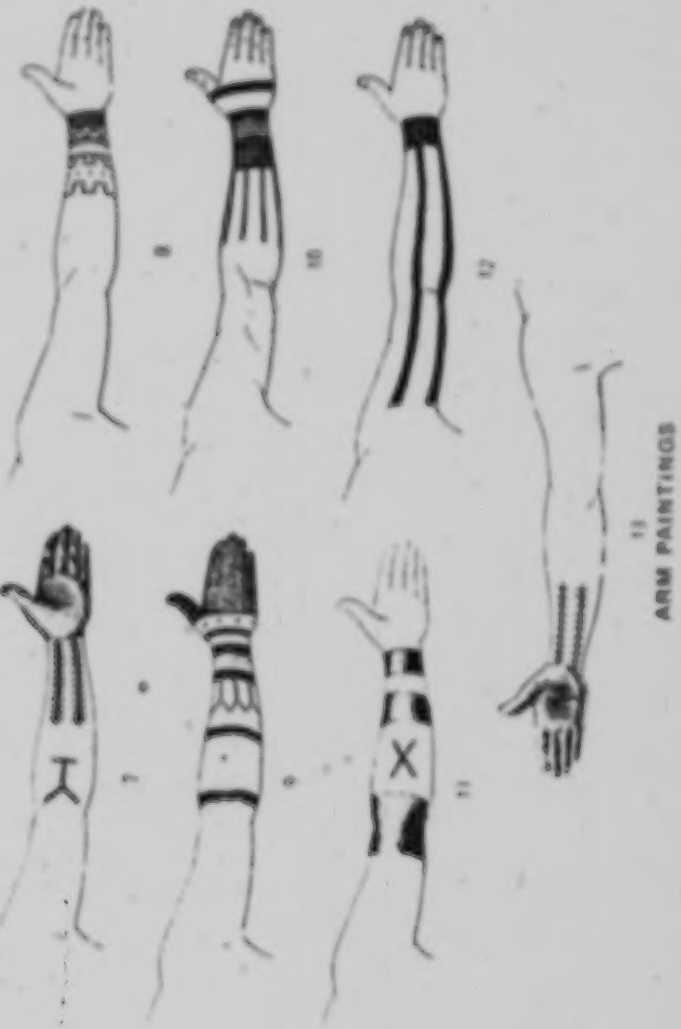

ARM PAINTINGS

BARRETT—CAYAPA (INDIAN)

[p. 70(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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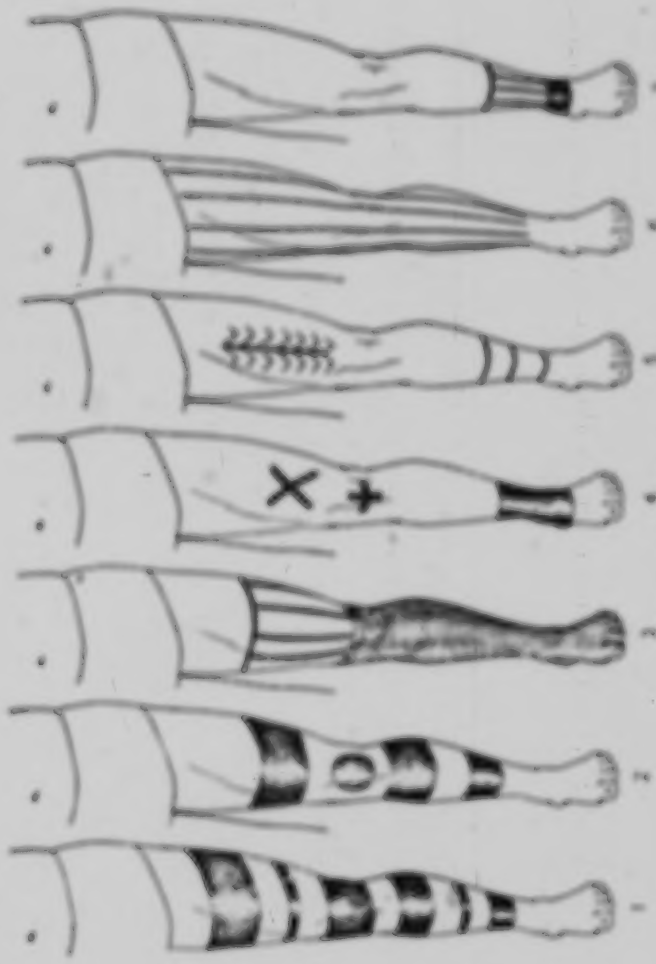

[p. 70(c)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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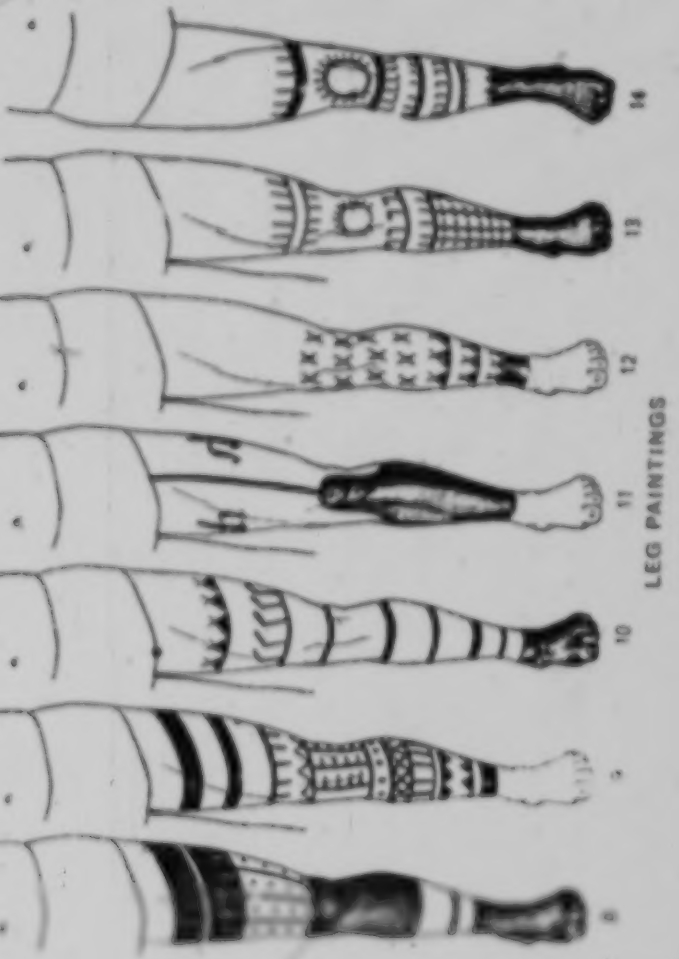

[p. 70(b)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

With these pigments, especially with the black, are made a great variety of designs ranging from broad bands to very fine dots and narrow lines. As is shown in pl. XXXIX-LII, the designs employed in these face and body paintings are of almost limitless variety and combination; however, while the Cayapa have developed this phase of personal adornment to such a degree, they never recognize any special signification in the designs employed. The designs, as those on mantas, canoes, calabashes, and other decorated articles, are sometimes named, but in few cases was it found that any of them were intended to be graphic, and in no instance was any symbolic meaning attached to them: they are regarded as merely decorative and have no other special purpose. Furthermore, none of the designs is the particular property of any individual or group of individuals, hence the greatest liberty is exercised in their use; in fact, it is not uncommon to see the same person change the designs on his face or body from day to day during a fiesta, and there is no sequence or other rule governing their use. Both men and women thus decorate themselves, using a small mirror in painting the face. In large measure, of course, the designs employed have been handed down from ancient times, but now and then a person depicts upon his face or body some new device taken from an article of modern manufacture. Such a case is shown in pl. LII, 11, where a modern three-pronged iron fish-spear is shown painted on a man's leg.

302 [331] [424] [17]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[p. 284 (b)]

J: Barrett E-S (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

designed for their own use. In every instance these old-type designs are geometric, but the newer ones are usually realistic, depicting mammals, human beings, and other realistic objects.

In carving, the dolls are entirely realistic, as is shown in pl. LXXXIV, and depicting the dog, alligator, bird, and especially the human form. In the last instance care is usually taken to indicate the sex. In paddle handles, on the other hand, the forms are usually simple and are always geometric, as is shown in pl. LXXVI. They have no special names. Even in the case of the elaborately carved handle shown in fig. 9 of the plate, no name was given for any of the designs. The same holds true of the designs in the face-painting sticks depicted in pl. CXXII-CXXIII.

Closely related to ornamental carving are the wooden seats shown in pl. LXXXIII, some of which receive ornamental treatment certainly not demanded by utilitarian considerations. From comparison with similar objects of South and Central America it seems probable that in these seats, especially the forms shown in figs. 2 and 3, there lies a striking connection of the Cayapa culture with that of a number of other tribes in these regions. As has been shown by Professor Saville,[18] the archeological range of these objects is extensive, the most elaborate among them being the large stone seats from Manabi, carved to represent jaguars.

On the surfaces of calabash utensils are found the only incised designs in use among the Cayapa. These are

[18] See page 156, note.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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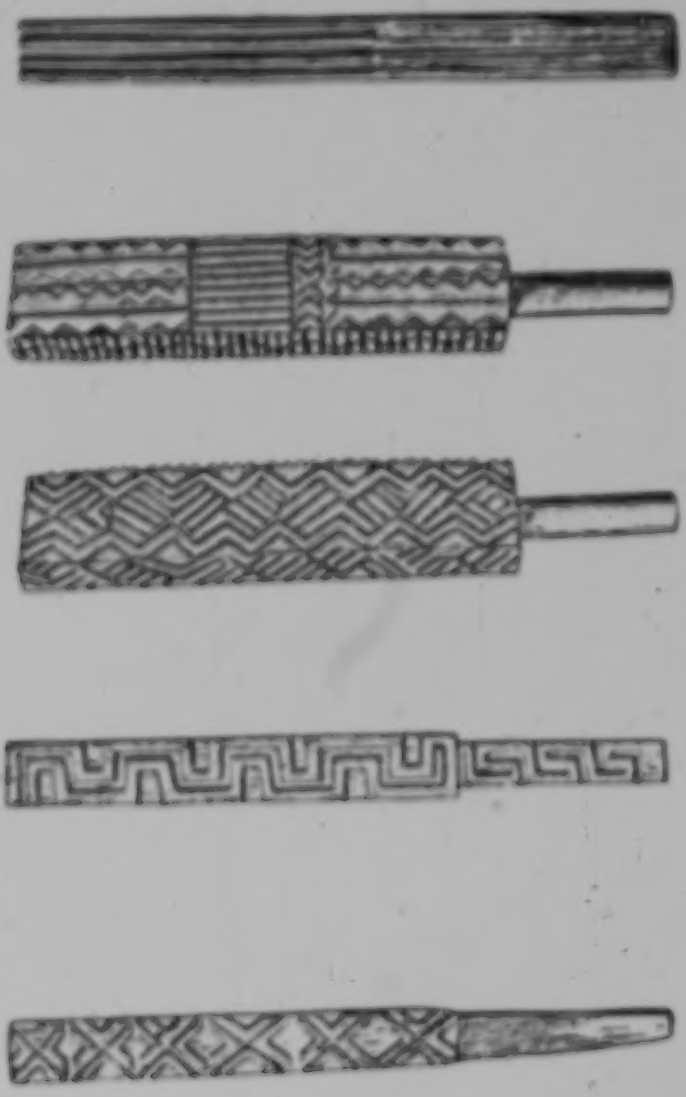

CARVED FACE-PAINTING STICKS

[p. 288 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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CASTIGATOR WITH CAT-O'-NINE-TAILS

[P. 392(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

are certain differences of age, the girls being on the whole somewhat older than the boys. To obviate this a computation has been made in which the last 13 measurements of boys (nos. 5–17) only have been taken. As it happens, these measurements are of individuals more nearly of the same age of the thirteen girls measured, and the element of extreme youth among the boys is thus eliminated. This computation gives an index of 86.04, which still leaves the index of the boys much nearer that of the women than that of the men, the differences being 0.71 and 2.46 respectively.

It would appear therefore that the head proportions among the adult females differ very little from those of childhood, while in the males the head has a marked tendency to elongate with advancing years.

While dealing with the physical characteristics of the Cayapa it should be noted that in certain of those outward characteristics which are most manifest to the eye, the individual differences are very great. The hair varies from jet-black to a very dark-brown in color, and from absolute straightness to a very pleasing waviness, though in no case is there any near approach to curliness. It is ordinarily fine, though among the men some individuals are found whose hair is moderately coarse. These features are, of course, more noticeable in the women that in the men, since the women always wear their hair long and flowing, whereas the men keep their hair cropped fairly short, though in earlier times they too wore long hair. In many cases the women's hair reaches to the waist, and is very full and heavy. Such, for instance, is the case with the middle-aged woman

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

shown in pl. xx. Under ordinary circumstances most women wear their hair full-length in this way, but frequently a case (as in pl. xix) is found where the hair is comparatively short. This is due to the custom of cropping the hair on the death of a relative. An example of waviness of the hair is given in the case of the woman shown in the latter plate. The hair in this case is dark-brown. With advancing years the hair tends to become thinner, but no case of even partial baldness was observable either among the men or the women. Throughout life the hair retains its color in almost every instance, but rarely a person is seen who shows a sign of grayness, and one old man was found whose hair was white—it had become thus many years before, though no one knew the cause. No other individual with white or even partially white hair was encountered, and it was claimed by the Indians that the old man referred to was the only individual in the tribe who exhibited this peculiarity. The fact that the hair retains its color so well is probably due to the fact that the Cayapa practically never wear any form of head-covering.

Considerable variations are found in the form of the nose. In some it is wide and rather flat toward its tip, this appearance being due to a considerable distension of the nostrils, the openings of the nostrils being in many cases quite round. However, it escapes completely any approach to the true mongoloid type from the fact that in no case is there such a lack of bridge as is found in the real mongoloid nose. In fact, the contrary is quite the case, and in many instances the bridge is quite high, giving the nose the impression of slight aquilinity.

4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

or the front may differ from the back in solid colors. Often the panels may be cut vertically or diagonally with different brightly hued colors. The shirt, which falls to knee-length, is usually bordered at the hem by the same band that joins the front and rear panels. Sometimes the multicolored hem may be overlaid with the panel material that has been cut in triangular points. This gorgeous array is usually topped off with a white plastic fedora that has been smuggled in from Colombia. If the feet are shod, they are usually encased in knee-length rubber boots. For festive occasions, the men wear lipstick and round patches of rouge on their cheeks. Sometimes they also place a round spot of rouge about an inch and a half in diameter, in the middle of their foreheads. The over-all effect is quite striking.

Some men do not use cosmetics but prefer to dress up for fiestas in western clothing that often includes underwear and transparent nylon sport shirts in white, red, blue, yellow, or green. On occasion, a man will place a bright yellow straight plastic comb in his hair. Men quite often buy wrist watches for which they have no earthly use. The watches are fairly expensive, poorly

made, and seldom in working order. The brand names are obvious imitations of well known trade-marks, and men may be seen sporting watches marked "Algin," "Danrus," or "Wiltham." If queried as to the time of day, the most likely response is "just today the watch stopped working."

Attractive as the Cayapa male is in his festive array, the woman is clearly the fashion leader. Because she is short-legged and thick-waisted, her adornment is calculated to conceal these features and to shift attention to her face instead. Like the male, she is rouged and lip-painted. Occasionally she paints a black line across her cheeks and upper lip. Her hair, which is waist length, is fastened at the side and front with multi-colored barrettes, while the crown of the head is covered by a Juliet's cap fabricated of shiny coins. Around her shoulders and neck depend row after row of brightly-hued glass and metal beads and strings of coins. The ultimate row of baubles may fall below the hip line. Beaded ligatures may be placed on her arms, and silver rings may adorn all of her fingers except the thumbs. Around her shoulders she wears a bright

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At the present time the Cayapa, in common with most rural Ecuadorians, practice a ceremony of nail cutting that has ritual significance in the sense that god-parents are selected for the child, and the extension of ritual kinship follows as for the rites of baptism and marriage. This ceremonial occasion which is called simply /tyákikánu/, is a very minor ceremony that may be performed at almost any age from a few months to perhaps six years, or it may never be performed. Almost invariably the god-parents for this occasion are Negro. As Negroes are in political and economic control of the region, we can say that this is a vertical extension of ritual kinship. The Indian seldom asks a Negro to assume this obligation. Quite the contrary, Negroes generally ask the father of the child if he would like to enter into compadrazgo.

The actual ceremony is very simple. Only the participants are present as a rule. The nails are cut by the god-father, and the parings are placed in a glass of rum which is then drunk by the compadres. Small presents, such as a bottle of rum, some food, soft drinks, and tobacco, are exchanged. Thereafter, the

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about five or six o'clock. Prior to the velorio, or wake, the people who are not in mourning /pemúla/ bathe and don their make-up and fancy clothing. During this procedure the children race about noisily. While waiting for the proper time to make their entrance, people like to remain in large groups "because the spirit of the deceased is wandering about and may kill anyone who is alone."

In the meantime at the funeral site, a raft has been built to transport the remains to the ceremonial center, and musical instruments have been placed together off at one side of the house. The coffin has been placed near one of the sides of the house, and candles are placed at the head and foot. If the deceased was a man, his oar is broken and placed in the coffin with him. The mouth of the corpse is carefully covered with a piece of colored cloth, and the eyes are closed. Members of the family mourn at the head of the coffin, either singly or in pairs. They mourn in a stereotyped manner, chanting in Cayapa appropriate phrases like "Who will support the family now?" "Who will bring home the food?" "I am all alone

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

yû'ñ-tci. This achote is of two different species, almost identical in general appearance. The seeds of one are surrounded with a yellow covering, those of the other with a red covering. When ripe, these pods are gathered, the seeds removed, and the color drawn off by soaking the pods in water for a considerable length of time. This red or yellow liquid is then boiled down to a pasty consistency and mixed with any fairly hard fat, such as lard or the fat of the jaguar, the puma, or other wild animal. It is said that the viscous milky juice of a species of tree called sande is sometimes used instead of one of these fats; but the paint produced with it is not so good as that in which the fat is used. This strong, greasy pigment is applied with either a small pointed stick, if small dots or narrow lines are required, or with a wide carved stick called mōpɨtcpaɨ'pa (pls. CXXI, CXXII) if a wide line is desired or if a considerable surface is to be colored.

The black pigment, called ma'lyû, is obtained from the fruit of a tree called ha'wû. This fruit, which is globose in form and from two to three inches in diameter, is gathered while green and cut in halves. The seeds and the inner fleshy parts are then extracted and ground to pulp upon a mealing stone such as is used for grinding plantains. At the same time there is ground into the pulp a quantity of charcoal, and the result is a thin black paste. When dots and narrow lines are desired, this paste is applied to the skin with a small stick tipped with cotton; but when a wide line is to be made, it is applied with a finger.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

is of beads and coins; in pl. LV, 1, is shown a necklace consisting of four strands of glass beads, while in pl. LVI, 2, is represented a necklace of beads, coins, and sweet-scented leaves, with two pan-pipes attached to it. A unique type of neck-band is shown in pl. LV, 2, 3; these consist of a woven band to which are attached pendants of haliotis shell. In pls. LV, 4, and LVI, 1, are illustrated a neck-band and a pair of wrist-bands made of buttons, to the former of which are attached a number of coins.

Perforation of either the nose or the ears appears to have been an unknown custom among Cayapa men, hence no nose or ear ornaments worn by men are found. Some of the women at present perforate their ears and suspend from them, as ornaments, small strings of beads or other bright manufactured objects. Neither men nor women ever use native shoes or sandals of any description, nor in former times were hats worn by the men. Subsequent to the Spanish conquest, however, a hat, resembling in form that of the conquistadores, was made from pitigua and used to a limited extent by the men. At present the men use, especially at times of fiestas, the white-man's hat and other wearing apparel obtained from the settlements down the river. Vests and derby hats are highly prized, the former being decorated with buttons, bright-colored yarn, and especially with rows of small silver coins. Those who do not possess vests of the kind made by the whites often improvise a vest-like garment from ordinary cloth. Such a garment is in use by the larger individual seen

brown. A few of them are tatooed on the arms and the blue of the ink stands out very clearly. Mongoloid characteristics such as the epicanthric fold, the Mongoloid spot, and high cheekbones are very common, but in contrast to the Mongoloid nose, the Cayapa nose is often bridged. Occasionally one finds individuals with very high-bridged noses of aquiline shape. Their eyes are uniformly dark brown, and the whites are seldom clear but have a brownish tinge that would seem to indicate a high incidence of liver disorders. Most Cayapa, especially the women, seem to be somewhat round-faced. The men, while short, are very well-proportioned and have tremendous strength in their arms and shoulders which probably stems from their technique of canoe handling. As a rule, the women are thick-waisted, the result, perhaps partly at least, of their characteristic canoe handling. They generally paddle in a seated position, using a very short paddle, which requires many rapid short strokes for effective maneuvering, and they necessarily have to lean forward to make efficient use of the short paddle.

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Clothing and Adornment. Many men are quite

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

which were observed, were a large, black, beaked beetle (*Rhynchophorus palmarum*), called kû'perû by the Cayapa, and a large white larva called kömtu'cû by them.

Certain other insects, though of no special economic importance, are of interest to the Indians. One in particular is a large beetle (*Euchroma goliath* L. & G.) whose iridescent wing-covers are employed in making necklaces. There are also large, beautifully colored buttertlies, dragonflies, and a large firefly (*Pyrophorus pellucens*), besides a host of other species of insects of greater or lesser interest.

Insects

English	Spanish	Cayapa
beetle (*Rhynchophorus palmarum*)		kû'perû
beetle (*Euchroma goliath* L. & G.)	cucaron	kabê'tsû
firefly (*Pyrophorus pellucens*)		mû'lûkû
lice		paba ta'nda ciñemi'skI ta'nda amûl a'ma
ant (a large, black, stinging ant)	conga	nyû'mI
larva (a large white larva)		kô'mucû
larva	cogoyo	avI'
a worm or caterpillar	hualpe	tcilI'll

MINERALS

Among the natural resources of the country should be mentioned its minerals, certain of which are found

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

back an exhaustive account of their subsistence pattern and material culture as well as considerable data on religion and ceremonial life. According to modern interests, the report is weak in life-cycle data and economics, and a serious drawback is the almost complete lack of comparative considerations. Moreover, it describes a culture with marked European influences. Nevertheless, at this writing, it remains one of our most complete accounts of an aboriginal South American group. The remaining titles in the bibliography refer to linguistic treatises, hearsay accounts, and phantasies of hurried travelers.

The inaccessibility of their habitat facilitated the *Cayapa's* survival into the 20th century, but it also prevented most chroniclers from visiting their land. Early references to naked and painted Indians living along the Patia River in large houses on tall poles and wearing gold ornaments might refer to the *Cayapa* or to some other *Chibchan* people. Jijón y Caamaño (1940–45, vol. 2) has reproduced fragments from an unpublished Cabello Balboa chronicle discussing the people of Esmeraldas Province during the 16th century. Among the peoples figuring prominently in Cabello Balboa's report are the *Nigua*, an Indian group inhabiting traditional *Cayapa* territory. Jijón y Caamaño's suggestion (1940–45, vol. 2) that the *Nigua* and *Cayapa* are one people seems tentatively acceptable.

Both peoples claimed to have descended from the Andean Highlands, though it is unclear if they were refugees from the *Inca* or Spanish invasions. As reported by Barrett, this tradition is very strong even now, four centuries after the Conquest, permeating various divergent activities of the *Cayapa*, who date many techniques and artifacts in terms of pre- or post-migration practices. In 1907 Beuchat and Rivet had pointed to toponymic and archeological similarities between Esmeraldas Province and the *Cara* country in the Highlands. Later work by Jijón y Caamaño (1912, 1919, 1940–45, vol. 2) has strengthened the case for *Chibchan* affiliation of the *Cara* language and given a measure of confirmation to native tradition.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Agriculture is the main occupation of the *Cayapa*, although fishing and hunting supply a large percentage of their food. Each house is surrounded by clearings and fields, and additional clearings are customarily made away from the river, in the bush. Most families have fields of plantains, bananas, sugarcane, coca, and sweet manioc (yuca); in addition, cotton, tobacco, maize, yams, and pineapples are frequently cultivated. Many wild plants are encouraged through weeding and other care.

Plantains (pl. 60, *bottom, right*) form the staple food of the *Cayapa*, and each family will have several acres planted to this perennially ripening fruit. Bananas are fed to the hogs and cover an acreage almost as large as that of the plantain.

of the population of the Río Cayapas up to Sapallo Grande was Negro. Isolated Negro enclaves are found today as far up as San Miguel. Negroes tend to live in village settlements, some of which are of political and/or economic importance, while the Cayapa live scattered along the river banks. The town of San José, which lies a few miles below the Río Cauerones, is the administrative center for the area. San Antonio, which is located a few miles above Punta Venado, is of considerable commercial importance as it is readily accessible to the small coastal vessels engaged in the banana trade.

The most characteristic feature of the area is its riverine quality, and settlement and movement centers on the rivers for both Indians and Negroes. The large hilly land areas between the rivers are completely uninhabited, and the dense jungle growth makes foot travel exceedingly difficult. Except for short hunting trips or to secure trees for the making of canoes, the jungle or monte is avoided. The river, on the other hand, is open and free. The river scene is seldom a quiet one. People going down stream maneuver their canoes into mid-channel, taking full advantage

of the current. Those going up-stream hug the bank as the pilot digs the tip of his oar blade into the bank, or if the channel is shallow enough, into the bed, and then, placing both hands about ten feet up the oar handle, he shoves back, sending the canoe ahead.

Farm land lies at varying distances back from the river. Each house is backed by a clearing which is used for garden crops or sugar cane. The main farm lands extend back from the river from one to three miles. Flat land is at a premium, and the cultivators work up and down the many hills.

Cayapa Physical Appearance. Although no systematic measurements were made, it was apparent from gross observations that Barrett's (1925:408-441) measurements are still valid. He described the Cayapas as short:

> . . . the men averaging only 155 cm. and the women only 146 cm. The range of individual variation among the men, as also among the women, is 14 cm. Among the men there are at least a few individuals who appeared to be somewhat taller than the maximum here given, but as a tribe the Cayapa must be considered somewhat below average in stature (Barrett 1925:409).

They appear to be mostly brachycephalic. The hair is thick, coarse, black and straight; their skin, light

[P.197]

CHAPTER V

LAND, PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Land is the basis of the Cayapa economy. The region, undefined and unsurveyed, has been deeded to the Cayapa as a tribe. Negroes and Whites who desire land must purchase it from an Indian in order to have a clear title. The title is for the land itself and not just for usufruct. The Cayapa may obtain land by cutting it out of the virgin forest (monte virgen). He may buy it or he may inherit it. More land is available for subsistence farming than for other purposes. For the cash crop of bananas the land must be of good quality, well drained, and within easy access of a navigable stream that flows into the main river body traveled by la Propaganda, the banana buyers. In addition, the grower must be able to meet the banana boat on schedule. A stand of rubber trees will also increase the value of the land. Rubber is sold in Colombia where, traditionally, the price is higher than in Ecuador and retail prices on consumer items wanted by the Cayapa are cheaper. Once a year, as a rule,

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Once a year, as a rule,

groups of Cayapa will band together for protection against the cutthroats and brigands that infest the coastal regions. Load their canoes with as much rubber as they have been able to collect, and set off in small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colombian goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to poaching.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be good for raising pigs. (Remoteness lessens the possibility of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and papayas. Large sections are planted to the tagua palm that, at one time, was as important economically as the banana is today. The tagua nut is only a minor item in the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[487] 484 along these rivers—these are used for hunting or for short trips from the rivers. All the permanent habitations are situated along the banks of the rivers, and to pass from one to another of these, as well as for making trips of greater length, the dug-out canoe, called kū'le, 502 is used. In fact, the canoe is one of the most prominent features of Cayapa life. Everyone begins in early childhood the training which makes him an expert canoeman, and is perfectly at home in a dug-out, whether it be along the smooth sluggish waters of the lower course of the river, in the rapids of the upper course, or out on the ocean coasting to some nearby point.

396 824 From the important place the canoe holds in the life of the people, it is natural that much care should be given to its construction and that the art of canoe-making should have reached a high state of perfection. Of the many species of trees in the jungle, only a few produce woods which are hard and tough enough to be suitable for canoe-making. These qualities are found in certain species which have what may be called a criss-cross grain, that is, an interlacing of the wood fibers which makes splitting almost impossible. Though a considerable degree of hardness is required, too great hardness is not desirable. Certain woods, therefore, such as the guayacan, are too hard and heavy to be suitable.

396 [313] Having found a tree of the desired kind, it is felled with an ax and the canoe is roughly fashioned from a portion of its trunk, as is shown in pl. LXX, and finally this section is cut loose from the remainder of the tree.

3: Barrett E-5 (1903-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

securing this end of the cable, since it is necessary to have one end small in order to pass it through the opening in the prow of the canoe or for whatever other purpose it may be used. Ordinarily the cables are not tied about the prow of the canoe, but are simply passed up through the hole in the prow above mentioned, the knot in the cable below the prow holding it securely.

For ordinary purposes of travel and for carrying regular loads the canoe above described is sufficient. If, however, an excessively heavy or bulky and unstable cargo is to be transported, it is necessary to increase the buoyancy or to steady the canoe by means of outriggers, called by the Spanish name balsas, Cayapa na'na. In this region the term *balsa* has four significations. It is primarily a raft or float of any kind, and is the term naturally applied to the rafts of logs or bamboo which the Indians float down the river for sale at the settlements. The same term is applied to the outriggers used on canoes, as also to the tree and its wood from which these are made. This wood is very light, even when green or water-soaked, and when dry it is as light and soft as cork, qualities which make it very useful in numerous ways. The chief uses of balsa wood, however, are due to its buoyancy: it will carry in water much more than its own weight, and it is therefore used in rafting such heavy timber as guayacan. In this process, as many logs of balsa are procured as are necessary to sustain the weight of the guayacan, and these are lashed together into a float, the guayacan timbers being lashed on top of them. The guayacan timbers

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

505 are rafted down-stream for use as house-posts, but the
●313 balsa logs are also readily sold in the settlements for making outriggers, since they are much used on the imbaburas, or very large canoes, employed to lighter cargoes to and from sea-going vessels.

501 Among the Cayapa such outriggers are sometimes
505 used, but ordinarily the Indians travel with a cargo so light that the outrigger is not needed. When, however, it is necessary to increase the carrying capacity of a canoe in this manner, logs of balsa from four to eight inches in diameter are cut the proper length, and their forward ends are brought to a form more or less like that of the prow of the canoe. At the middle of the canoe is bound, by means of the two small holes in the gunwales (mentioned as being used in the hauling of the canoe from the woods to the river), a cross-bar of sufficient length to project far enough on each side of the canoe to permit the binding of these logs to it. In binding the logs to this middle transverse bar a block of wood, three or four inches in thickness, is inserted between the upper surface of the log and the bar, thus forcing the log farther into the water at this point. The forward and after ends of the log are each lashed to a similar small hole in the gunwale near the prow, and the stern respectively, these ends being brought up nearly to a level with the gunwale itself and thus three or four inches higher than the middle of the log. In the case of very large canoes, and especially of the imbaburas above mentioned, sometimes as many as three of these logs, as much as a foot or more in diameter, are lashed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

above tabulation, these several distinct forms of baskets have special uses. The four types of burden-basket are used almost exclusively for carrying heavy loads upon the back. The two types made of hoja de chapil are, as above stated, only for temporary use and are worthless except while the leaves are green. They are also sometimes used, even after they are dry and brittle, by the shamans in their medicine practices. The other two types, which are made of the very durable pitigua, are sometimes used as storage receptacles about the house when not needed for carrying burdens, which is their primary use.

The flaring basket, kū'bī (pl. XCII, 7), is carried by means of a single band provided with a special, wide head-band that passes across the top of the head as the bearer bends forward. This is primarily a woman's burden-basket and is used in the daily home life of the people for bringing fruits and other products from the fields and in a multitude of other ways. It is, however, rarely used in carrying wood, which is so often one of the most important functions of burden-baskets among aboriginal peoples. Wood is usually brought by the canoe-load from some point near the river where a suitable dead tree can be found.

The straight-walled basket, fe' pickalyī (pl. XCII, 6, 8), is made especially for carrying burdens considerable distances, as on long trail journeys into the interior. Within their own territory these baskets are rarely needed by the Cayapa, since practically all travel is by canoe. Such a basket is provided with two burden-bands attached near the top and the bottom respectively,

to maintain a precarious balance. Children from about the ages of nine to thirteen may have small canoes /kakúle/ made for them, which may be seven to eight feet in length, and scarcely a foot in width. At these ages boys begin to accompany their fathers into the monte where the canoes are roughed out by axe and adze. They learn to select the proper trees as only those that are tightly cross-grained will not split easily. Occasionally canoes are roughed out at some height above the creek or rivulet that feeds into the main channel and in the process of carefully snubbing them down the boys learn to rig lines. A large canoe, about thirty-five feet long, may require almost a dozen men to bring it into the water from the monte, whereas a small canoe can be brought in by two or three men. Despite the fact that by the time the boys have reached their late teens they have acquired a large measure of skill in handling canoes, their canoes are nevertheless not considered finely finished until they have had several more years of experience.

Paddles: /yámpa/. The oar is roughed out with a machete, and the finer lines are cut with a knife.

diet now, but the leaves are in demand for roofing material. Another cash crop is hardwood trees, but they are not often planted; enterprising individuals cut them out of the unclaimed forest.

Land is seldom held in one large block. It is usually scattered about among other holdings so that, quite often, choice properties are separated by distances involving several day's travel. Many Cayapa have two houses, each built as close as possible to their main holdings. Inevitably, they must spend considerable time away from large sections of their property and, as a result, Negroes often illegally harvest standing crops or, perhaps, plant their own. Negroes may buy land from the Cayapa, but as the banana economy continues to boom, the Indians are more and more reluctant to sell. Sometimes usufruct is rented by the Negro, usually for a share of the profits, but arguments invariably develop. It is said that the Indian is always at a disadvantage in his dealings with the Negro because of the latter's readiness to engage in witchcraft and "spoil" the land for the Indian owner. If several members of an Indian's family sicken or die, after a recent quarrel with a Negro about land, it is assumed that witchcraft has been

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

growth of the jungle are cut away from time to time around these palms, and about once a year, usually on the occasion of harvesting leaves for a thatch, the crown of leaves is trimmed. Any drooping dead leaves at the base of the crown are thrown away and the thoroughly mature healthy leaves only are selected for the thatch. Thus there remain at the center of this crown a number of young and more tender leaves which serve the needs of the plant itself and prevent damage to it which might otherwise arise from the loss of the mature leaves. 245

The tagua is a low-growing species of palm, the upper end of the stem, from which the leaves spring, rarely exceeding sixteen feet above the ground. The leaves are therefore easily gathered by means of a short ladder. This, combined with the fact that the tagua produces a very good quality of leaf, makes it almost the only species used for permanent thatch. While several other species of palm produce leaves of durable quality, they grow to such height that it is not expedient in most cases to gather the leaves except by cutting down the palm itself. [824]

The tagua leaves, which reach an average length of about fourteen feet, have stout leaflets extending from the midrib at an angle of perhaps seventy degrees and for a distance of about three feet on each side of the midrib. To prepare the leaves for use, they are split in two along their midribs. Four of these half-leaves are then laid together so that the natural under-surfaces of the leaflets all face the same direction and the midribs are tied together with pitigua at two points. 314 342

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 A platform of bamboo is next constructed at an
[349] elevation of two or three feet from the ground. The
314 split green leaves, prepared as above, are then placed on this platform and a thatch built over and around them so as to protect them completely from the weather. This is done usually at the place where the leaves are cut, probably more as a matter of convenience than for any other reason, since the leaves when green are very heavy but on drying become very light. They are allowed to season here for at least two months, after which they are transported to the point where they are to be used. In some cases, however, the freshly cut leaves are transported at once to the house for which they are intended and there cured.

This seasoning in a dry place is absolutely necessary, since if the leaves were placed on the roof while still green, the constant rains of this region would soon rot
[825] them. It is further claimed that if used when green they are soon attacked by insects, especially cockroaches, which, as before mentioned, are very numerous and troublesome.

342 The negroes also use the tagua-leaf to a large extent
177 for thatch, and in its preparation they are very strict in their observance of certain rules concerning the phases of the moon. No timber may be felled and no thatch leaves cut in the light of the moon. In the case of timber, it is claimed that it is both subject to the attacks of insects and is rendered much more likely to break or split in working if cut in the light of the moon than if cut in the dark of the moon. Likewise thatch

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recently been planted without permission by the Cimarrón brothers of Encanto. Ciro and his brother were angry, but said nothing until they became drunk at a party at the home of Gabriel. Harsh words were exchanged, but Gabriel settled the case. He decided that the Cimarrón brothers could use the land for five years without any cost, but then the land would revert to Ciro and his brother, Santiagueño. Ciro did not like the decision and pointed out that the land would have to remain fallow for five years so that he would lose its use for ten years. There were about twenty-five rubber trees on the land, Ciro said, and if the trees were tapped by the Cimarrón brothers he would take the case, not to the /únʸi/, but to the authorities at Limones.

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The Cimarrón brothers claimed that the land did not belong to Ciro and Santiagueño. Ciro claimed that the land belonged to his father. The major issue lay in the fact that Ciro and his brother did not plant crops, but only tapped the rubber trees. Rubber tapping per se involves very little work, and no clearing of bush. It cannot be equated with the work of clearing and planting the land, weeding, and harvesting. Ciro's

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846 and demons; on the other hand it also aims at inducing the father to identify himself intimately with the child. Obviously the women, for whom these customs do not provide the least amount of consideration, quickly lose their earlier beauty and after a few years, they wilt and become horridly ugly.

594 The marriage of the Cayapa is most harmonious. They do not
[595 have polygamy or polyandry, and adultery never occurs or only
837] [287] very rarely. Women or girls who have relationships with
[689] white or black men or those of any other race, are killed without pity. In fact they are even forbidden to enter into innocent conversation with such men under threat of severe penalty. If one of the spouses dies, they do not remarry, remaining faithful to the
[764] dead. The dead are only buried when the corpse is already in a state of decomposition and when the pestilent smell has become unbearable.

574 While the villagers and inhabitants of other races in these parts
648 are very hospitable and will always offer hospitality to travelers, no matter how poor they are, even without expecting any remuneration, the Cayapa are an exception to this rule. They fear strangers on account of their women, who are not always safe from them; but most particularly they hate the Negroes who have repeatedly attacked their women forcibly. For this reason it is not easy to obtain shelter in Cayapa villages. As they have frequently also been robbed and mistreated by Negroes, they leave their huts as soon as a Negro settles in the neighborhood, and keep on withdrawing further inland. Thus they have already completely disappeared from the banks of the Santiago River and the lower course of the Cayapa River.

135 There still is a lot of gold in their region, as indeed there are
316 small layers of alluvial gold in all these rivers. But these Indians, with the exception of a few, more modern minded, and the rene-
[301] gades, do not collect it, nor do they wear gold ornaments. On the other hand none of them would tell a stranger where the yellow metal could be found, even if he were offered a fortune for his secret. From the Cayapa point of view gold is an accursed thing, which brought the white and the black devils into the country and was responsible for their being pushed back into the interior and
[648] robbed of their dominion. The Negroes, however, are their sworn enemies because they have too often had to suffer bitter injustice from them.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

135 in considerable deposits along this portion of the coast of Ecuador. In fact this region, like a large part of the western coast of South America, is rich in precious metals, those present in this particular locality being chiefly gold and platinum, although silver and copper are also found. It is an interesting fact that platinum first became known to the civilized world through its introduction from the Province of Esmeraldas; it had, however, been discovered and employed to a considerable extent in the making of ornaments by the aboriginal inhabitants of the region about the mouth of the Rio Santiago before its introduction into the modern arts, in fact long before the coming of Columbus. The high development reached in the art of metal-working by the ancient inhabitants of this section is shown particularly by the elaborate and delicately wrought ornaments of gold and platinum, and occasionally also of silver and copper, found so abundantly at La Tolita near the mouth of the Rio Santiago and at certain other points in that vicinity.

325 The Cayapa Indians of the present day are quite differently disposed toward metal-working, for they have no knowledge of the art, now using no metal [439] objects other than those obtained by trade, such as [173] axes, adzes, and machetes. They assert that they never came into contact with the ancient metal-workers of this region, for the reason that they were long ago driven out or exterminated by another tribe which the Cayapa in turn banished in comparatively recent times. Not 316 only do the Cayapa do no metal-work themselves, but

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

they have no knowledge of mining and are not at all inclined to acquire such knowledge even though they realize that gold and platinum command good prices at the settlements. Furthermore, they are extremely distrustful of and even hostile to everyone connected with mining or prospecting enterprises.

Health Conditions

Associated with the natural resources of a region are its health conditions, which in the Province of Esmeraldas are very good in comparison with most parts of the South American tropics. In fact the Esmeraldas shore is reputed, on good grounds, to be the most salubrious territory of the entire western coast of South America. Indeed, during the entire time spent by the author in the region, there was not, so far as could be learned, a case of any of the ultra-serious contagious diseases, and certainly none was reported in those portions of the province in which he resided. During the same period, however, both bubonic plague and yellow fever broke out with marked violence at Guayaquil, about two hundred miles southward, and there was also an epidemic of yellow fever at Tumaco, not more than fifty miles to the north along the coast from the mouth of the Rio Santiago. As pointed out in speaking of the insects of this region, neither the plague-bearing flea nor the yellow-fever bearing mosquito are found in the Province of Esmeraldas, hence the absence of these two diseases.

The most serious, and in fact practically the only serious, contagious disease of frequent occurrence in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

323 forms shown in figs. 1–2, 6, are without special name,
415 being known by the generic term pīa′ma. Those of the forms represented in figs. 5, 7, 8, are called kanda′rō.

323 To these earthenware vessels may be added a ninth
352 form, though it can not strictly be considered as a separate type, since it is made by breaking off the lower portion of one of the other forms (fig. 12). It is set over the fire and serves as a kind of chimney to direct the smoke and heat upward to the fish that are laid upon sticks
415 across its mouth for curing. There is also used, though
323 rarely, for making chocolate, a pot with reëntrant sides like that shown in fig. 9.

317 The clay, called tū or *tō*, used in pottery-making is
323 yellowish-brown in color and is dug from the banks of certain esteros. Usually a considerable quantity is gathered at a time and brought by canoe to the house, where it is worked over to remove stones, sticks, and other impurities. It is then wrapped in leaves and put in a shady place until needed, being moistened with water from time to time. For tempering the pottery there is mixed with the clay a bluish, gritty earth, called lu′c tū, meaning literally "blue earth or clay," which also is found in a few places along the river.

323 In making pottery, the woman takes a quantity of cleaned clay and again works it over to remove any remaining foreign substances, water being added if necessary to make it plastic. When the clay is of the proper consistency, the bluish, gritty earth above referred to is thoroughly kneaded into it, in quantity equaling perhaps one-tenth that of the clay. This

505 might hear a piano or phonograph music from somewhere. That
they still must quickly take a look at. The entire crowd rushes
busily into the house concerned and up the stairs. Their curiosity
is soon satisfied and they come down again and now they must be
off quickly so as to be able to make use of the tide current. Their
501 unpainted canoes are 8 to 10 meters (Translator--about 8 to 10
yds.) in length and from 70 to 90 centimeters (Translator--2 1/3
to 3 ft.) in width. They are slim and pleasing in shape and have
[321] black-colored decorations around the edges. Each one of them
accommodates from 5 to 8 persons, close together, with their
meager belongings. They paddle along nimbly with their leaf-
shaped oars and, while their canoes glide along silently and
swiftly, the entire crowd has soon disappeared in the mouth of the
484 Mira River. It will take them two days to reach their hometown.
648 During the journey they camp in the open over night, somewhere
along the shore, in an empty pasture. But they have to be careful.
Occasionally they are attacked and robbed there by Negroes, and
if they resist, they are murdered in cold blood. Only recently a
whole group of them, men, women and children, 14 persons al-
together, were most cruelly murdered on the Mira River by some
bestial Negroes.

101 [285] However, our friends will now have arrived home safe
342 and sound on the upper Cayapa River. They are greeted from afar
361 by the friendly smoke of their own hearths. Their villages con-
824 sist of a few, widely dispersed bamboo huts of a most primitive
type. A few uncut tree trunks have simply been rammed into the
earth in a rectangle. The floor is at a height of 3 to 4 meters
(Translator--ca. 3 to 4 yds.) and is made of split bamboo. Above
this, at an equal distance, is the roof made of coconut (?) palm
(Steinnusspalme) leaves. That is the entire structure. Since these
houses have no walls, it is obvious that doors and windows are not
417 required either. The trunk of the Ceiba trees, light as a cork,
824 into which a few steps are hewn, serves as stairs. (The Ceiba tree
512 produces the silk-like balsa wool, called "Kapok" on the Euro-
pean market.) These stairs are obliquely leaned on, without be-
ing fastened anywhere. A hen-roost can be climbed more easily
than one of these Cayapa ladders. In order to be somewhat safe
from surprises by unwanted visitors, the ladders are drawn up to
the living quarters overnight, and when a family goes on a trip,
the ladder is thrown into the river and left to float away. After
● 522 all it is so simple and easy to fetch another Ceiba trunk from the
nearby forest on returning and quickly hack a few step-like cuts
into it with a chopping knife.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

241 Children wear no clothes at all until they are 6 or 8.

301 The hair is worn loose, long, and flowing by the women but is clipped
302 above the ears by the men. Both sexes wear necklaces and wristbands of glass and porcelain beads, coins, seeds, and beetle wings. Only women wear earrings.

302 The traditional *Chibcha* custom of frequently painting body and face is found among the *Cayapa*. Red, yellow, and black are used, and the designs are very numerous. Barrett reproduces many of the motifs and insists that there is no special significance attached to any of them, nor is there any age, sex, or property correlation.

[illegible]

501 **Watercraft.**—A large part of every *Cayapa's* life is spent on the water
[illegible] fishing and traveling. Canoes are built with great skill and care. They can withstand not only fluvial but also maritime travel and are routinely sold in the "civilized" coast towns. They are dugouts, usually 10 to 12 yards long but sometimes much larger. Balsa-wood logs are sometimes used as outriggers.

[illegible]

[illegible] Details of *Cayapa* manufactures are contained in Barrett's work, which describes and illustrates finished products and minutely discusses the techniques of preparation.

322 **Woodworking.**—Woodworking includes house building, making deadfall traps, and carving seats and children's dolls.

285 **Weaving and basketry.**—The women weave cotton cloth on a narrow
286 native loom, and the men do the sewing. The men also weave the fishing
442 nets and hammocks. Barrett's discussion of *Cayapa* basketry is outstanding. The *Cayapa* make many kinds of baskets, mats, and fans of bark and of various roots.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery is crude and undecorated. It is used particularly for
177 storage. Tradition claims that in their old Highland habitat the *Cayapa* made better pottery but that cobblestones have since largely replaced ceramics.

[illegible] **Stonework and metalwork.**—Stonework is limited to the metates
325 used in grinding corn and plantains. Although in aboriginal times Lowland Ecuador was a famous area of metallurgy, there is no evidence that the contemporary *Cayapa* practiced it.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapon most widely used today is the muzzle-loading
177 shotgun. The blowgun was important in the past, but today its use is restricted to boys, who shoot poison darts while playing at hunting. Hardwood lances are being given up, and the bow and arrow is said not to be mentioned in *Cayapa* tradition. The steel machete is ubiquitous.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

pl. LXXIX, instead of down in the canoe itself. A paddler standing down in the canoe ordinarily bears his whole weight upon one foot, the other foot being placed upon the gunwale and thus serving both to steady him and to counterbalance the tendency of the canoe to list toward the side on which he is paddling. The stroke of the man's paddle is, by virtue of its length, a long, slow sweep, the blade only being immersed. On reaching the end of a stroke, the paddle is swung in an arc out from the canoe over the surface of the water and again dipped gently and without splashing. The stroke of the woman's paddle, on the other hand, is, by virtue of the shortness of its handle, a short and rather jerky stroke, and she ordinarily takes three or four such strokes and then rests for a moment before taking the next three or four. A man, even when sitting and consequently using only a short length of the handle of his paddle, takes regularly timed strokes, and his whole act of paddling is even and rhythmic.

Wooden Implements

Implements and various other objects of wood are made to a considerable extent by the Cayapa. These will be treated here as a class, although it will be necessary to include under this head objects devoted to many different uses.

Perhaps the most interesting of the various wooden objects used by the Cayapa are the seats or benches called tcûmbû'lya. These are of several different types, as shown in pl. LXXXIII, 2-6, 8. They are usually

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

about six inches and never more than eight inches in height, are from six to nine inches in width, and from a foot to two feet in length. They are always hewn from a single block of wood and generally have two supporting surfaces. 322 352

In the most common form these supporting surfaces are narrow lines running with the grain of the wood and therefore along the long sides of the seat. This type of seat, an example of which is shown in fig. 6 of the plate, is made by simply hollowing out the under-side of the block so that the upper part of the seat proper is from an inch and a half to two inches in thickness, while the sides upon which the seat rests extend to the floor and are usually not more than from one-half to three-quarters of an inch in thickness at their bottoms.

A second form is that in which the supporting surfaces are transverse to the grain of the wood, and are made by cutting out from the middle of the under-part of the block a section of the required length. Examples of this type of seat are shown in figs. 4 and 5 of the same plate. Fig. 5, in which the under-side of the comparatively thin upper part of the seat is perfectly straight, shows the more common of the two forms.

A third form is practically the same as the last mentioned except that the thick transverse supporting surface is cut out in its middle so as to form four cylindrical posts or legs. Such a seat is shown in fig. 8 of the plate. This is an exceptionally long seat and is quite sufficient to support two people.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The wooden seat shown in pl. LXXXIII, 3, is in all essentials the same as that shown in fig. 2 of the same plate, except that the broad support of the two narrow strips at the bottom is not present. The bottom of this seat, like those of the seats shown in figs. 4 and 5, is made by cutting out a transverse section from the middle of the block so that the two supporting surfaces are sections which run transversely to the grain of the wood. In the seat shown in fig. 2, on the other hand, the center is cut out in the opposite direction, that is, with the grain of the wood. Neither of these types of seat with the concave surface is very commonly used.

These wooden seats are found in almost every Cayapa house, although they are not used so frequently as might be expected. Ordinarily if a man wishes to sit down he uses the hammock, which serves primarily as a baby cradle. It is so swung that its ends are not more than ten to twelve feet apart, and he is able to sit almost erect and lean back against the end. Also the raised platforms at the sides of the house serve as seats. The women and children usually sit upon the floor, although occasionally a bench may be used by one of them, especially by a woman who wishes to spin. In large measure, however, such seats are used by visitors or by the men of the house when it is necessary to sit at some particular kind of work, such as sharpening machetes, adzing and planing paddles, and the like.

A wooden device similar in form to these seats is the base upon which the whetstone used for sharpening

to maintain a precarious balance. Children from about the ages of nine to thirteen may have small canoes /kakúle/ made for them, which may be seven to eight feet in length, and scarcely a foot in width. At these ages boys begin to accompany their fathers into the monte where the canoes are roughed out by axe and adze. They learn to select the proper trees as only those that are tightly cross-grained will not split easily. Occasionally canoes are roughed out at some height above the creek or rivulet that feeds into the main channel and in the process of carefully snubbing them down the boys learn to rig lines. A large canoe, about thirty-five feet long, may require almost a dozen men to bring it into the water from the monte, whereas a small canoe can be brought in by two or three men. Despite the fact that by the time the boys have reached their late teens they have acquired a large measure of skill in handling canoes, their canoes are nevertheless not considered finely finished until they have had several more years of experience.

Paddles: /yámpa/. The oar is roughed out with a machete, and the finer lines are cut with a knife.

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The paddle is rubbed down with abrasive leaves called /l^{y}ápis háki/. In working the blade of the paddle, a longitudinal ridge is left on both surfaces:

> Along this line the blade reaches a thickness of about three-quarters of an inch. At each side of these medial lines the blade is hollowed out very much after the fashion of a hollow-ground razor; otherwise its thickness is fairly uniform. The thickness of the blade decreases slightly toward the edge, so that the edge itself at the greatest width of the blade rarely exceeds three-sixteenths of an inch in thickness, and it may be as thin as an eighth of an inch.
>
> The handles or poles of the paddles are ordinarily from an inch to an inch and three quarters in diameter and are almost perfectly cylindrical. They taper slightly from the blade to the upper end, or what may be called the grip. In a woman's paddle this end may be truly called the grip, and it is usually notched in more or less of a fish tail form, . . . In the case of a man's paddle, however, a purely ornamental tip is put on the end, which is almost never touched in paddling (Barrett 1925:149-150).

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Benches: /čumbúl^{y}a/. These are small seats measuring from four to eight inches in height and from four to nine inches in width. They are always cut from one piece of wood and often have two supporting surfaces. Barrett reports eight types of which I have seen but three. Most commonly these benches are composed of three flat surfaces, less commonly the seating surface is concave. Barrett should be referred to for details of style and construction (Barrett 1925: 154-157).

details of style and construction (Barrett 1925:154-157). 000

Dolls: /niwawa/. Dolls for children were scarce among the Cayapa of the Punta Venado section. Barrett briefly discusses dolls, and the impression received is that they were common. They were always made of a single block of wood, and were carved in both human and animal forms. No measurements are given, but they were very likely similar to the dolls of today, measuring usually twelve to thirteen inches in length and from three to four inches in width. They are most frequently carved out of Guayacan, an extremely hard wood. The one Guayacan doll in my possession is carved in two pieces. It is a seated figure, obviously of a white man, wearing a visored cap, a necktie cut in bas-relief, a jacket, breeches, and boots that are tinted reddish. He is seated in a two-legged chair which is sufficient since his own feet serve as the other two legs. The chair is fastened to the figure by two nails through the bottom, and five nails from the rear.

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At the present time, many models for play purposes are cut out of balsa in the forms of airplanes, and the forms of coastal banana boats. Other wooden articles

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Other wooden articles

still made by the Cayapa include the /tǎ́ci wimáso/ 'bark cloth beater,' /mačúka/ 'plantain masher,' and food stirrers of various types. A full listing and description can be had by consulting Barrett (Barrett 1925: 159-161). Elliptical wooden bowls called batea in Spanish, are cut from a single piece of wood, and they serve as trays for the preparation of some foods.

Musical instruments, which are played by the men, include the marimba or /má^{i}mba/, a large drum called by the Spanish word bombo, and a small free-standing drum that tapers at the base called conunu. The Negroes use the same instruments, but they also use various gourd rattles and bamboo shakers. Guitars are occasionally found among the Negroes but only seldom among the Cayapa.

Pottery. This art is scarcely practiced anymore. In fact I was completely unaware that earthenware pots were in the household inventory at all until I was asked one day if I wished to purchase a small Cayapa-made one for five sucres (.30 U.S.). This was the only pot I ever saw, except for the large cantaras made by the people of the San Miguel section, for the storage of /wápo/, the fermented sugar-cane juice called guarapo in Spanish.

322 [412] [252]

[415]

534 [462]

[171]

323 [178] [126]

[273]

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

fresh from the rollers, as well as after boiling, in fact at any stage before it begins to ferment, the juice is called pī′ wapū, literally "water guarapo," in contradistinction to the fermented juice, which is called sa′wapū, meaning "sour guarapo." The ollas referred to are especially made for the purpose, and are the most difficult work of the potter, as their size renders them not only inconvenient to form and handle while drying, but makes them also extremely hard to fire. They are almost invariably coated inside and out with brea (Cayapa, amū′ya), the wax of a small bee, which renders them impervious and prevents waste through seepage. The bases of these large vessels are comparatively small, therefore to prevent them from tipping, each is set upon a ring made of refuse cane. When sugar-cane was first introduced among the Cayapa, rum was not made, but the fermented guarapo was much drunk, and even at the present time considerable quantities are so used. To be sure, it is by no means so intoxicating as rum itself, but after it has fermented for two to three weeks it contains a considerable proportion of alcohol. The fermented guarapo is drunk not only about the home and during the process of distillation, but also to a certain extent at fiestas, to which it is brought in large ollas and consumed in place of rum and by some in preference to it.

The guarapo is finally distilled in order to produce the concentrated alcoholic beverage known by the Spanish name aguardiente and called by the Cayapa i′ckala. The still used in this final process is illustrated in pl. LXIII, from a photograph made while the distillation was in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

of small ridges may now serve, however, it seems to have had its origin in a desire to ornament the stirrers, since most of them are plain at that point (as is the one shown in fig. 7), and because various stirrers of this form have carvings at that point which are similar though much smaller and are obviously purely ornamental.

A second form of stirring implement is the food paddle, called kūwi'ñgī, two specimens of which are shown in pl. LXI, 8, 9. These are used for stirring all kinds of foods while cooking, but especially ripe plantain gruel and a kind of gruel or mush made from green corn. In many cases these paddles are perfectly plain, as is the one shown in fig. 9, but now and then they are embellished with notches or incised ornaments as is the case with the one shown in fig. 8.

A utensil in common domestic use is an elliptical wooden bowl, copied after a type made by the whites and negroes of the region and bearing only the Spanish name batea. They vary more or less in their elliptical form, but a typical specimen is shown in pl. LXII, 4. They are always provided with a projection at each end to serve as handles. They are hollowed out from a single piece of wood, and range from a foot to three feet in length. Bateas serve a variety of purposes, but they are used especially for the preparation of certain foods, such as ripe plantain gruel, corn gruel or mush, and the like. They are used also as trays for washing meats or other foods, and frequently are employed in mixing and working clay during the process of pottery-making.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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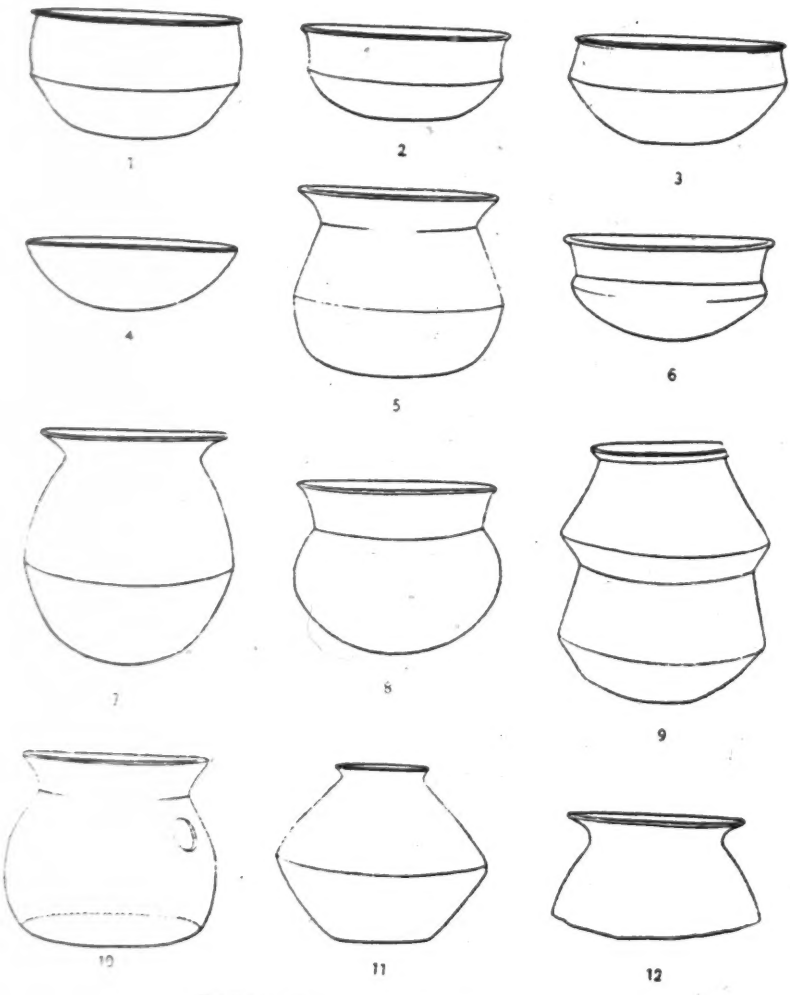


FORMS OF POTTERY VESSELS

[p. 172 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ones are used to a certain extent in eating, although for this purpose they have been largely superseded by iron spoons. Calabash spoons, like the mates, are often ornamented with incised lines.

Pottery

The Cayapa make a rather crude, heavy pottery vessel, entirely undecorated except in a few forms in which incised lines and dots are impressed in the rim or the shoulder; but no painting, slipping, or glazing is used. The generic name for pottery is pia′ma, or bīa′ma.

There are in all ten forms of pots, eight of which are in general use among the Cayapa. All are shown in outline in pl. LXXXVII. These types are: 1, A shallow plate form (fig. 4), called specifically tō′ palatō. 2, A somewhat deeper cooking-pot (figs. 1–3), the sides of which, under ordinary circumstances, are comparatively straight, while the rim is without a lip. 3, Another cooking-pot (fig. 6), with a more or less hemispherical base, a pronounced shoulder around the side, and a prominent outcurving lip. 4, A small, flat-bottomed pot (fig. 5), somewhat of the form of an inverted truncated cone and with a more or less outcurving lip. 5, A somewhat globose form (fig. 8), with wide neck and outcurving rim. 6, A large storage olla (fig. 11), called specifically bū′lūm bīama, with slightly oval bottom, more or less conical sides, and narrow neck with outcurving rim. 7, A large pottery caldron (fig. 7), which forms part of the still. 8, The condensing chamber (fig. 10), without bottom, used in distilling rum. Pots of the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

forms shown in figs. 1–2, 6, are without special name, being known by the generic term pīa′ma. Those of the forms represented in figs. 5, 7, 8, are called kanda′rō.

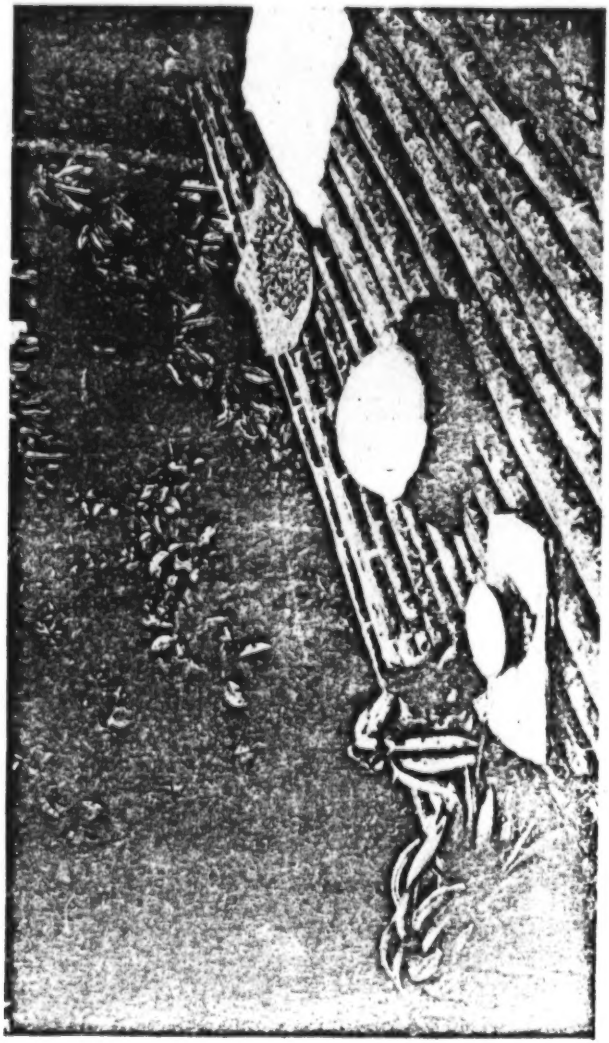
To these earthenware vessels may be added a ninth form, though it can not strictly be considered as a separate type, since it is made by breaking off the lower portion of one of the other forms (fig. 12). It is set over the fire and serves as a kind of chimney to direct the smoke and heat upward to the fish that are laid upon sticks across its mouth for curing. There is also used, though rarely, for making chocolate, a pot with reëntrant sides like that shown in fig. 9.

The clay, called tū or *tō*, used in pottery-making is yellowish-brown in color and is dug from the banks of certain esteros. Usually a considerable quantity is gathered at a time and brought by canoe to the house, where it is worked over to remove stones, sticks, and other impurities. It is then wrapped in leaves and put in a shady place until needed, being moistened with water from time to time. For tempering the pottery there is mixed with the clay a bluish, gritty earth, called lu′c tū, meaning literally "blue earth or clay," which also is found in a few places along the river.

In making pottery, the woman takes a quantity of cleaned clay and again works it over to remove any remaining foreign substances, water being added if necessary to make it plastic. When the clay is of the proper consistency, the bluish, gritty earth above referred to is thoroughly kneaded into it, in quantity equaling perhaps one-tenth that of the clay. This

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

PL. LXXXVIII



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POTTERY VESSELS SET TO DRY

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 174(1)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

● 323

PL. LXXXIX

FIRING POTTERY

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[P. 174(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

tempering material is called tû ya'ndû. The mixing of a small quantity of clay is a mere matter of rolling and kneading it in the hands; but if a considerable quantity is required, as in making a large olla, it is usually mixed in a large wooden tray such as that shown in pl. LXII, 4. After thorough kneading, handfuls are torn from the side of the mass and thrown back violently on top of it. This process completed, a small lump of the clay is taken, or a very small, crude pot is made, and immediately baked in the fire-box in the house as a test. 323

To make a small plate-form utensil, one about four inches in diameter, a lump of prepared clay is rolled carefully between the hands to form a smooth sphere. The right thumb is then inserted and the ball of clay is turned about it in such manner as to make a depression in the center. Then by constantly pressing between the thumb and the fingers as the ball is rotated, the depression is gradually enlarged until finally the bottom and sides of the pot, of even thickness, are formed. If the vessel is very small, this work may all be done upon the palm of the left hand, but if it is of medium or large size, a board, ten or twelve by fifteen or eighteen inches (pl. LXXXVIII), or other flat object is used in order that the vessel may readily be turned. Occasionally the wooden base is elaborately made, as that shown in pl. LXXXIII, 1, which is circular, has four legs, and resembles in some respects the wooden benches before described. Its special use, however, is that of a rest for the larger pieces of pottery, and it is claimed by the Cayapa that it was rarely or never used as a seat. [413] 352

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

323 The bottom and sides of the small receptacle having been formed, the edge is trimmed and made of uniform thickness by placing the thumb on the inner surface at the edge, the end of the first finger on the edge itself, and the ball of the second finger on its outer surface. By passing the fingers, held in this position, back and forth over a space two or three inches at a time, the edge is gradually reduced to uniform thickness and all unevenness is removed. Places thinner than desired are patched with a small quantity of clay carefully worked in and smoothed like the rest. Should there be a place that is too thick, a pinch of the clay is taken with thumb and finger before the smoothing is commenced. The edge is finally smoothly finished with the inner surface of a small piece of green banana or plantain peel.

[443] There is always a certain roughness on the inner and outer body surfaces of a pot at this stage; this is removed by means of small instruments, called tömbilya'mba, made usually from sections of broken calabash dishes or spoons, the edges of which are ground on a stone until they are uniform in outline and sharp. The smoothing of both the surfaces and the edge having been completed, the pot is set in the shade to dry and harden. This requires, in the case of a small, thin-walled pot, only a few days, when it is ready for firing. Care is taken not to dry a pot too rapidly, and that it dries uniformly, on account of the danger of cracking due to differential shrinking.

The base of a larger pot is made from a lump or mass of clay in the same manner as that above described, except that the edge is not smoothed so carefully. This

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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POTTERY AFTER FIRING

[p. 176(d)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

323 base is set in a cool, shady place to dry partially, then the remainder of the pot is built up by the coiling process. A base is shown in the foreground of pl. LXXXVIII, in which an unfinished pot of medium size is seen on the board used as a rest and which enables the potter to turn the vessel about easily and without pressing it out of shape. Such a base is dried, for a length of time depending on its size and the thickness of its walls, until it is hard enough to bear the weight of the first coil upon its edge. A pot six or eight inches in diameter will dry sufficiently in two or three days to permit of the application of the first coil, but a large and correspondingly heavy olla requires several days to dry.

The coils are made by rolling out between the palms of the hands a rope of clay of a length equal to the circumference of the pot and of a thickness, for a pot of medium size, usually not more than a half to three-quarters of an inch, and for a large pot not more than an inch. A groove is made with the ball of the first finger the full length of the coil of clay, which is then placed with the groove downward over the edge of the pot, any surplus being nipped off with the thumb and finger at the point where the ends meet. These two ends are then worked together with the thumb and fingers, and the edges of the groove in the coil are next pressed down upon the edge of the portion of the pot previously completed. While this finished portion of the pot is more or less dry and hard, it is not hardened sufficiently to render it unpliable, hence it is easy to mingle the new clay of the coil with the old clay of the formed portion. The upper

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

323 part of the coil is now worked out with the thumb and fingers until it is of the same thickness as the lower portion, after which its edge and sides are smoothed as were those of the portion of the pot already completed.

This one coil is usually sufficient to complete a plate-form pot of medium size, but in pots of other forms and sizes the number of coils varies. After the addition of each coil, the pot is set aside to dry somewhat before the next coil is added, since the moist clay is not sufficiently stiff to support a considerable weight.

This method of forming the bottom and lower part of the sides applies only to the small and medium-size pots. In making the bottom of a large pot the following method is employed: An old pot or other object of approximately the size and form desired for the bottom of the pot to be made, is covered with thin leaves or with a piece of cloth in order that the clay may not adhere to the rigid surface. A large lump of clay is then worked out into a thick disc, which is laid on the form and patted and worked in such manner as to cover it uniformly and of the required thickness. While still on the form, it is allowed to dry, since the clay required for this part of such a vessel is of such quantity that it could not stand alone. Such a form with the bottom of a large olla upon it is illustrated in pl. LXXXVIII. The fresh clay is shown here formed upon the cloth-covered bottom of a large cooking-pot, the black cloth appearing below the edge of the clay. At last, when the bottom is sufficiently dry, it is removed from the form and its sides and edge are smoothed as above described in speaking of smaller receptacles. Hence-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

forward the process of building a large pot, coil upon coil, is the same as that employed in making small ones. 323

The largest earthenware receptacles made by the Cayapa are the storage ollas (pl. LXXXVII, 11), used for the fermentation of cane-juice, these vessels being sometimes of a diameter and height of three feet. These large ollas are highly prized, as it is difficult to build up successfully, with the comparatively narrow coils of clay, such large vessels without a flaw in joining the coils. It is also hard to get the clay used in the various coils always of exactly the same consistency, and it is especially difficult to dry the olla properly without checking or other mishap. But the greatest difficulty of all is in the firing; indeed, although a considerable proportion of such large vessels fail in the early stages of their construction, probably ninety percent of those successfully built up and cured, crack in the firing. On the other hand, comparatively little difficulty is experienced in modeling and firing small or medium-size receptacles of varying shapes.

As before stated, the only decoration found on Cayapa pottery consists of small incised dots and lines on the edge of the opening or the shoulder, and even this simple ornamentation is rarely used. The vessel is decorated after being only partly dried. The lines are incised with the sharp-edged calabash instrument used for smoothing the surfaces of the receptacle, while the dots are made by means of the serrated edge of the shell of a small bivalve. The decoration consists almost invariably of a simple row of parallel lines placed vertically or obliquely. Now and then a zigzag is used. 323 531

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

323 After a pot has become fairly dry and hard, its surface receives the final smoothing, and in some cases it is given [824 almost a polish. This is done by means of a large 413] discoidal nut, called mūlūmbū mūñge'nū, indigenous to the region. The same nut is used in making tops and also the spinning handles for tops. In pl. LXXXV, 1, 4, it is shown used in these two ways. In smoothing pottery the edge of the nut is wet with saliva and is rubbed back and forth repeatedly over the vessel, thus smoothing the surface and making it more impervious by filling the pores. No slip or paint of any kind is used.

The vessels are now ready for firing. A quantity of wood is gathered and the pots are carried to an open place near the house. Here they are stacked one within another or arranged on the ground in any convenient manner, and a kiln is made by carefully piling wood around and among them. Coals are brought from the fire-box in the house, the pile is ignited, and the fire is carefully watched and more wood added as required. A pottery kiln is shown in pl. LXXXIX, the photograph for which was taken just after the fire was lighted. This firing process requires from twenty minutes to an hour, depending on the number and size of the pots, and the quantity of wood used. As the fire dies down, the pots are left as shown in pl. XC, being now thoroughly fired. The earthenware is generally removed with a pole while still hot, and is tested by tapping gently to detect any possible cracking. If badly cracked the vessels are [356] immediately thrown away, but in the case of large pots that are only slightly cracked, they are often kept and repaired with wax (brea).

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

If possible some ripe-plantain gruel, called ma'la, is poured into the newly-fired pots, which are returned to the embers where the gruel is soon cooked. This cooking serves to fill the pores of the pottery, rendering it practically impervious. If it is not practicable to boil the gruel immediately, the inner and outer surfaces of the receptacles are later rubbed thoroughly with green plantain for the same purpose. This method, however, is considered inferior to the other. 323

All pottery used for ordinary cooking and serving is completed with the firing and the filling of the pores with plantain. Those pots, however, designed for use in fermenting cane-juice in making rum or for the storage of liquids, rather than for use over the fire, are given a coating of brea, usually inside and out, which renders them impervious. It would be useless to apply the brea to pots that are to be placed over the fire, since it melts at a low temperature and readily ignites. Also, if a pot is not intended for storing liquids, there is no reason why it should be entirely impervious, since all earthenware will hold liquids for a short time without allowing moisture to pass through it to any detrimental extent. 323 415

So far as is known, fired clay serves but one other purpose among the Cayapa, that of making small sinkers, called wengõtca'lĭ, for fish-lines. These sinkers are either globose or cylindrical, with perforations through the center, and are fired in the same manner as ordinary pots. A line with its sinker is shown in fig. 9 (page 131). 323 227

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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made by cutting with the point of a knife or machete through the calabash rind, exposing the inner, white, hard portion which at first contrasts greatly with the brown general surface of the utensil. After such a utensil has been used for a time the incised designs also become brown. The calabash designs shown in pl. LXXXVI present various realistic figures, as well as a considerable number of geometric designs. In the small series of figures shown in this plate there are ten recognizable animal forms, namely:

Subject	*Figures*
Human being	1–4
Human being on horse	5, 9
Monkey	6
Horse or dog	18
Bird	10–12
Lizard	13
Turtle	16
Crab	14, 36
Scorpion	7
Tick	15
Animal (unknown form)	8, 17

The majority of these designs are relatively small, but in the crab design shown in fig. 36 of pl. LXXXVI, is presented a notable exception. This design appeared about the opening of a large, spherical, water-storage calabash and covered about half the entire surface of the vessel. The usual names given to the various animals themselves are also applied to these designs. As usual, on the other hand, the geometric figures are frequently unnamed.

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Cayapa pottery is very simple in its forms and is entirely without decoration except in rare instances in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

which a slight attempt is made to ornament the edge of the shoulder of a vessel with a few incised lines or dots. No names are given to these simple decorations, and no attempt is made to work out any regular patterns even in the rare instances in which they are used.

The designs in hard textiles—twilled baskets, mats, and fans—are purely geometric, fairly simple (as is shown in pl. CV), and few in number. These conditions are quite natural and are imposed by the character of the material and the technic employed. There is comparatively little naming of these designs. Zigzags such as those shown in figs. 3 and 5 of the plate are called dē'tcū, and figures such as are illustrated in figs. 25 and 27 are commonly called kapū'ka, signifying "eye."

Soft Textile Designs

It is in the soft textiles that the greatest variety of both geometric and realistic designs appears and where the only detailed naming of designs occurs. A table of the names of the various manta designs shown in pl. CXXIII-CXXVII, together with a glossary, is given in the following pages. From these data various interesting facts concerning the names of manta designs are apparent.

The names may be classified as: mammals, birds, reptiles, insects, miscellaneous animate objects, parts of animate objects, plants, artificial objects, geometric figures, and untranslatable terms. The following tabulation will show the various numbers in each class.

Other wooden articles still made by the Cayapa include the /tǎči wimáso/ 'bark cloth beater,' /mačúka/ 'plantain masher,' and food stirrers of various types. A full listing and description can be had by consulting Barrett (Barrett 1925: 159-161). Elliptical wooden bowls called batea in Spanish, are cut from a single piece of wood, and they serve as trays for the preparation of some foods.

Musical instruments, which are played by the men, include the marimba or /mí mba/, a large drum called by the Spanish word bombo, and a small free-standing drum that tapers at the base called conunu. The Negroes use the same instruments, but they also use various gourd rattles and bamboo shakers. Guitars are occasionally found among the Negroes but only seldom among the Cayapa.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

most of these have been or will be discussed in other sections of this paper. Among these objects are hooks for suspending various commodities and for use as a fish-pole rack; spinning and weaving implements; mesh sticks used in the manufacture of cordage and netting; mauls for beating out bark cloth; the condensing board or "worm" employed in distilling, and stamps for body decoration and for canoe painting.

Stone Implements

The stone implements used by the Cayapa are confined almost entirely to the mealing stone and the muller. The former is usually a flat stone from eight inches to a foot in width, from a foot to two feet in length, and five or six inches in thickness. The upper side is slightly hollowed by means of pecking with an old ax or other heavy iron implement. Very few of these mealing stones are made at the present time; indeed few modern mealing stones are now in use. A similar type of stone was used by the former mound-building inhabitants of this region, and from these mounds and old village-sites the Cayapa now obtain practically all the mealing stones needed for their use. In pl. LXII, 2, is shown one of these stones of the typical, modern, Cayapa form, in which the depth of the hollowed upper surface is comparatively slight, but usually the mealing stones obtained from ancient sites are hollowed to a somewhat greater depth. The hollowed portion extends over almost the entire upper surface. Along the sides and generally at one end there is left a ridge to

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

324 retain the foods which are crushed and pounded upon it. 415 Usually at the opposite end there is no such ridge, the opening serving especially in grinding green corn.

With this mealing stone, and also with the mealing block (pl. LXII, 1), is used a muller consisting usually of a cobblestone from five to seven inches in length, three to four inches in width, and two or three inches in thickness. Sometimes such a muller is shaped artificially. A typical muller is shown in place as it is used on the mealing stone in fig. 2.

252 The mealing stone and muller are used primarily for making what in Spanish is called bala, boiled green plantain mashed and pounded. From one to half a dozen green plantains are put on the mealing stone, then rolled lightly and mashed with the muller, after which they are pounded with considerable force with the muller held in the right hand while the left is used between strokes to return the fragments of plantain, which have been thrown off by the force of the blows, to the center of the mealing stone. From ten to fifteen strokes of the muller result in a mass of fine-grained but soggy plantain of a light-yellow color. This resembles in texture a piece of half-baked bread-dough and is much esteemed by the [264] Cayapa and also by the negroes. The women and girls usually prepare the bala for the men and boys, and serve it on plates, or, in the more primitive fashion, upon the cooking leaves called ū'tya haki. After the men and boys have been served, the women and girls then make bala for themselves, which they eat directly from the mealing stone. After the meal, the muller is laid upon

291 Children wear no clothes at all until they are 6 or 8.

301 The hair is worn loose, long, and flowing by the women but is clipped
302 above the ears by the men. Both sexes wear necklaces and wristbands of glass and porcelain beads, coins, seeds, and beetle wings. Only women wear earrings.

302 The traditional *Chibcha* custom of frequently painting body and face is found among the *Cayapa*. Red, yellow, and black are used, and the designs are very numerous. Barrett reproduces many of the motifs and insists that there is no special significance attached to any of them, nor is there any age, sex, or property correlation.

TRANSPORTATION

501 **Watercraft.**—A large part of every *Cayapa's* life is spent on the water fishing and traveling. Canoes are built with great skill and care. They
[439] can withstand not only fluvial but also maritime travel and are routinely sold in the "civilized" coast towns. They are dugouts, usually 10 to 12 yards long but sometimes much larger. Balsa-wood logs are sometimes used as outriggers.

MANUFACTURES

000 Details of *Cayapa* manufactures are contained in Barrett's work, which describes and illustrates finished products and minutely discusses the techniques of preparation.

322 **Woodworking.**—Woodworking includes house building, making deadfall traps, and carving seats and children's dolls.

285 **Weaving and basketry.**—The women weave cotton cloth on a narrow
286 native loom, and the men do the sewing. The men also weave the fishing
462 nets and hammocks. Barrett's discussion of *Cayapa* basketry is outstanding. The *Cayapa* make many kinds of baskets, mats, and fans of bark and of various roots.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery is crude and undecorated. It is used particularly for
177 storage. Tradition claims that in their old Highland habitat the *Cayapa* made better pottery but that calabashes have since largely replaced ceramics.

324 **Stonework and metalwork.**—Stonework is limited to the metates
325 used in grinding corn and plantains. Although in aboriginal times Lowland Ecuador was a famous area of metallurgy, there is no evidence that the contemporary *Cayapa* practiced it.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapon most widely used today is the muzzle-loading
177 shotgun. The blowgun was important in the past, but today its use is restricted to boys, who shoot poison darts while playing at hunting. Hardwood lances are being given up, and the bow and arrow is said not to be mentioned in *Cayapa* tradition. The steel machete is ubiquitous.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

135 in considerable deposits along this portion of the coast of Ecuador. In fact this region, like a large part of the western coast of South America, is rich in precious metals, those present in this particular locality being chiefly gold and platinum, although silver and copper are also found. It is an interesting fact that platinum first became known to the civilized world through its introduction from the Province of Esmeraldas; it had, however, been discovered and employed to a considerable extent in the making of ornaments by the aboriginal inhabitants of the region about the mouth of the Rio Santiago before its introduction into the modern arts, in fact long before the coming of Columbus. The high development reached in the art of metal-working by the ancient inhabitants of this section is shown particularly by the elaborate and delicately wrought ornaments of gold and platinum, and occasionally also of silver and copper, found so abundantly at La Tolita near the mouth of the Rio Santiago and at certain other points in that vicinity.

325 The Cayapa Indians of the present day are quite differently disposed toward metal-working, for they have no knowledge of the art, now using no metal [439] objects other than those obtained by trade, such as [173] axes, adzes, and machetes. They assert that they never came into contact with the ancient metal-workers of this region, for the reason that they were long ago driven out or exterminated by another tribe which the Cayapa in turn banished in comparatively recent times. Not 316 only do the Cayapa do no metal-work themselves, but

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

At the present time the hook-and-line is very much used in fishing, though this was introduced by the whites. Strong, slender, fish-poles, called wañgū-tca'lī, seven to ten feet in length, are made from the upper branches of the large bamboo. They are gathered when thoroughly matured but while still green, and are hardened and straightened by heating. The lines, called wañgû-tcû'a, or sañ-dō'a, are made of native pita string and are usually quite fine. The strength of the pita fibers makes it possible to use a very fine line for comparatively large fish. Such a fish-line, provided with a special pottery sinker and an ordinary steel fish-hook, is shown in fig. 9; it is wound in this case on a cylindrical piece of balsa. This line is called tcûndyē'pû and is used in the hand after the fashion of a troll. In case it should be dropped or pulled overboard, it is saved by means of the balsa float. Ordinarily all lines are provided with lead sinkers, but the pottery cylinder, especially made as a sinker is an old type and was formerly very much used. Hooks, called weñgō'la, are now obtained from traders at the coast, although it is

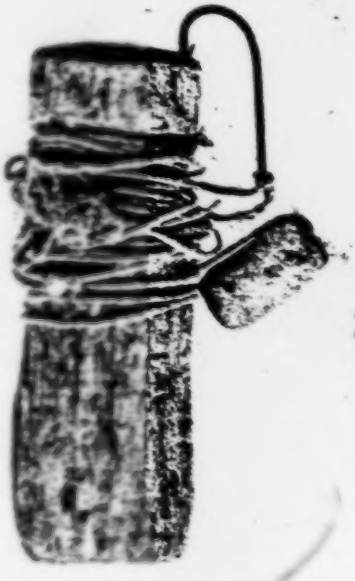

FIG. 9.—Fish-line with pottery sinker

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

said that when this method of fishing was first introduced through contact with the early Spaniards, crude hooks were fashioned by hammering out pieces of iron.

At the present time this method of hook-and-line fishing is so much in vogue that almost every man has his special little canoe and a special short paddle which are used almost exclusively for fishing. It is customary to paddle for some distance against the tide or current and then to fish back down with the current along the bank. In this way little effort is required in paddling, and a sculling motion of the paddle with the left hand is sufficient to keep the canoe in its desired course. With a pole and line go a small, hemispherical, calabash dish of angle-worms, a small bottle-shape basket (pl. XCIII, 3) of grasshoppers, or a calabash of a certain small reddish fruit, all of which are used as bait, each according to the kind of fish sought.

On rare occasions the trot-line, called weñgūtcū'a (?), such as that shown in pl. CXIX, 1, is used. The main line, called señgi'ri, is made usually of the coarser string fiber called by the Spanish term cosadera, while the small "leaders," called simply sañdō'a, to which each separate hook is attached, are made of pita string.

WAR

The Cayapa maintain that in ancient times they rarely went to war, and then only on the greatest provocation, as, for instance, when they were harrassed by the former inhabitants of their present domain until forbearance was no longer possible and they descended from their

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342
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> and walls. Building materials consist entirely of wood and leaves gathered from the adjacent forest. This type of pile dwelling is one of the diagnostic traits of the Pacific lowland culture area; its distribution extends from western Darien southward to the Santiago River system in Esmeraldas, where it has been introduced by Colombian immigrants. Like most of the present material traits of the lowland Negroid people, their houses appear to be a modified form of an Indian prototype (West 1957:114).

Such structures are a major feature of the cultural landscape of the Cayapas River system as well, but the Indian houses are in marked contrast to the Negro domiciles. The Cayapa houses are nearly always rectangular in ground plan and always larger. Cayapa houses range from approximately ninety feet in length by forty feet in width to perhaps somewhat more than half this size. The piles which are adzed into a square shape are always made of Guayacan, a heavy, black hardwood that is said to resist the inroads of termites for about twenty years. Eight to ten of these posts are placed on the posts six to ten feet above the ground. Bamboo stringers are laid through notches but in the Guayacan posts, and they serve as a foundation for the planwood flooring that is laid down at right angles to the bamboo stringers. Sometimes a split level construction

[385]

505 might hear a piano or phonograph music from somewhere. That they still must quickly take a look at. The entire crowd rushes busily into the house concerned and up the stairs. Their curiosity is soon satisfied and they come down again and now they must be off quickly so as to be able to make use of the tide current. Their
501 unpainted canoes are 8 to 10 meters (Translator--about 8 to 10 yds.) in length and from 70 to 90 centimeters (Translator--2 1/3 to 3 ft.) in width. They are slim and pleasing in shape and have
[507] black colored decorations around the edges. Each one of them accommodates from 5 to 8 persons, close together, with their meager belongings. They paddle along nimbly with their leaf-shaped oars and, while their canoes glide along silently and swiftly, the entire crowd has soon disappeared in the mouth of the
486 Mira River. It will take them two days to reach their hometown.
648 During the journey they camp in the open over night, somewhere along the shore, in an empty pasture. But they have to be careful. Occasionally they are attacked and robbed there by Negroes, and if they resist, they are murdered in cold blood. Only recently a whole group of them, men, women and children, 14 persons altogether, were most cruelly murdered on the Mira River by some bestial Negroes.

101 [285] However, our friends will now have arrived home safe
• 392 and sound on the upper Cayapa River. They are greeted from afar
361 by the friendly smoke of their own hearths. Their villages con-
824 sist of a few, widely dispersed bamboo huts of a most primitive type. A few uncut tree trunks have simply been rammed into the earth in a rectangle. The floor is at a height of 3 to 4 meters (Translator--ca. 3 to 4 yds.) and is made of split bamboo. Above this, at an equal distance, is the roof made of coconut (?) palm (Iriartea ventricosa) leaves. That is the entire structure. Since these houses have no walls, it is obvious that doors and windows are not
417 required either. The trunk of the Ceiba trees, light as a cork,
824 into which a few steps are hewn, serves as stairs. (The Ceiba tree
512 produces the silk-like bolso wool," called "Kapok" on the European market.) These stairs are obliquely leaned on, without being fastened anywhere. A hen-roost can be climbed more easily than one of these Cayapa ladders. In order to be somewhat safe from surprises by unwanted visitors, the ladders are drawn up to the living quarters overnight, and when a family goes on a trip, the ladder is thrown into the river and left to float away. After
822 all it is so simple and easy to fetch another Ceiba trunk from the nearby forest on returning and quickly hack a few step-like cuts into it with a chopping knife.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent canefields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported.

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Cayapa* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the priests visit the *Cayapa*.

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive.

In addition to permanent houses, small temporary ranchos are sometimes built when people are far from home. The houses in the "village" are standard structures, but the church follows Spanish ways: it rests on the ground and has walls.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Although *Cayapa* tradition records a period when the people wore blankets and even ponchos, today their clothes are scanty (pl. 59, *bottom*). The men wear a tight, small, white garment, made like bathing trunks, and a thin gaudy shirt of calico, with short and very tight sleeves. On festive occasions vests of European cut and manufacture are frequently donned over the shirt, and so are felt fedoras.

Women wear a long skirt of native cloth, girded with a narrow fringed belt. As in the Highlands, several skirts of different weights are sometimes worn. Head, shoulders, and chest are usually left bare.

342

PLATE 57.—**Cayapa houses and village.** *Top:* Typical dwelling along river. *Center:* Unfinished house showing roof structure. *Bottom:* Chief's house at Sapayo Grande. (After Barrett, 1925.)

[p. 284(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

vations extending over a series of years were available, it would probably be found that the precipitation varies considerably from year to year. For instance, according to reports the winter months of 1909–10 were attended by an unprecedented rainfall. On the whole, therefore, it is safe to assume that the observations of the engineers referred to represent a fair average of the precipitation of this region.

In consequence of the great rainfall and the constant saturation of the ground, floods are frequent along all the rivers of this region. These freshets come, of course, only when there is a continuous and an unusually heavy fall of rain for several hours, or, as sometimes happens, for several days. In the latter event the Rio Cayapas rises several feet at its mouth, which is itself upward of a mile wide, and where the lowness of the bordering lands permits the stream to spread over wide areas. Farther up-stream, where the hills confine its waters, the river rises much higher; and at some points, where for considerable distances there are no low flood-plains and where the banks are steep, it rises as high as fifty feet.

As a result of such conditions there has been developed a form of pile-dwelling, the floor of which is raised from six to twelve feet above the ground. The Cayapa always endeavor to build their houses as near the river as possible, on account of their dependence on it as a means of travel and for other purposes. The floods, however, must always be taken into account in selecting a site even for such a pile-dwelling, since at times of such

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Indians. A number of these palms produce foods, and several provide leaves which are used in making house-thatch, while the trunk of one makes a durable flooring for houses. These matters will be taken up more specifically in the discussion of these subjects.

Another characteristic plant is the giant bamboo, which grows in clumps at frequent intervals along the banks of the rivers, especially along their lower courses. This bamboo often reaches a height of seventy feet or more, and has a basal diameter approximating ten inches. These immense stems serve various useful purposes, among the most important of which may be mentioned that of joists and rafters in house-building.

There is a great variety of trees in the jungle, many of which produce useful woods. Perhaps the most important uses of wood among the Cayapa are in house construction and in canoe-making. In the former the guayacan, which provides the almost indestructible pillars that support the pile structures, is of greatest importance. Several varieties of trees are used in canoe-making, but two or three kinds are preferred to all others.

Another characteristic of the jungle is the association of many species of plant life together in one area. Whereas in the North Temperate zone it is customary to see large tracts of land occupied by a single principal species of tree, such as the pine, in this Ecuadorian region a considerable number of trees of one species growing close together and in such manner as to form anything comparable with a grove is rarely seen. As a

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

rule the various species of trees are associated in a strictly heterogeneous manner, and in all cases there is a fairly dense undergrowth, besides vines and aerial roots in abundance. These latter hang from the trees in such profusion as alone to make it necessary to cut a trail in proceeding even for a short distance by land.

Of these aerial roots the one known by the local Spanish term *pitigua* deserves special mention. It is very strong and durable, is little affected by climate, and is not attacked by insects. It is, therefore, extensively employed in binding joints in house-building, and indeed wherever a good binding material is needed. It is also extensively used in making certain kinds of basketry.

This general mention of the natural vegetal resources of the Cayapa region will suffice for present consideration, but the separate plants and their particular uses will be treated in detail in the following pages in connection with matters with which they are particularly concerned.

The heterogeneity of the flora of the region, above referred to, is fortunate for its inhabitants, since it places nearly every kind of plant, on which so much of the culture of the Cayapa Indians depends, within comparatively easy reach of all. That the flora should be so varied in any given locality, and that any given species should be so generally distributed, is due to the almost identical climate, soil, and other environmental conditions throughout the region.

The following is a list of the principal vegetal resources, both indigenous and introduced, employed by the Cayapa:

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

motion is desired, a string with a grip is used. Occasionally a girl may be seen spinning a top, but it is primarily an amusement of the boys.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Buildings

The buildings of the Cayapa may be divided into four classes: the dwelling or regular abode, the rancho or temporary structure, the cane-mill and distillery, and the church, this last, of course, being of modern introduction. All these buildings, except the church, which is at ground level, are pile structures and are constructed according to a single general plan.

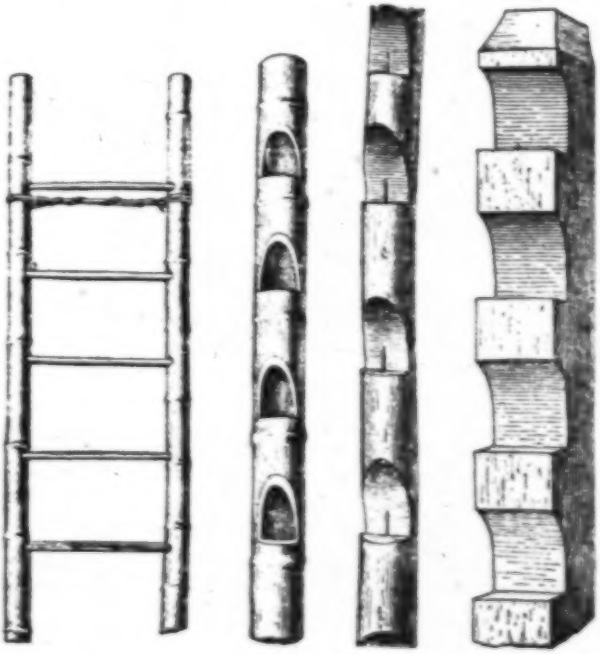
In pls. I-IV are shown typical dwellings. They are always rectangular in ground-plan (pl. XI), and vary in size according to the number of occupants, some reaching large dimensions. The dwelling of which the above-mentioned ground-plan is presented is 87 feet in extreme length and 41 feet in width. Dwellings are almost invariably situated along the river bank, and each is flanked by fields of sugar-cane, plantains, bananas, cacao, pineapples, and other crops. The dwellings are raised four to twelve feet from the ground, and access is gained by means of ladders such as those illustrated in fig. 1, especially those of the types shown in *a* and *d*.

The houses are fairly simple in construction. The framework consists of a number of heavy squared posts of a hard black wood called by the local Spanish name

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 guayacan, in which notches are cut at the level of the [824] floor (pl. XIII, *b*) to hold the stringers that support it. The tops of these posts are also notched for the beams that support the superstructure. The sides of the

[417]



a *b* *c* *d*

FIG. 1.—Types of ladders

[824] building are entirely unenclosed. The roof is steep and is thatched with palm leaves. Sometimes a single roof covers the whole building, as in those structures shown in pls. II, VII; but upon the larger buildings it is ordinarily in two parts, as indicated in pls. X, XI. While the floor in such a structure is continuous, the presence

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

PL. I

342
348

DWELLING AND ADJOINING CANE-MILL

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 46 (A)]

342 PL. II

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

DWELLING SHOWING ROOF EXTENSION AND BAMBOO RIDERS

[p. 46(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

of these two roofs serves to separate the building into two parts: one for the general living and sleeping room, the other for cooking. The structure is thus given the appearance of a double house, although the floors of the two rooms are always at the same level and the house is a unit in every respect except the roof. The double roof serves to exclude the smoke, which rises from the open fire-box in the kitchen, from the living and sleeping room. This division of the roof results in two inner gables, the eaves of which are brought within the area of the house itself (pl. XI, *h*, *i*) and under normal conditions would allow the rain-water to fall upon the floor. To prevent this, a large eaves-trough is made by hollowing out half of the long trunk of a species of palm locally called pambil (Cayapa, bū′iñ-tcī). The roof always projects a considerable distance beyond the edge of the floor, so that rain-water from the eaves falls at a distance of at least three or four feet from the sides of the building, and the eaves extend far enough down to prevent the wind from blowing the water back on the floor. As before stated, the ordinary dwellings have no sides, but their place is partly taken by a more or less elaborate railing, such as that shown in pl. V, which lessens the danger of one accidentally falling from the elevated floor. Raised platforms are frequently constructed at one or more points along the sides of the building. Such platforms are from four to ten feet in length and from four to seven feet in width, as are those shown in pl. XI, *e*. The roof is correspondingly extended to cover them. These platforms are raised usually

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 from four inches to a foot above the level of the main floor, and are most frequently used as sleeping platforms or as storage places for various articles.

352 In this region where the rainfall is so great and where the sun rarely shines, one of the serious problems is that of keeping clothing and other articles dry. To accomplish this, there is constructed at one side, usually at the rear of the house, or behind that portion in which the fire-box is situated, a drying platform, constructed of large bamboo stems laid side by side, without a roof, and ordinarily on or nearly on a level with the main floor. The convex surface of the bamboo permits the water falling upon it to drain readily to the ground, while the impenetrable outer surface of the bamboo permits no rain to be absorbed by it. Thus, in a few minutes after a rain, this raised platform is usually dry enough to permit the spreading upon it of clothing, or [227] of mats for the drying of cacao. At one side of this drying platform is placed a horizontal bamboo pole, usually as long as the platform and raised six or seven feet above it, for use in drying large fish-nets.

[251] On the rafters of the house, and hence high up in the interior, is constructed a platform, or loft (pl. XIV), usually of bamboo, which is used for the storage of old utensils, food, and articles not in daily use. Ordinarily this storage loft does not cover a space equal to more than one-quarter that of the floor of the house itself, and frequently it is much smaller, although always of sufficient capacity to accommodate all the surplus stores of the family.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342

PL. III

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

TYPICAL DWELLINGS ALONG THE RIVER

[p. 48(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

In pl. XI is shown the ground-plan of one of the largest of the Cayapa houses. This is the largest of the four dwellings of the chief of the Punta Venado division, and is commonly called "*la casa grande del Gobernador.*" This structure is situated on the southwestern bank of the Rio Cayapas, at a point just up-stream from the confluence of the Herradura Grande. The house is occupied usually by at least two families, and can comfortably accomodate as many as forty people if necessary. The structural details of this dwelling are typical of those of Cayapa houses in general, although the others are somewhat smaller. This "casa grande" is 87 feet in extreme length by 41 feet in extreme width. The floor may be divided into two areas by the line *h-i*, which represents that along which the two inner gables meet and where the pambil eaves-trough is placed to prevent the water from running in on the floor. The larger floor area (*a*) is the general living and sleeping room, and is 50 by 35 feet, exclusive of the raised projections (*e*), which extend from six to seven feet in each case. This entire floor area is covered by a single large roof. The smaller area (*b*), about 30 feet square, is, as before stated, at the same level as the larger area, but it is covered by a separate roof, and it is here that the fire-box is situated and where all food is prepared and cooked. The fire-box (*c*) is 6 feet 4 inches by 3 feet 9 inches, and is raised about three feet from the floor. The projection (*d*), about 5 feet 6 inches wide and 19 feet 6 inches long, is at the same level as the main floor, but is made of bamboo. Here

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

are kept the water calabashes, and the preparation of food is usually done on or near this space. All houses are provided with a similar place for the storage of the calabashes, although in most cases the space devoted to this purpose is much smaller. Unlike *d*, the several projections marked *e* on the plan are raised from four to twelve inches above the level of the floor. They are from 6 to 7 feet in width, and beginning at the lower left-hand corner of the plan, measure 12½, 8½, 15, 13, 11, and 9 feet, respectively, in length. These serve as storage places and are frequently used at night as places upon which to sleep. The inner edge of each of the areas *d* and *e* is, of course, supported upon the stringers of the main floor, but the outer edge in each case is held by two special posts which rest upon the ground and reach to the roof, which naturally must project beyond the main roof in order to cover the corresponding floor projection. These posts are indicated in the ground-plan by small rectangles, and are usually somewhat smaller than those employed to support the main floor. As shown on the plan, fourteen posts are used to support the main floor, the successive posts along each side being placed from eleven to twelve feet apart. The dimensions of these posts in cross-section are usually about six by nine inches. Access to this house is by means of two ladders (*g*), both of the type shown in fig. 1, *a*. In the case of one of them a special projection (*f*), 3 feet 3 inches by 5 feet 6 inches, has been built as a landing at the top of the ladder.

In pl. XIII is shown an elevation of the same house.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

222
342

DWELLING SHOWING RAILING IN LIEU OF WALLS

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 50 (A)]

3; Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342

THE CARE-WILL

[p. 50(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The essential parts as shown here are the squared house-post (*a*), into the side of which is set, by means of a notch (of the type shown in fig. 4, *b*) a stringer (pl. XIII, *b*) running lengthwise of the house. Upon this rest the bamboo poles (*c*) which support the palm-

a *b*

FIG. 2.—Details of frame construction

wood floor (*d*). This floor is at a height of eight feet nine inches from the ground, into which the house-posts are set to a depth of three or four feet. The house-post projects seven feet above the floor level, and at its top is cut another notch (of the type shown in fig. 4, *a*, and 5) into which is bound another long stringer,

a *b*

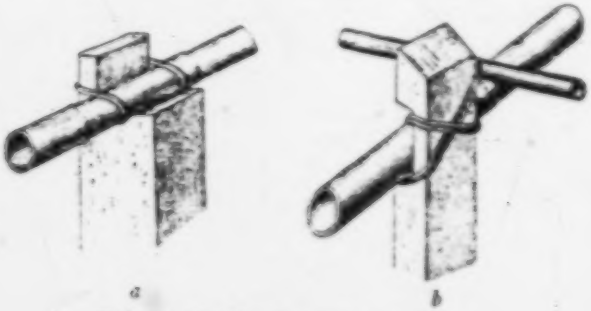
FIG. 3.—Details of frame construction

c, similar to *b*, and which forms the support for the entire superstructure. A corner of such a superstructure is shown in fig. 5, in which the parts are lettered to correspond with those shown in pl. XIII. In fig. 5 the point of observation is within the house. The longitu-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 dinal stringer (*e*) projects three or four feet beyond the house-post, and upon this rests the transverse stringer (*f*) which projects about the same distance beyond

[284]



a *b*

FIG. 4.—Notches for receiving stringers

the former (*e*). Near the end of this projection rests another longitudinal stringer (*g*), upon which rest the lower ends of the rafters forming the side of the roof. In some structures the ends of the rafters of the gable

[284]

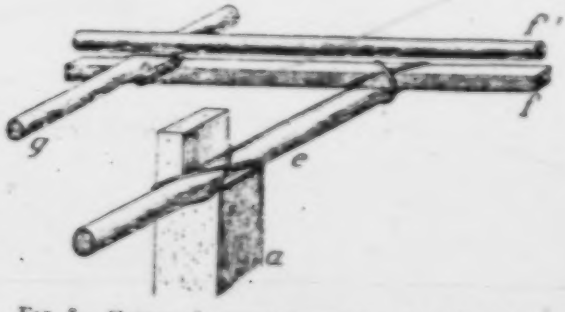
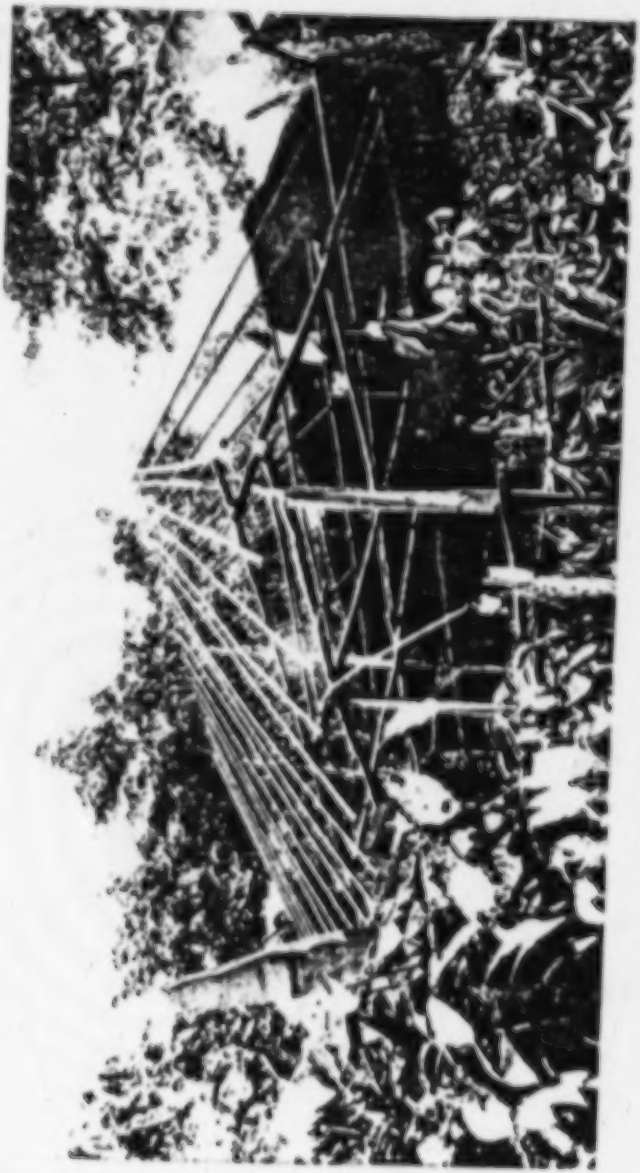


FIG. 5.—Corner of superstructure seen from interior

rest directly upon *f*, as is the case in the large house above mentioned, an elevation of which is illustrated in pl. XIII and also in the unfinished structure shown

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6



342

UNFINISHED HOUSE, SHOWING ROOF STRUCTURE

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p.52(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342
361

VILLAGE OF PUNTA VENADO

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 52(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

in pl. VII. In some other dwellings another transverse beam (fig. 5, *f'*) is used as the support for the gable rafters.

In practically all cases in which two such stringers cross or where a stringer passes through a notch in a post, the parts of such a joint are securely bound together by one or another of the several methods shown in figs. 2–4. The binding material is a durable aerial root, called pitigua in the local Spanish, which is gathered and kept on hand for this purpose and for making certain kinds of basketry. It is kept in coils such as that shown in pl. XCI, 4, and when dry it needs only to be soaked for a short time to render it pliable.

The roof frame of such a building consists of a short central ridge-pole (pl. XIV, *i*), supported by two and in some cases three stout vertical bamboos (*m*) which in turn rest upon a horizontal beam (*j*) running lengthwise through the center of the building. The ridge-pole is of such length as to give the gable roofs a pitch of about forty-five degrees. It varies, therefore, according to the proportionate dimensions of the structure, but is usually from a third to a half as long as the building itself. The bamboos supporting the ridge-pole are, in the case of the large dwelling above mentioned, 13 feet 9 inches in height. The bamboo rafters of the sides of the roof rest directly upon and are bound to this ridge-pole. Those forming each gable are fastened together by means of a palm-wood rod passing through holes near the small upper ends of the rafters. This rod is bound to the two end-rafters of the sides of the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

roof, usually at a point two or three feet down from the ridge-pole. The other ends of these gable rafters are spread fan-like along the end beam (fig. 5, *f*, *f'*) of the superstructure so as to produce a complete frame for the attachment of the thatch of the gable. There is thus left at the top of this gable a small triangular opening, such as that shown in pl. X, which serves as a vent for the smoke from the open fire-box. The thatch is so laid on that it projects about two feet beyond the ends of the side roofs, while the thatch on the gable end just meets the underside of this projection. The projection of the ends of the side roofs in this manner prevents the rain from driving through the thatch along the line upon which the side and gable roofs meet, and it is also sufficient to prevent the entrance of rain through the triangular opening at the extreme top of the gable. The slant of the roof, both gable and side, is usually about forty-five degrees. The slant of the gable is regulated by the length of the short ridge-pole above mentioned. This whole construction of the superstructure of such a building is well illustrated in the unfinished dwelling shown in pl. VII.

The covering of the roof is a thatch of palm-leaves, usually those of the tagua, or ivory-nut palm. The necessity for a constant supply of these leaves, combined with the desire to perpetuate the supply of ivory nuts (since these are a source of considerable wealth), has caused the Cayapa to preserve carefully the groves of these palms. Even single palms growing quite apart from others are conserved. The trees, vines, and under-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

DISTANT VIEW OF PUNTA VENADO

342

[p. 54(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342
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[p. 54 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

growth of the jungle are cut away from time to time around these palms, and about once a year, usually on the occasion of harvesting leaves for a thatch, the crown of leaves is trimmed. Any drooping dead leaves at the base of the crown are thrown away and the thoroughly mature healthy leaves only are selected for the thatch. Thus there remain at the center of this crown a number of young and more tender leaves which serve the needs of the plant itself and prevent damage to it which might otherwise arise from the loss of the mature leaves.

The tagua is a low-growing species of palm, the upper end of the stem, from which the leaves spring, rarely exceeding sixteen feet above the ground. The leaves are therefore easily gathered by means of a short ladder. This, combined with the fact that the tagua produces a very good quality of leaf, makes it almost the only species used for permanent thatch. While several other species of palm produce leaves of durable quality, they grow to such height that it is not expedient in most cases to gather the leaves except by cutting down the palm itself.

The tagua leaves, which reach an average length of about fourteen feet, have stout leaflets extending from the midrib at an angle of perhaps seventy degrees and for a distance of about three feet on each side of the midrib. To prepare the leaves for use, they are split in two along their midribs. Four of these half-leaves are then laid together so that the natural under-surfaces of the leaflets all face the same direction and the midribs are tied together with pitigua at two points.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 [349] 314 A platform of bamboo is next constructed at an elevation of two or three feet from the ground. The split green leaves, prepared as above, are then placed on this platform and a thatch built over and around them so as to protect them completely from the weather. This is done usually at the place where the leaves are cut, probably more as a matter of convenience than for any other reason, since the leaves when green are very heavy but on drying become very light. They are allowed to season here for at least two months, after which they are transported to the point where they are to be used. In some cases, however, the freshly cut leaves are transported at once to the house for which they are intended and there cured.

This seasoning in a dry place is absolutely necessary, since if the leaves were placed on the roof while still green, the constant rains of this region would soon rot [825] them. It is further claimed that if used when green they are soon attacked by insects, especially cockroaches, which, as before mentioned, are very numerous and troublesome.

342 177 The negroes also use the tagua-leaf to a large extent for thatch, and in its preparation they are very strict in their observance of certain rules concerning the phases of the moon. No timber may be felled and no thatch leaves cut in the light of the moon. In the case of timber, it is claimed that it is both subject to the attacks of insects and is rendered much more likely to break or split in working if cut in the light of the moon than if cut in the dark of the moon. Likewise thatch

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[p. 56 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

cut in the light of the moon is practically worthless. The Indians, however, while they have adopted certain of the negro customs, and while they recognize this one to a limited extent, are usually much more governed by necessity and convenience in the cutting of the thatch or the felling of timber than by the phases of the moon. The bundles, or sets, of four half-leaves are applied directly to the bamboo rafters, the midribs of the leaves being quite sufficient to serve as horizontal supports for the thatch. Beginning at the eaves, the bundles are laid in courses in the same manner as are shingles. The natural underside of the leaf is placed uppermost, and the courses are laid with only about six to eight inches of the tips of the leaflets exposed to the weather. Each bundle is securely bound with pitigua, in from two to four places, to the rafters it crosses. By this overlapping process a thick and watertight roof is secured. The leaflets run directly down the slant of the roof, thus naturally tending to conduct the water from one tier of thatch to the next. Further, as above mentioned, the natural undersides of the leaflets are placed uppermost, and each of these leaflets forms a small shallow trough which readily conducts water. The thatch of the large house above referred to and illustrated (pl. XI) is no less than three inches, and in places probably four inches, in thickness. In this structure the northern gable of the section *a* consists of ten rafters covered with fifty-seven courses of thatch. The sides of this section consist of seventeen rafters covered with sixty courses of thatch.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

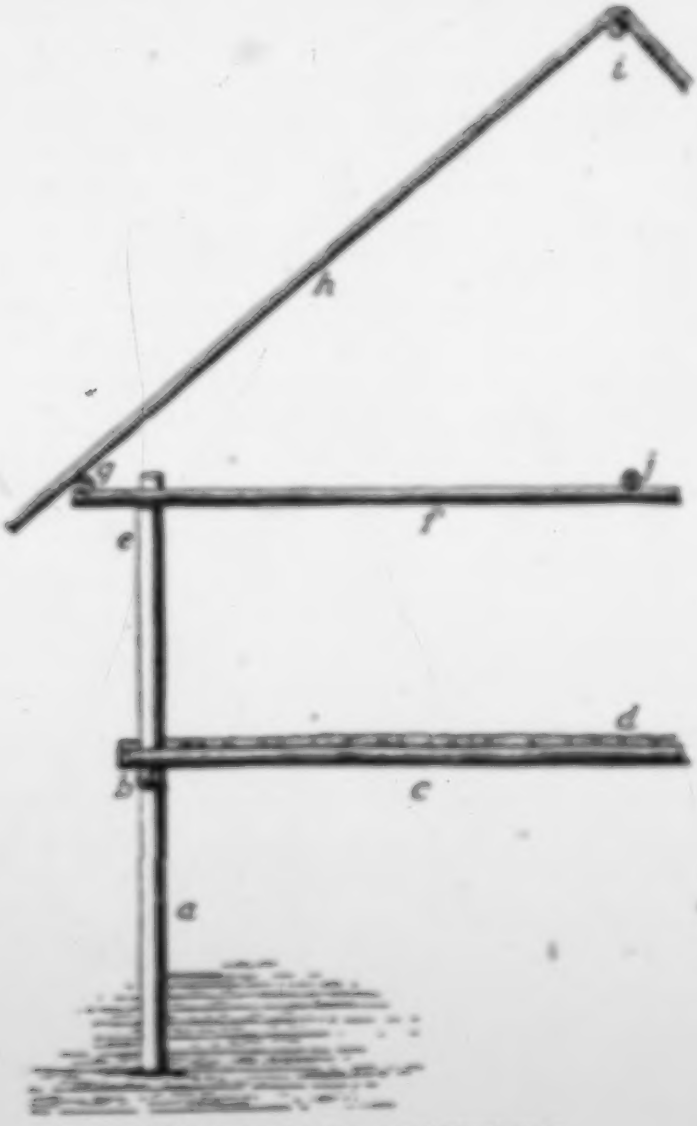
342 The last courses of thatch covering the side roofs are so laid as to overlap one another and to securely cover the ridge-pole. Further, another special course or two are laid along the ridge so as to guard against any possibility of leakage. Surmounting the roof along this ridge-pole is in many cases a rider made of bamboo and consisting of two or more sets of short bamboo poles crossed at the ridge and extending from three to several feet down upon the sides of the roof. To the points where these sets cross are bound a horizontal pole which serves to tie them together and to form them into a strong unit. Such riders may be seen in pls. II, VIII, X.

Though such a roof is carefully made, it is likely to leak a little from time to time as some small portion of the thatch which was not properly cured gives way or as some leaflets are eaten by insects. Such a leak is [824] quickly and effectually mended by placing a green leaf of hoja blanca between the courses of thatch at this point. These tough leaves are from three to four feet long and from twelve to eighteen inches wide, and effectually shed the water. In case, however, a considerable section of the roof becomes leaky, the area affected is re-thatched with tagua-leaves.

Buildings of the second class, the rancho or temporary structure, are built on the same general plan as are the permanent dwellings, except that they are much more [824] rudely constructed. In place of the well-squared, durable house-posts, bamboo is generally used. Further, in lieu of a thatch of a more durable kind of palm-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342



DETAILS OF HOUSE CONSTRUCTION

[p. 38(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

leaf, a covering of the most available material is employed. The material used for this temporary thatch is usually a palm-leaf, but generally of some species of palm which provides a much less durable thatch than that used for the permanent dwelling. 342 [624]

These ranchos serve two purposes almost exclusively, namely, temporary shelters while traveling, and temporary shelters for work which lies too far from home to make daily journeys to and from the regular dwelling profitable. When traveling it is infeasible, not to say dangerous, to sleep upon the ground and without some kind of a roof, owing to the torrential rains which are almost sure to occur during the night, as well as to the danger from poisonous reptiles and other creatures. If, therefore, in traveling, it is impossible to reach a house by night, an early halt is made and a rancho constructed. This is rarely necessary except in case of a long trip over an uninhabited mountain trail, since along the navigable rivers are houses which may be reached in the course of the day's travel. Here the traveler, whoever he may be, is always welcomed according to the custom of the country, the unwritten law of which requires that shelter be given any traveler, whether he be an old acquaintance or a total stranger. When it is necessary, in gathering rubber or pita, in making canoes, or in doing any other work, to journey so far from the permanent dwelling as to make daily travel back and forth unprofitable, a small rancho is built. Such a structure may be used for a short time or for several seasons, it being re-thatched as occasion demands. In the [574] [609] [222]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

village of Punta Venado is such a rancho, built with its floor of bamboo resting almost upon the ground. On the other hand, ranchos that are built for regular temporary shelters such as those above mentioned, have their floors raised from two to four feet from the ground. This rancho in the plaza of the village is shown in pls. CXXXIII-CXXXIV. In the background of pl. CXXXII and pl. CXXXIII distant views are illustrated, and pl. CXXXIV shows it in detail and indicates its special and interesting use. During one day only of the year is this rancho occupied. At the fiesta held during Easter week the entire plaza is carefully cleared of its dense growth of weeds, grass, and vines, thus making access to the rancho possible. Before dawn on Easter Sunday itself, all dancing in the village ceases. The musical instruments are transferred to this rancho and a procession is formed which brings some of the images of saints from the church to the rancho, where they sit in state, as it were, throughout the day, while music is played before them almost constantly. It is said that this is the one day of the year when these saintly images can drink as human beings, and they are frequently offered guarapo, a calabash of this cane juice being placed to their lips as if they were in the act of drinking. During this time people are prohibited from drinking rum in the presence of the images, though they may drink as much guarapo as they desire.

The cane-mill, which is itself an important and a permanent building, is constructed in exactly the same manner as a regular dwelling. It is usually situated

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[177] quest, differs from the other buildings in that it is not raised above the ground and in that it is always enclosed nowadays with lumber obtained from the mills near the mouth of the river. Within the church there is a rude, high altar, with several images of saints; otherwise the building is entirely unfurnished. The front of the church at Pueblo Sapayo Grande is shown in pl. IV, and the fundamental differences in construction between a church and a dwelling are well shown by the contrast between the two buildings in this illustration. [342] The building in the left foreground is the convento, or house of the priest, and is a typical Cayapa dwelling in every respect. The most characteristic features of a church—its lack of piles, its completely enclosed sides, and its roof, the central portion of which is raised some feet above the remainder—are well shown in the illustrations of the church at Punta Venado. This structure, which is the largest of the three churches of the Cayapa, is shown in the background of pl. XXIV and in pls. CCCXII, CCCXIII, CCCXV, and CCCXVII. It is about 80 feet long, 35 feet wide, and about 25 feet high at the ridge of the building. The eaves are about 10 feet above the ground. This building is nearly twice the size of the church at either Pueblo Sapayo Grande or Pueblo San Miguel. Of these two churches the latter is somewhat larger than the former. The church at Punta Venado differs from the other two also in that it has a wooden floor, which, like its sides, is made of sawed lumber. The framework of the church is in all essentials the same as that of a dwelling, except for the fact that the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

283
342
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PITA LEAVES FOR MAKING CORD

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

EASTER FESTIVAL AT PUNTA VENADO

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

342
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[p. 386 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

FIRING "SALVOS" IN THE PLAZA

[p. 358(a)]

MUSIC IN A RANCHO

[P. 355(N)]

342
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796

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

drew their spears and permitted passage through the central space between the house-posts. At all other times no one was permitted to pass between these posts, although frequent services were held throughout the night. 796

On the return of the procession to the church and the redepositing of the images, banners, and torches, the space between the house-posts was closed by the spears and the guard kept as before until about 7:30 A.M., when another service, a "gloria," was chanted. During this service the guards circled about each other, each slowly twirling his spear in the right hand, much as a man may twirl a cane. Toward the close of this service the spearmen mounted guard at each house-post, with the spears held vertically and with the points up, but after its conclusion the guard was no longer maintained.

Third day. Sabado Santo, April 10th

After the early morning ceremony above referred to, nothing other than the chanting of rosarios took place in the pueblo until about noon. A dance was then commenced in one of the houses and continued until nearly dawn of the following morning. [535

Fourth day. Domingo de Pasqual, April eleventh

Shortly before dawn, four images of saints were placed in a small "rancho" in the plaza. Here also were brought the marimba, the drums, and the rattles used in the dance during the night. The exterior of this structure, with the rank growth of grass and weeds in the plaza about 796 342 [534]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

it, is shown in the background of pl. CXXXII. In pl. CXXXIII part of the structure is just visible below the cloud of smoke before the church, and in pl. CXXXVI it is shown in the background. In both of these the plaza is shown completely cleared of vegetation as it appeared during this particular fiesta. The interior of the "rancho" with the instruments and their players is shown in pl. CXXXIV. Here throughout the day, until about 4 P.M., the music was continued almost without cessation, regardless of the fact that services, processions, and feasts were at different times in progress in the pueblo. It is the custom to give the images guarapo to drink on this one day of the year, and this must be done very ceremoniously and with much music. The images themselves are supposed never to drink rum, nor is it drunk in their presence, but great quantities of guarapo are consumed actually by the fiesteros as well as ceremonially by the images. A small calabash is filled with this drink and is held to the lips of the image for some minutes, or if the image is so placed that the calabash cannot be placed to its lips, they are moistened with guarapo by dipping the finger into the liquid. The images having been allowed to imbibe from this calabash, its contents are either thrown on the ground or drunk by some of those present. In addition, other guarapo is constantly drunk by the fiesteros. Almost no rum is drunk in the vicinity of the "rancho," but in case it is desired to drink rum, etiquette requires that a person must turn away from the saints, otherwise they would be displeased at the sight.

At about 8:30 A.M. a service was held in the church,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

[p. 390(a)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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P. CARRIE

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

THE CEREMONIAL WHIPPING

[p. 342(8)]

juice called guarapo in Spanish. 000

Basketry. Fans, baskets, and pouches, are made in the same style and technique as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:183-250). There is a market for the fans which are used for fanning the embers in the firebox when preparing a meal. They are often sold in the coastal towns of San Lorenzo and Esmeraldas as well as in the highland town of Ibarra. The money received for these fans is the property of the woman who made the fans, even though they were sold by her husband. 285 439 [372] [434] [562]

Weapons: The blowgun has disappeared from general use. Only a few specimens are left. All hunting today is done with the escopeta or muzzle-loading shotgun. Serving both as a tool and as a weapon is the machete or /mišta/, and both men and women are quite adept in its use. 411 [224] [412]

Housing.

Probably the cultural feature of the Pacific lowlands which most quickly attracts the eye of the outsider is the type of house used by the rural Negroid population. This is the square or rectangular pile dwelling with four-shed hipped roof of thatch, a peculiar roof crown, and palm-lath floor 342 171

4.Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342
M71

and walls. Building materials consist entirely of wood and leaves gathered from the adjacent forest. This type of pile dwelling is one of the diagnostic traits of the Pacific lowland culture area; its distribution extends from western Darien southward to the Santiago River system in Esmeraldas, where it has been introduced by Colombian immigrants. Like most of the peasant material traits of the lowland Negroid people, their houses appear to be a modified form of an Indian prototype (West 1957:114).

Both structures are a major feature of the cultural landscape of the Cayapas River system as well, but the Indian houses are in marked contrast to the Negro domiciles. The Cayapa houses are nearly always rectangular in ground plan and always larger. Cayapa houses range from approximately ninety feet in length by forty feet in width to perhaps somewhat more than half this size. The piles which are sited into a square shape are always made of Guayacan, a heavy, black hardwood that is said to resist the inroads of termites for about twenty years. Eight to ten of these posts are placed on the posts six to ten feet above the ground. Bamboo stringers are laid through notches but in the Guayacan posts, and they serve as a foundation for the plankwood flooring that is laid down at right angles to the bamboo stringers. Sometimes a split level construction

342
[171]
[354]

to removed. In these cases, it is always the rear of the house that is raised about four or five inches. The rear of the house is the cooking area, and it is here that the firebox is located. A common size for the firebox is four feet by five feet and it is packed with earth to a depth of four to six inches. Three posts form a pot holder within which a fire is contained. There will generally be one such cook hearth for each related family resident in the house. Behind the kitchen area a bamboo ramp about three feet wide and twenty feet long serves the boys and men as a urinal; a hole about three feet out from the house serves the girls, women and infants.

[592]
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The gabled roof is pitched at about a forty-five degree angle and is framed by long single lengths of bamboo. The thatch consists of the long leaves of the Yagua palm which may reach a length of fourteen to sixteen feet. From the midrib of the leaf, a series of leaflets extend out for approximately three feet. Two or three months before roofing, the leaves are cut down and collected in the Yagua patch and placed on a low bamboo rack for drying. Sometimes the Yagua patch is a considerable distance behind the house, in which

[824]

case the leaves are brought to the site by hand. Many times the leaves have to be freighted on the river; for these occasions two canoes are joined by heavy bamboo poles, thus forming a raft, and the leaves are piled on top to a height of four to five feet. Two men then pilot the raft, one from the rear and one from the front. When the site is reached, the raft is tied to a paddle which is thrust into the bank, and the leaves are handed up a human chain composed of five to ten people extending from the raft to the actual house site.

In contrast to the Negro houses Cayapa houses mostly lack walls. Because of this, Cayapa home life is much more open to Negro inspection than is the reverse. In regard to construction, the Cayapa never use wood planking. Negroes, on the other hand, regard wooden planking for the floors and walls as a sign of wealth and try to have at least some planking. The underside of the house for both Negroes and Indians serves as a storage area for the canoes.

When they are off in the bush for several days hunting, or when roughing out a canoe, the Cayapa build

small temporary shelters called by the Spanish term *ranchos*. In general construction these *ranchos* are similar to the permanent houses, but they may be only a foot or two off the ground. As the property holdings of most Cayapa are scattered, many build second permanent houses at other convenient sites and alternate residences as the farming situation dictates. If relatives have a house in the area already, then a new house need not be built, and shelter is taken with the kin. It is possible for a family to have no permanent abode of its own but rather to shift back and forth between relatives who happen to live near their property. This, however, is a very rare occurrence, and in the few cases recorded, I suspect that it is transitory. A "complete" person "*un hombre completo*" to be fully adult should be master of his own house. Pedrito Ahapa, for example, was living with relatives, but he was bewitched and suffered from many illnesses, and in addition his land was "spoiled" by witchcraft. Despite this, he still felt that the best thing for him to do was to get some land elsewhere, and set up an independent household.

Subsistence Activities. Farming is the main occupation

had defecated while nursing and the mother reacted explosively. She shouted at the infant, forcibly removed it from the breast, held it at arms length and shook it back and forth, screaming that the child was bad. Not a sound escaped from the infant, as its head bobbed back and forth. As the mother regained her composure and began to clean the child, it began to howl. In a few minutes it was cleaned . . . she now gave the breast to the infant, which it seized with a frantic intensity . . . (Altschuler 1960: field notes).

Many Cayapa women are undoubtedly fairly matter-of-fact about their infants' excretions but, without being able to count cases, my impression is that the general attitude toward uncontrolled elimination is in the direction of the cited example: that is, the mother or surrogate, when required to clean the child, displays decidedly negative feelings (if only in gestural signal that are clearly communicated to the infant. Every Cayapa house had a causeway about five feet above the ground, which is about three feet wide and perhaps thirty to forty feet long, that runs from the cooking area in the rear out into the semicleared area behind. Adult males and boys walk out to edge of the causeway to urinate. A small hole, placed not very far from the house, is used by the women and girls. Adults and toilet-trained

The Negroes, however, wean their children after one year, and some Cayapa women are beginning to imitate them. Weaning is accomplished by shaming or ridiculing the child, or frightening him with stories of cannibalistic ogres, or applying bitter tasting substances to the nipple.

The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that arise from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. This stems in major part from the fact that the child is generally kept within the confines of the home at these ages. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls: it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. Consequently his movements within the house are restricted and he is effectively blocked off from direct sunlight and on cacao trips he is usually placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is

4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

clearing. He worked alone for perhaps two hours before he was joined unenthusiastically by eight other men. They all worked separately and at a considerable distance from each other. Other men made minor repairs to the church, and still others made small repairs to the houses surrounding the plaza. All of the houses were in very poor repair, but no one felt obliged to undertake the effort required to make really good repairs. The houses were only used during Easter and Christmas, and none of the inhabitants felt sorely pressed.

The second day of Easter saw people busily engaged in building bamboo cross poles to which were fastened candles. That evening, about six, all of the fieleres, dressed in their finery, formed a procession. A Negro carried a large statue of a saint in his arms at the head of the parade. Behind him, forming a straggling line, two and three abreast, came the Cayapa. Some men and women held candles in their hands, some men carried the large bamboo cross-poles with six to eight candles. Some carried the smaller statues of the saints. They walked around the church three times, and then entered. Groups of Negroes were present and they sang hymns in Spanish. The Cayapa like to have the

Once a year, as a rule,

groups of Cayapa will band together for protection against the cutthroats and brigands that infest the coastal regions, load their canoes with as much rubber as they have been able to collect, and set off in small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colombian goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to poaching.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be good for raising pigs. (Remoteness lessens the possibility of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and sapotes. Large sections are planted to the tagua palm that, at one time, was as important economically as the banana is today. The tagua nut is only a minor item in the

diet now, but the leaves are in demand for roofing material. Another cash crop is hardwood trees, but they are not often planted; enterprising individuals cut them out of the unclaimed forest.

Land is seldom held in one large block. It is usually scattered about among other holdings so that, quite often, choice properties are separated by distances involving several day's travel. Many Cayapa have two houses, each built as close as possible to their main holdings. Inevitably, they must spend considerable time away from large sections of their property and, as a result, Negroes often illegally harvest standing crops or, perhaps, plant their own. Negroes may buy land from the Cayapa, but as the banana economy continues to boom, the Indians are more and more reluctant to sell. Sometimes usufruct is rented by the Negro, usually for a share of the profits, but arguments invariably develop. It is said that the Indian is always at a disadvantage in his dealings with the Negro because of the letter's readiness to engage in witchcraft and "spoil" the land for the Indian owner. If several members of an Indian's family sicken or die, after a recent quarrel with a Negro about land, it is assumed that witchcraft has been

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

officials: First, a chief, known as ū'nyt or ū'mi, and now gobernador; second, one or more sub-chiefs, casawa'lyt, now called gobernador nuevo; third, a class which might be termed officers of the law, called tca'itala. All the officers of the present Spanish form of government, other than the gobernador and the gobernador nuevo, are classed under the last head, and in reality all serve the same purposes as did the ancient tca'itala.

The center of government inheres in the chief, no matter where he may reside, and practically all matters, but especially matters of importance, are referred to him.

The Cayapa are separated, geographically and politically, into three divisons, each with its section of the river and its particular village which is used only at times of fiestas or for other gatherings. These divisions are those of Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, these designations being taken for convenience from the names of their respective villages in the order in which they are met in going up the Rio Cayapas. A part of Punta Venado is shown in pl. VIII, while a distant view of the village from the river is shown in pl. IX. This is the largest and most important of the three villages. In pl. X is presented a view of a part of Sapayo Grande, with the chief's house in the left foreground.

In each of these villages the chief has a large house, and it is here that most matters of importance are settled, justice is dispensed, and punishment inflicted. In such a house there is a large special room, at one end of which is a heavy stocks for the confinement of prisoners when necessary. In the Cayapa country the stocks is strictly

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent canefields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported.

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Cayapa* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the priests visit the *Cayapa*.

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive.

In addition to permanent houses, small temporary ranchos are sometimes built when people are far from home. The houses in the "village" are standard structures, but the church follows Spanish ways: it rests on the ground and has walls.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Although *Cayapa* tradition records a period when the people wore blankets and even ponchos, today their clothes are scanty (pl. 59, *bottom*). The men wear a tight, small, white garment, made like bathing trunks, and a thin gaudy shirt of calico, with short and very tight sleeves. On festive occasions vests of European cut and manufacture are frequently donned over the shirt, and so are felt fedoras.

Women wear a long skirt of native cloth, girded with a narrow fringed belt. As in the Highlands, several skirts of different weights are sometimes worn. Head, shoulders, and chest are usually left bare.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

motion is desired, a string with a grip is used. Occasionally a girl may be seen spinning a top, but it is primarily an amusement of the boys.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Buildings

The buildings of the Cayapa may be divided into four classes: the dwelling or regular abode, the rancho or temporary structure, the cane-mill and distillery, and the church, this last, of course, being of modern introduction. All these buildings, except the church, which is at ground level, are pile structures and are constructed according to a single general plan.

In pls. I-IV are shown typical dwellings. They are always rectangular in ground-plan (pl. XI), and vary in size according to the number of occupants, some reaching large dimensions. The dwelling of which the above-mentioned ground-plan is presented is 87 feet in extreme length and 41 feet in width. Dwellings are almost invariably situated along the river bank, and each is flanked by fields of sugar-cane, plantains, bananas, cacao, pineapples, and other crops. The dwellings are raised four to twelve feet from the ground, and access is gained by means of ladders such as those illustrated in fig. 1, especially those of the types shown in *a* and *d*.

The houses are fairly simple in construction. The framework consists of a number of heavy squared posts of a hard black wood called by the local Spanish name

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

346
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PRIEST'S HOUSE AND CHURCH AT BAPAYO GRANDE

[p. 48(b)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

near the permanent dwelling, and is almost always surrounded by cane-fields. The cane-mill is equipped with what may be termed the mill proper, consisting of a pair of large and very heavy rollers with a large hand-wheel used in turning them, the large storage pots for fermenting the cane juice, and the fireplace and pottery still used in distilling the rum made from the fermented juice. The similarity which such a mill bears to an ordinary dwelling is shown in pls. I, II, in each of which the structure to the right is the mill, and that to the left the dwelling. These two illustrations show also how close together the mill and the dwelling are sometimes built. In pl. VI is shown an isolated mill, with a field of young cane in the background. The dwelling of the owner of this cane-mill, illustrated in pl. V, is situated directly opposite on the bank of the river.

The three classes of buildings described are generally isolated from others. The continuously inhabited dwellings are never assembled into villages, but are scattered at intervals along the banks of the stream. There are, however, within the Cayapa territory, three villages, each consisting of a church and a number of houses. These villages are used by the people only when they come together for religious feasts and on other festival occasions. The houses in these villages are never occupied regularly except at such times, though they are constructed in every way like the dwellings occupied permanently by the people as homes.

The church, which of course is a modern institution, having existed only since the time of the Spanish con-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

quest, differs from the other buildings in that it is not raised above the ground and in that it is always enclosed nowadays with lumber obtained from the mills near the mouth of the river. Within the church there is a rude, high altar, with several images of saints; otherwise the building is entirely unfurnished. The front of the church at Pueblo Sapayo Grande is shown in pl. IV, and the fundamental differences in construction between a church and a dwelling are well shown by the contrast between the two buildings in this illustration. The building in the left foreground is the convento, or house of the priest, and is a typical Cayapa dwelling in every respect. The most characteristic features of a church—its lack of piles, its completely enclosed sides, and its roof, the central portion of which is raised some feet above the remainder—are well shown in the illustrations of the church at Punta Venado. This structure, which is the largest of the three churches of the Cayapa, is shown in the background of pl. XXIV and in pls. CXXXII, CXXXIII, CXXXV, and CXXXVII. It is about 80 feet long, 35 feet wide, and about 25 feet high at the ridge of the building. The eaves are about 10 feet above the ground. This building is nearly twice the size of the church at either Pueblo Sapayo Grande or Pueblo San Miguel. Of these two churches the latter is somewhat larger than the former. The church at Punta Venado differs from the other two also in that it has a wooden floor, which, like its sides, is made of sawed lumber. The framework of the church is in all essentials the same as that of a dwelling, except for the fact that the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

greater size of the structure calls for correspondingly larger and stronger timbers and pillars. Furthermore, the fact that the floor is at ground level makes unnecessary the timbers which in the dwelling are required to support the floor.

Dress

At the present time the everyday dress of the men consists chiefly of two pieces: a very small, tight-fitting clout (pl. CXVI, 1-3), similar in appearance to short bathing trunks, and an improvised shirt made of calico or of gaudily figured bandana handkerchiefs. On special occasions, such as at feasts and other gatherings, a man adds to this a hat of European or of American manufacture; necklaces of beads, buttons, and silver coins; wrist-bands and neck-bands of small white buttons; and decorations upon the face and exposed parts of the body in red, yellow, or black paint. These ornaments are used to some extent also in the everyday life of the people. In pls. LIII-LVI are shown various types of necklaces and neck- and wrist-bands, and in pls. XXXIX-LII are illustrated typical paintings of the face, arms, and legs. Some of the men paint very little, others very elaborately; some wear no necklaces or similar decorations, others wear many such ornaments; and still others bedeck themselves in both manners very profusely.

The small trunk is ordinarily made of the same kind of native cloth as is used by the women in their dress. It is cut from a piece woven specially for the purpose

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTEROS AND CHURCH AT PUNTA VERADO

[p.64(F)]

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Canapa SD6

EASTER FESTIVAL AT PUNTA VERADO

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 356(a)]

FIRING "SALVOS" IN THE PLAZA

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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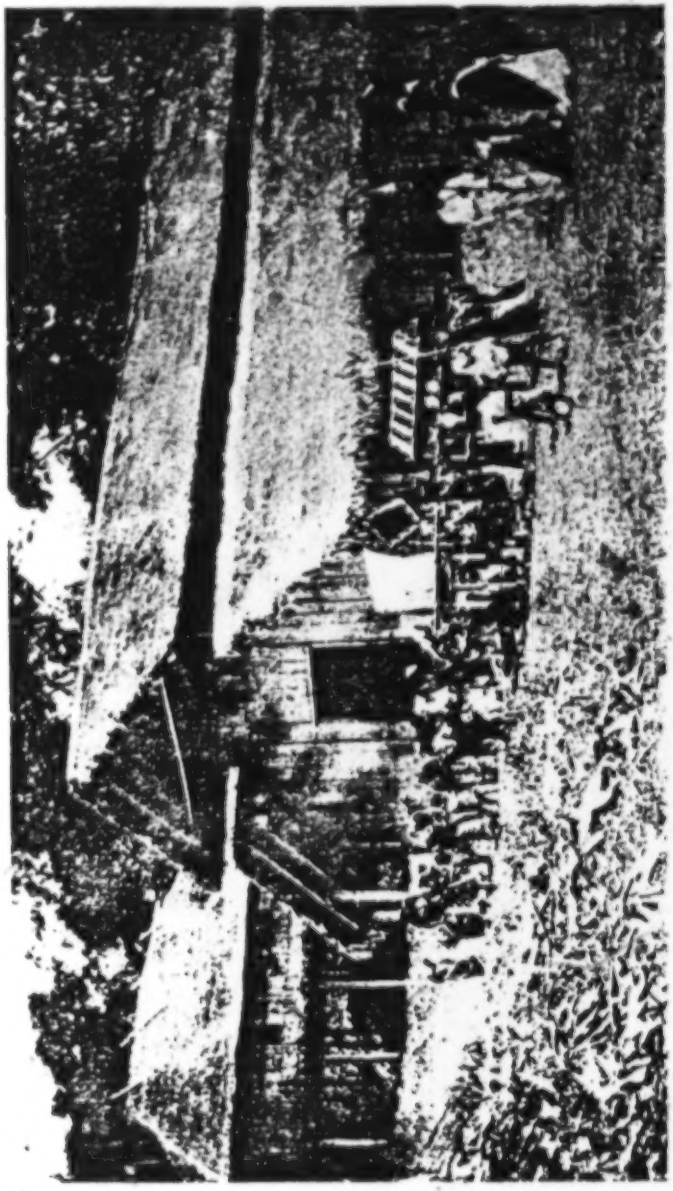
PL. CXXXV



PROCESSION CIRCLING THE PLAZA

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[P. 388(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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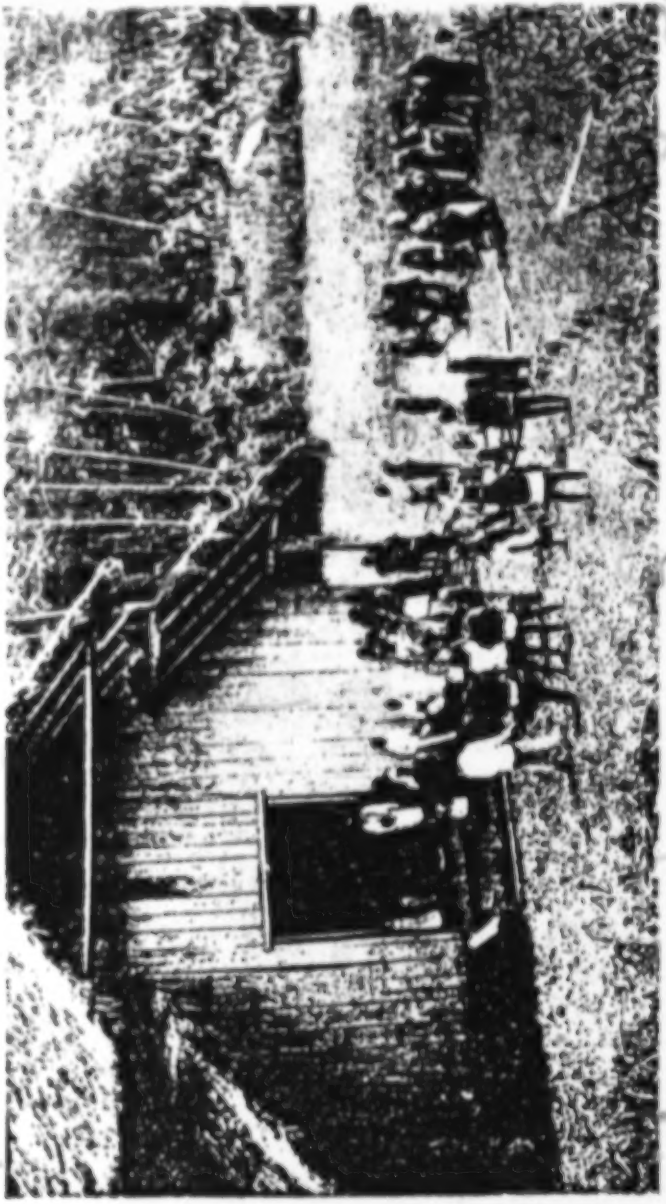
PL. CXXXVII



PROCESSION REENTERING THE CHURCH

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 390(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

before the appointed time a large canoe manned by a deputation of Cayapa is sent by the chief to La Tola, or wherever the priest may happen to be residing at the time, and he is brought up. His arrival at the pueblo is usually preceded by the gathering of practically all the Cayapa who can attend the fiesta, although some stragglers may not appear until the following day.

In each of the three Cayapa villages there is a special house, known by the Spanish term convento ("monastery"), which is reserved for the priest and at no time is ever occupied by anyone else. After establishing himself the priest usually goes directly to the church and holds the first service, and thereafter throughout his stay he is kept busy holding services of one kind or another. Usually two regular services are held each day, besides the various special masses for the repose of the souls of the dead, especially those who have died within the year. In addition to these services the priest officiates at all the marriages, baptisms, and confirmations for the year past. He remains usually from a week to two weeks at each of the three Cayapa villages, depending on the interest of the Indians and the apparent need of his presence.

As in each of the other fiestas described, ofrendas and bodas are held almost every day, and sometimes several in a single day. Except in one particular these are the same as the ofrendas and bodas at the other fiestas and those celebrated between times. On this occasion every one who intends to give a feast usually brings to the morning service in the church a small portion or several small portions of each kind of food to be used at the feast.

will be paid for by the nearest kin of the deceased.

Except for the recent (ca. 1940) colony at Sapallito, each of the three tribal groups has a church constructed in the western manner with plank siding and flooring. The planks for the siding are all placed vertically. The roofing is of thatch and is of split construction; a clerestory space of about two feet runs along the full length of the church on both sides between the upper and lower roofs. Within the church is an altar, and before it, in the Punta Venado Church, is a large crucifix with a carved, realistic Christ figure. Infants are buried inside the church behind the altar, because they are pure and undefiled by sin. Adults are buried in consecrated ground several minutes' walk from the ceremonial center proper. Chiefs are buried just outside of the Church door under the bell which hangs from the projecting lower roof. The ceremonial center is populated by the dead and their spirits. A Cayapa is always buried in the ceremonial center to which he belongs, and he inherits his membership from his father. He may attend fiestas at any of the other centers, but he must be buried where he belongs.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

motion is desired, a string with a grip is used. Occasionally a girl may be seen spinning a top, but it is primarily an amusement of the boys.

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BUILDINGS

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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DWELLING AND ADJOINING CANE-MILL

[p. 46 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 village of Punta Venado is such a rancho, built with its floor of bamboo resting almost upon the ground. On the other hand, ranchos that are built for regular temporary shelters such as those above mentioned, have their floors raised from two to four feet from the ground. This rancho in the plaza of the village is shown in pls. CXXXII-CXXXIV. In the background of pl. CXXXII and pl. CXXXIII distant views are illustrated, and pl. CXXXIV shows it in detail and indicates its special and interesting use. During one day only of the year is 796 this rancho occupied. At the fiesta held during Easter [351] week the entire plaza is carefully cleared of its dense 778 growth of weeds, grass, and vines, thus making access to the rancho possible. Before dawn on Easter Sunday itself, all dancing in the village ceases. The musical instruments are transferred to this rancho and a procession is formed which brings some of the images of saints from the church to the rancho, where they sit in state, as it were, throughout the day, while music is played before them almost constantly. It is said that this is the one day of the year when these saintly images can [272] drink as human beings, and they are frequently offered guarapo, a calabash of this cane juice being placed to [784] their lips as if they were in the act of drinking. During this time people are prohibited from drinking rum in the presence of the images, though they may drink as much guarapo as they desire.

348 The cane-mill, which is itself an important and a permanent building, is constructed in exactly the same manner as a regular dwelling. It is usually situated

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

near the permanent dwelling, and is almost always surrounded by cane-fields. The cane-mill is equipped with what may be termed the mill proper, consisting of a pair of large and very heavy rollers with a large hand-wheel used in turning them, the large storage pots for fermenting the cane juice, and the fireplace and pottery still used in distilling the rum made from the fermented juice. The similarity which such a mill bears to an ordinary dwelling is shown in pls. I, II, in each of which the structure to the right is the mill, and that to the left the dwelling. These two illustrations show also how close together the mill and the dwelling are sometimes built. In pl. VI is shown an isolated mill, with a field of young cane in the background. The dwelling of the owner of this cane-mill, illustrated in pl. V, is situated directly opposite on the bank of the river.

The three classes of buildings described are generally isolated from others. The continuously inhabited dwellings are never assembled into villages, but are scattered at intervals along the banks of the stream. There are, however, within the Cayapa territory, three villages, each consisting of a church and a number of houses. These villages are used by the people only when they come together for religious feasts and on other festival occasions. The houses in these villages are never occupied regularly except at such times, though they are constructed in every way like the dwellings occupied permanently by the people as homes.

The church, which of course is a modern institution, having existed only since the time of the Spanish con-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

rodents, and bats. Furthermore, the plantain has a much superior flavor when gathered green and ripened in a shady and fairly cool place. If allowed to ripen on the plant, the Indians claim that it is insipid.

The banana, which in some respects can hardly be distinguished from the plantain, is cultivated and harvested in precisely the same manner. Of this fruit there are three species: a large yellow, a small yellow, and a small red species; but they are almost never used as human food, being cultivated in nearly as great quantities as are plantains for the purpose of feeding the hogs, of which the Cayapa raise considerable numbers.

Sugar-cane, though introduced, has a native Cayapa name, e'lla, and is one of those products at present most grown by the Indians. Often immediately adjacent to the dwelling, and always within a short distance of it, is a cane-mill and distillery, called tapi'tci ya or ta'pi ya, usually surrounded by comparatively large fields of cane, which thrives especially in low, wet ground. In pls. I, II, are shown cane-mills which are immediately adjacent to the houses of their owners, and to the right in each case glimpses of the adjacent cane-fields may be had. In pl. VI is shown an isolated mill, flanked by its field of young cane. This mill is situated directly across the river from the dwelling of its owner.

After the original planting, a few months only are required before the cane is sufficiently mature to be cut. There are no regular times for the harvesting of the cane, which is usually governed by the necessity for a new

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 A platform of bamboo is next constructed at an
[319] elevation of two or three feet from the ground. The
314 split green leaves, prepared as above, are then placed on this platform and a thatch built over and around them so as to protect them completely from the weather. This is done usually at the place where the leaves are cut, probably more as a matter of convenience than for any other reason, since the leaves when green are very heavy but on drying become very light. They are allowed to season here for at least two months, after which they are transported to the point where they are to be used. In some cases, however, the freshly cut leaves are transported at once to the house for which they are intended and there cured.

This seasoning in a dry place is absolutely necessary, since if the leaves were placed on the roof while still green, the constant rains of this region would soon rot
[325] them. It is further claimed that if used when green they are soon attacked by insects, especially cockroaches, which, as before mentioned, are very numerous and troublesome.

342 The negroes also use the tagua-leaf to a large extent
177 for thatch, and in its preparation they are very strict in their observance of certain rules concerning the phases of the moon. No timber may be felled and no thatch leaves cut in the light of the moon. In the case of timber, it is claimed that it is both subject to the attacks of insects and is rendered much more likely to break or split in working if cut in the light of the moon than if cut in the dark of the moon. Likewise thatch

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 village of Punta Venado is such a rancho, built with its floor of bamboo resting almost upon the ground. On the other hand, ranchos that are built for regular temporary shelters such as those above mentioned, have their floors raised from two to four feet from the ground. This rancho in the plaza of the village is shown in pls. CXXXII-CXXXIV. In the background of pl. CXXXII and pl. CXXXIII distant views are illustrated, and pl. CXXXIV shows it in detail and indicates its special and interesting use. During one day only of the year is 796 this rancho occupied. At the fiesta held during Easter [351] week the entire plaza is carefully cleared of its dense 778 growth of weeds, grass, and vines, thus making access to the rancho possible. Before dawn on Easter Sunday itself, all dancing in the village ceases. The musical instruments are transferred to this rancho and a procession is formed which brings some of the images of saints from the church to the rancho, where they sit in state, as it were, throughout the day, while music is played before them almost constantly. It is said that this is the one day of the year when these saintly images can drink as human beings, and they are frequently offered [272] guarapo, a calabash of this cane juice being placed to [784] their lips as if they were in the act of drinking. During this time people are prohibited from drinking rum in the presence of the images, though they may drink as much guarapo as they desire.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

of the current. Those going up-stream hug the bank as the pilot digs the tip of his oar blade into the bank, or if the channel is shallow enough, into the bed, and then, placing both hands about ten feet up the oar handle, he shoves back, sending the canoe ahead.

Farm land lies at varying distances back from the river. Each house is backed by a clearing which is used for garden crops or sugar cane. The main farm lands extend back from the river from one to three miles. Flat land is at a premium, and the cultivators work up and down the many hills.

Cayapa Physical Appearance. Although no systematic measurements were made, it was apparent from gross observations that Barrett's (1925:408-445) measurements are still valid. He described the Cayapas as short:

> . . . the men averaging only 155 cm. and the women only 146 cm. The range of individual variation among the men, as also among the women, is 14 cm. Among the men there are at least a few individuals who appeared to be somewhat taller than the maximum here given, but as a tribe the Cayapa must be considered somewhat below average in stature (Barrett 1925:409).

They appear to be mostly brachycephalic. The hair is thick, coarse, black and straight; their skin, light

352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
442 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cook-
ing utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunt-
622 ing and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who
rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
776 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes
sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not
interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful
Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

584 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
585 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father
turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the
young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible,
consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They
will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price
for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from
what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted
with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
[911] family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows,
i. e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to
kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting
feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take
place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who
will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but
also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these.
It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to
undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique
will administer a hundred blows (well-counted on fingers and toes)
with the whip. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but
bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his
teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the
test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
[878] can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will
be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato
(corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
[915] ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent canefields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported.

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Cayapa* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the priests visit the *Cayapa*.

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 from four inches to a foot above the level of the main floor, and are most frequently used as sleeping platforms or as storage places for various articles.

352 In this region where the rainfall is so great and where the sun rarely shines, one of the serious problems is that of keeping clothing and other articles dry. To accomplish this, there is constructed at one side, usually at the rear of the house, or behind that portion in which the fire-box is situated, a drying platform, constructed of large bamboo stems laid side by side, without a roof, and ordinarily on or nearly on a level with the main floor. The convex surface of the bamboo permits the water falling upon it to drain readily to the ground, while the impenetrable outer surface of the bamboo permits no rain to be absorbed by it. Thus, in a few minutes after a rain, this raised platform is usually dry enough to permit the spreading upon it of clothing, or [227] of mats for the drying of cacao. At one side of this drying platform is placed a horizontal bamboo pole, usually as long as the platform and raised six or seven feet above it, for use in drying large fish-nets.

[251] On the rafters of the house, and hence high up in the interior, is constructed a platform, or loft (pl. XIV), usually of bamboo, which is used for the storage of old utensils, food, and articles not in daily use. Ordinarily this storage loft does not cover a space equal to more than one-quarter that of the floor of the house itself, and frequently it is much smaller, although always of sufficient capacity to accommodate all the surplus stores of the family.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

In pl. XI is shown the ground-plan of one of the largest of the Cayapa houses. This is the largest of the four dwellings of the chief of the Punta Venado division, and is commonly called "*la casa grande del Gobernador*." This structure is situated on the southwestern bank of the Rio Cayapas, at a point just up-stream from the confluence of the Herradura Grande. The house is occupied usually by at least two families, and can comfortably accomodate as many as forty people if necessary. The structural details of this dwelling are typical of those of Cayapa houses in general, although the others are somewhat smaller. This "casa grande" is 87 feet in extreme length by 41 feet in extreme width. The floor may be divided into two areas by the line *h-i*, which represents that along which the two inner gables meet and where the pambil eaves-trough is placed to prevent the water from running in on the floor. The larger floor area (*a*) is the general living and sleeping room, and is 50 by 35 feet, exclusive of the raised projections (*e*), which extend from six to seven feet in each case. This entire floor area is covered by a single large roof. The smaller area (*b*), about 30 feet square, is, as before stated, at the same level as the larger area, but it is covered by a separate roof, and it is here that the fire-box is situated and where all food is prepared and cooked. The fire-box (*c*) is 6 feet 4 inches by 3 feet 9 inches, and is raised about three feet from the floor. The projection (*d*), about 5 feet 6 inches wide and 19 feet 6 inches long, is at the same level as the main floor, but is made of bamboo. Here

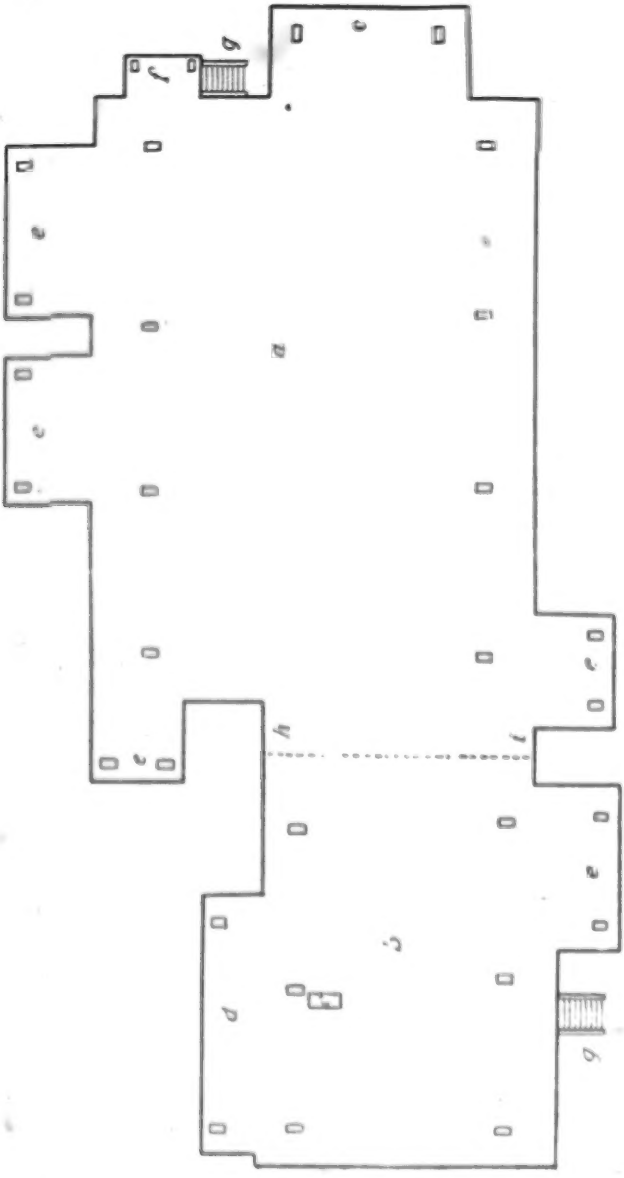
3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

are kept the water calabashes, and the preparation of food is usually done on or near this space. All houses are provided with a similar place for the storage of the calabashes, although in most cases the space devoted to this purpose is much smaller. Unlike *d*, the several projections marked *e* on the plan are raised from four to twelve inches above the level of the floor. They are from 6 to 7 feet in width, and beginning at the lower left-hand corner of the plan, measure 12½, 8½, 15, 13, 11, and 9 feet, respectively, in length. These serve as storage places and are frequently used at night as places upon which to sleep. The inner edge of each of the areas *d* and *e* is, of course, supported upon the stringers of the main floor, but the outer edge in each case is held by two special posts which rest upon the ground and reach to the roof, which naturally must project beyond the main roof in order to cover the corresponding floor projection. These posts are indicated in the ground-plan by small rectangles, and are usually somewhat smaller than those employed to support the main floor. As shown on the plan, fourteen posts are used to support the main floor, the successive posts along each side being placed from eleven to twelve feet apart. The dimensions of these posts in cross-section are usually about six by nine inches. Access to this house is by means of two ladders (*g*), both of the type shown in fig. 1, *a*. In the case of one of them a special projection (*f*), 3 feet 3 inches by 5 feet 6 inches, has been built as a landing at the top of the ladder.

In pl. XIII is shown an elevation of the same house.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

PL. XI



GROUND PLAN OF CHIEF'S HOUSE

BARRETT - CAYAPA INDIANS

352
622

[p. 56 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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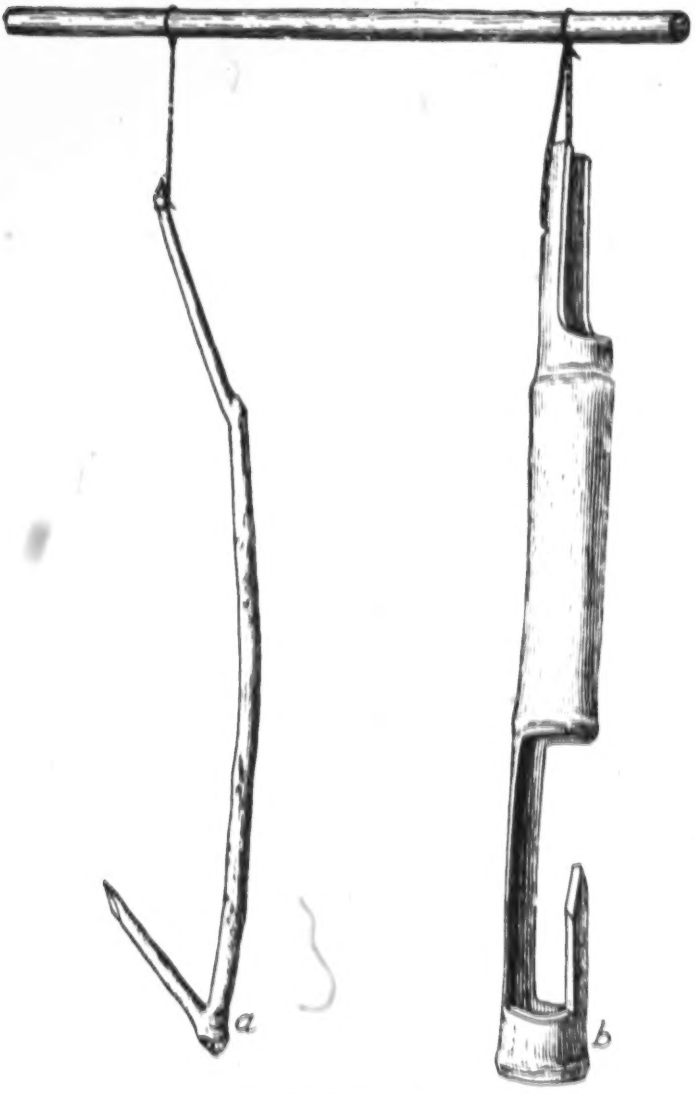

SUSPENSION HOOKS

[p. 56 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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STORAGE PLATFORM OR LOFT

[P. 58 (8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342

DRYING PLATFORM

[p. 1268]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

minutes, usually until the leaf covering is largely, if not entirely black. The covering is then removed and the tamale eaten in that form or after being mashed flat upon the mealing stone. When obtainable, a species of large black beetle (*Rhymchophorus palmarum*), called kū′perū, is used as one of the ingredients in the making of these tamales, and it is said by the Indians to be one of the most toothsome of all their foods.

The method usually employed in preparing other vegetal foods, such as yuca, sweet potatoes, etc., is by boiling in the ordinary manner. Meats and fish are generally boiled in pottery vessels without the covering of leaves above mentioned, and they may also be broiled or baked. Broiling is done in the ordinary manner, by simply placing the food over the fire. In baking, however, a special method is employed. After being properly prepared and cut into small pieces, the meat is wrapped in two thicknesses of the tough green leaf above mentioned. The flat package thus formed is then placed upon the coals, and hot ashes and coals are heaped upon it. Several minutes are usually needed for this baking, and sometimes it is necessary to replenish the coals or to turn the package over to insure proper cooking. This method is much employed in cooking all kinds of meats, fish, shellfish, and crabs and other Crustacea.

In this warm, humid climate, where meat keeps but a very short time, drying and smoking over the fire is much employed by the Cayapa when any considerable quantity of meat or fish is on hand. For this purpose

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

special racks are built above the fire-box, where strips of meat, or, if the animals or birds are small, the entire bodies, are placed to dry and smoke. Sometimes there are as many as three of these racks, one above another, each covering the same amount of space as the fire-box itself. Considerable time is necessary for drying meat in this way, and, when once dried, it must be kept either on the racks or near the fire in order to prevent molding. For drying fish there usually is employed the upper half of a large earthenware jar, which is turned down over the fire and the fish laid across the opening upon green sticks. Being thus close to the fire, a shorter time is sufficient to dry and smoke the fish, but when thus cured they also must be kept on the racks above or elsewhere near the fire-box in order to keep them from molding. A few vegetal products, especially medicinal herbs, are dried in a similar manner, as likewise are two vegetal foods. The inner covering of the tagua or ivory nut, which, when dried and then roasted upon the coals, has an excellent flavor, is used as food to a slight extent. Green plantain is cut crosswise into thin sections and dried thoroughly in the sun, when possible, or over the fire when necessary. It is then ground to powder and mixed with water into a thin gruel, which is used as food for babies when the mother is ill or for other reasons is unable to provide a proper supply of milk.

Boiling is employed also in the preparation of certain vegetal foods in cane juice. While practically all the product of the cane-field is used in making rum, some syrup and sweets are occasionally prepared. Yuca and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

287 imprint of the maul (fig. 6) with which it was beaten as numerous sets of short parallel lines, all at an angle of about forty-five degrees with the perpendicular. Bark cloth is never decorated in any way and is strictly utilitarian. It serves almost exclusively as a sleeping [352 513] mat, and constitutes, together with a mosquito canopy and a thin cotton sheet used as a cover, all that is considered necessary for a bed. It is used occasionally for wrapping a dismantled loom or for some other special purpose.

The beating of the cloth must be done very carefully in order not to cut or tear apart the fibers, thus making holes in the cloth which render it practically worthless. The fibers naturally criss-cross and interlace in such a manner that when the beating is carefully done the result is a cloth which, while very thin, is at the same time very firm. If for any reason, however, a hole does appear in the cloth during the process of beating, it may be mended by simply placing over it a piece of bark of sufficient size to somewhat more than cover it and beating this in. The beating mixes the fibers of the patch with those of the main fabric in such manner as to make the patch almost as firm as the cloth itself.

415 At the present time some of the most characteristic utensils of the Cayapa are made from calabashes. They 177 claim that in their former life in the mountains these utensils were of pottery and that the calabash came into use among them only after their arrival on the Rio Cayapas. It is said also that there was originally a calabash tree native to this region, but that the two

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

502 pl. LXXIX, instead of down in the canoe itself. A paddler standing down in the canoe ordinarily bears his whole weight upon one foot, the other foot being placed upon the gunwale and thus serving both to steady him and to counterbalance the tendency of the canoe to list toward the side on which he is paddling. The stroke of the man's paddle is, by virtue of its length, a long, slow sweep, the blade only being immersed. On reaching the end of a stroke, the paddle is swung in an arc out from the canoe over the surface of the water and again dipped gently and without splashing. The stroke of the woman's paddle, on the other hand, is, by virtue of the shortness of its handle, a short and rather jerky stroke, and she ordinarily takes three or four such strokes and then rests for a moment before taking the next three or four. A man, even when sitting and consequently using only a short length of the handle of his paddle, takes regularly timed strokes, and his whole act of paddling is even and rhythmic.

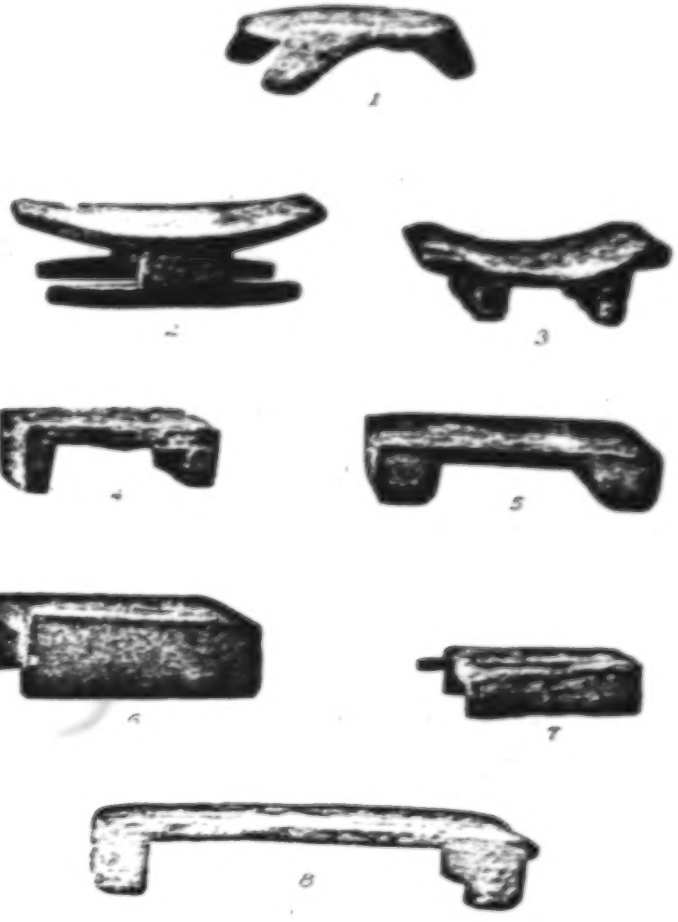
Wooden Implements

322 Implements and various other objects of wood are made to a considerable extent by the Cayapa. These will be treated here as a class, although it will be necessary to include under this head objects devoted to many different uses.

322 352 Perhaps the most interesting of the various wooden objects used by the Cayapa are the seats or benches called tcūmbū'lya. These are of several different types, as shown in pl. LXXXIII, 2-6, 8. They are usually

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

352



WOODEN SEATS AND BASES

[p. 154 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

about six inches and never more than eight inches in height, are from six to nine inches in width, and from a foot to two feet in length. They are always hewn from a single block of wood and generally have two supporting surfaces. 322 352

In the most common form these supporting surfaces are narrow lines running with the grain of the wood and therefore along the long sides of the seat. This type of seat, an example of which is shown in fig. 6 of the plate, is made by simply hollowing out the under-side of the block so that the upper part of the seat proper is from an inch and a half to two inches in thickness, while the sides upon which the seat rests extend to the floor and are usually not more than from one-half to three-quarters of an inch in thickness at their bottoms.

A second form is that in which the supporting surfaces are transverse to the grain of the wood, and are made by cutting out from the middle of the under-part of the block a section of the required length. Examples of this type of seat are shown in figs. 4 and 5 of the same plate. Fig. 5, in which the under-side of the comparatively thin upper part of the seat is perfectly straight, shows the more common of the two forms.

A third form is practically the same as the last mentioned except that the thick transverse supporting surface is cut out in its middle so as to form four cylindrical posts or legs. Such a seat is shown in fig. 8 of the plate. This is an exceptionally long seat and is quite sufficient to support two people.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

352 171 In these three types of seats the upper surface is perfectly flat, but in the two types shown in pl. LXXXIII, 2, 3, this upper surface is more or less concave. Both have forms somewhat suggestive of the large stone seats which are such a unique feature of the archeology of the province of Manabi. This is especially true of the form shown in fig. 2. Here are two long supporting surfaces which rest upon the floor and support two upright pieces which in turn support the upper curved part of the seat. If this is compared with certain of the Manabi stone seats,[13] a striking resemblance is found. Instead of the under-part being cut away, as in the case of this wooden seat, the Manabi stone seat is solid. It has, however, a broad, flat footing comparable with the two long wooden strips upon which the Cayapa seat rests. Upon this broad footing is a very much narrower supporting column on the top of which rests the concave upper part of the seat. This narrow column is carved into an animal form, so that the resemblance of this seat to that of the Cayapa wooden seat is not so great when viewed from the front as it is if seen from the rear. There is now, of course, no means of determining whether there is any connection between these two forms of seat, but the fact that these two similar types exist, the one being part of the remains of an ancient culture and the other a type of seat made and used at present by the Cayapa, is very interesting.

[13] See Saville, M. H., The Antiquities of Manabi, Ecuador, *Contributions to South American Archeology, The George G. Heye Expedition*, vol. II, pl. XXXV, figs. 1–3, New York, 1910.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The wooden seat shown in pl. LXXXIII, 3, is in all essentials the same as that shown in fig. 2 of the same plate, except that the broad support of the two narrow strips at the bottom is not present. The bottom of this seat, like those of the seats shown in figs. 4 and 5, is made by cutting out a transverse section from the middle of the block so that the two supporting surfaces are sections which run transversely to the grain of the wood. In the seat shown in fig. 2, on the other hand, the center is cut out in the opposite direction, that is, with the grain of the wood. Neither of these types of seat with the concave surface is very commonly used.

These wooden seats are found in almost every Cayapa house, although they are not used so frequently as might be expected. Ordinarily if a man wishes to sit down he uses the hammock, which serves primarily as a baby cradle. It is so swung that its ends are not more than ten to twelve feet apart, and he is able to sit almost erect and lean back against the end. Also the raised platforms at the sides of the house serve as seats. The women and children usually sit upon the floor, although occasionally a bench may be used by one of them, especially by a woman who wishes to spin. In large measure, however, such seats are used by visitors or by the men of the house when it is necessary to sit at some particular kind of work, such as sharpening machetes, adzing and planing paddles, and the like.

A wooden device similar in form to these seats is the base upon which the whetstone used for sharpening

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the machete is mounted (pl. LXXXIII, 7). Practically the only difference between this object and a seat such as that shown in fig. 6 of the same plate, is in the presence of the handle at one end. Both the whetstone base and the wooden seat is called tcūmbū'lya.

The whetstones, called tōla'ha, are made of a fine-grained sandstone and are purchased from the settlements down the river. A stone of almost any size is used, but one six by eight or ten inches is most usually employed. It is not fastened to the base, but simply rests upon it in order to bring the stone a few inches from the floor and to make it possible to place the hands on either side lower than the stone when necessary. With this simple apparatus and a hemispherical calabash of water to wet the stone a man will sit and sharpen machetes for a couple of hours at a time, especially when the cane-field is being cleaned or a new area in the bush is being cleared.

In fig. 1 of the plate last referred to is shown another wooden object similar in form to the seats. This is the special wooden base used as a rest upon which to set an earthenware pot as it is being coiled and shaped. Ordinarily these bases consist merely of a flat board of rectangular form. The one here shown is much more elaborate, being circular in outline and having four legs which slant outward from its perimeter; it is also hewn from a single block of wood, as are all the objects represented in this plate.

Another interesting class of wooden objects is dolls, called nawa'wa, made for the amusement of children.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

forms shown in figs. 1-2, 6, are without special name, being known by the generic term pña'ma. Those of the forms represented in figs. 5, 7, 8, are called kanda'rō.

To these earthenware vessels may be added a ninth form, though it can not strictly be considered as a separate type, since it is made by breaking off the lower portion of one of the other forms (fig. 12). It is set over the fire and serves as a kind of chimney to direct the smoke and heat upward to the fish that are laid upon sticks across its mouth for curing. There is also used, though rarely, for making chocolate, a pot with reintrant sides like that shown in fig. 9.

The clay, called tū or ñō, used in pottery-making is yellowish-brown in color and is dug from the banks of certain esteros. Usually a considerable quantity is gathered at a time and brought by canoe to the house, where it is worked over to remove stones, sticks, and other impurities. It is then wrapped in leaves and put in a shady place until needed, being moistened with water from time to time. For tempering the pottery there is mixed with the clay a bluish, gritty earth, called lu'c tū, meaning literally "blue earth or clay," which also is found in a few places along the river.

In making pottery, the woman takes a quantity of cleaned clay and again works it over to remove any remaining foreign substances, water being added if necessary to make it plastic. When the clay is of the proper consistency, the bluish, gritty earth above referred to is thoroughly kneaded into it, in quantity equaling perhaps one-tenth that of the clay. This

5: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

tempering material is called tū ya'ndū. The mixing of a small quantity of clay is a mere matter of rolling and kneading it in the hands; but if a considerable quantity is required, as in making a large olla, it is usually mixed in a large wooden tray such as that shown in pl. LXII, 4. After thorough kneading, handfuls are torn from the side of the mass and thrown back violently on top of it. This process completed, a small lump of the clay is taken, or a very small, crude pot is made, and immediately baked in the fire-box in the house as a test. 323

To make a small plate-form utensil, one about four inches in diameter, a lump of prepared clay is rolled carefully between the hands to form a smooth sphere. The right thumb is then inserted and the ball of clay is turned about it in such manner as to make a depression in the center. Then by constantly pressing between the thumb and the fingers as the ball is rotated, the depression is gradually enlarged until finally the bottom and sides of the pot, of even thickness, are formed. If the vessel is very small, this work may all be done upon the palm of the left hand, but if it is of medium or large size, a board, ten or twelve by fifteen or eighteen inches (pl. LXXXVIII), or other flat object is used in order that the vessel may readily be turned. Occasionally the wooden base is elaborately made, as that shown in pl. LXXXIII, 1, which is circular, has four legs, and resembles in some respects the wooden benches before described. Its special use, however, is that of a rest for the larger pieces of pottery, and it is claimed by the Cayapa that it was rarely or never used as a seat. [413] 352

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

work is still more apparent than in the one here referred to, because these composite, wide elements are made to pass under and over one another several times instead of only once. This process is never employed except at the starting point of this form of basket.

In detail the technics employed by the Cayapa in their basketry are as described below. Further, in addition to its use in basketry, twilling is employed in making mats and fans, and wicker is used in certain burden-bands and in fan-handles.

WICKERWORK

Wickerwork, the simplest of the two-element technics, consists of the passing of a single active or woof element over and under successive passive or warp elements. The Cayapa employ this technic almost solely in connection with the material derived from the aerial root called pitigua and for the making of five forms of basketry: a burden-basket, a shallow rectangular basket, a bottle-shape bait basket, a more or less globose basket used in carrying fruits and as a general household utensil, and a long tubular basket used especially as a receptacle for spindles. Examples of burden-baskets are shown in pl. XCII, 4, 7, while the other forms are illustrated respectively in pl. XCIII, 1, 3, 4, 12.

Ordinarily the Cayapa wickerwork is comparatively tightly woven, as is shown in illustrations referred to. There are, however, two special types of wicker basket which are open in their technic. Both are made for the purpose of allowing water to pass readily through them, being used especially as cages for live crayfish which are

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

[415] 285 [352] baskets (pl. XCIII, 8), used as receptacles for spindles; mats (pl. CVI, 1, 2); fans (pl. CIV); and rings used as rests for calabashes (fig. 13). In all of these the material used is the bark of the fan-leaf palm, locally called pambil. But one type of basket has been encountered in which this technic is found in combination with another material: this is a square-bottomed, cylindrical basket similar in form to that shown in pl. XCII, 3, and is made of pitigua. A section of the side and border of this basket is shown in pl. XCIV, 6.

285 The manipulation of the elements in twilling varies considerably in Cayapa basketry. There are three fundamental methods of handling these elements, as follows: (1) A method by which one element passes over two and under two of the elements which run in the opposite direction (pl. XCIV, 3); (2) a method by which it passes in a similar manner over three and under three (pl. XCIII, 6, 10); (3) a method in which an element passes over seven and under one (pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 8, 11; and pl. XCIV, 5). [177] The last form is said to have been introduced among the Cayapa by the Indians of Colombia, and in substantiation of this it may be noted that the few Cholo who now live on the Rio Cayapas use this form of twilling extensively. The two simpler forms of twilling, so far as could be ascertained, have been long in use among the Cayapa.

In case no design is attempted, as in the basket shown in pl. XCIII, 11, or a simple design be desired, as in the baskets shown in the same plate, 6, 10, and pl. XCIV, 2, 3, these fundamental methods of handling the elements are not varied throughout the basket. If, on the other

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

ends of all the elements are cut off in the same manner as was done in making the end with which the mat was begun.

Mats of this kind are most frequently used by the Cayapa in the hammocks which serve as cradles. A small mat is placed crosswise in the hammock and holds its edges apart; the baby is then laid upon this mat and swung in the hammock as a cradle. Large mats are occasionally used as beds, but for this purpose bark cloth is preferred. An important use for mats also is as a drying surface upon which to spread cacao. In canoeing, a large mat serves as a canopy or sun covering for small children or for an invalid. If its ends are placed just inside the gunwales of the canoe, bow upward, a mat forms a convenient and very serviceable canopy by virtue of its natural stiffness. An instance of such a use is shown in pl. LXXX.

SPINNING

As was mentioned in speaking of agricultural products, the Cayapa raise considerable quantities of cotton, that is to say, all the cotton needed for weaving the cloth used for their mantas and clouts and for the belts used to hold the mantas in place. No one family raises any considerable number of plants, since a single plant produces almost continuously the year round and aggregates in the course of a year a considerable quantity of bolls. These plants are grown in any convenient place near the house or on the edge of a field of cane or of a grove of chocolate trees.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

several other cords are completed, these are added to the braids at the ends. Thus by adding group after group of these braids, when the whole bundle of cords is completed and both its ends are braided it forms a skein of cords which appears like that shown in pl. CXVIII, 3. The skein is kept in this form and the individual cords are extracted from its middle. This tends to pull backward and to loosen the braids at the two ends of the bundle and thus easily to free the ends of the individual cord from the braids.

The other kind of string obtained from the bark of the tree called in Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa señgī'lya, is made in a manner similar to that employed in making pita string. The fibers used in making this string are obtained by beating out the bark by the method employed in making bark cloth. After being washed, as in the case of bark cloth also, these fibers are dried, folded, and bound into bundles (pl. CXIX, 2). When needed, the sheets are taken from the bundle and the fibers are separated and twisted into a heavy and rather loose cord which serves very well for making a hammock or as the main cable of a trot-line (pl. CXIX, 1), but otherwise is little used. The string bears the same Cayapa name as the tree itself, and its primary use is for hammocks, which are woven with the same technic as are fish-nets, shortly to be described. The meshes are, however, extremely large and are made without the aid of a mesh-stick, being kept sufficiently even by the eye alone.

The Cayapa do not splice cords by twisting together the fibers at their ends, as is done by some Indians. An individual pita cord is usually from ten to sixteen feet

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

designed for their own use. In every instance these old-type designs are geometric, but the newer ones are usually realistic, depicting mammals, human beings, and other realistic objects.

In carving, the dolls are entirely realistic, as is shown in pl. LXXXIV, and depicting, the dog, alligator, bird, and especially the human form. In the last instance care is usually taken to indicate the sex. In paddle handles, on the other hand, the forms are usually simple and are always geometric, as is shown in pl. LXXVI. They have no special names. Even in the case of the elaborately carved handle shown in fig. 9 of the plate, no name was given for any of the designs. The same holds true of the designs in the face-painting sticks depicted in pl. CXXI–CXXII.

Closely related to ornamental carving are the wooden seats shown in pl. LXXXIII, some of which receive ornamental treatment certainly not demanded by utilitarian considerations. From comparison with similar objects of South and Central America it seems probable that in these seats, especially the forms shown in figs. 2 and 3, there lies a striking connection of the Cayapa culture with that of a number of other tribes in these regions. As has been shown by Professor Saville,[15] the archeological range of these objects is extensive, the most elaborate among them being the large stone seats from Manabi, carved to represent jaguars.

On the surfaces of calabash utensils are found the only incised designs in use among the Cayapa. These are

[15] See page 156, note.

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The paddle is rubbed down with abrasive leaves called /l^{y}ápis háki/. In working the blade of the paddle, a longitudinal ridge is left on both surfaces:

> Along this line the blade reaches a thickness of about three-quarters of an inch. At each side of these medial lines the blade is hollowed out very much after the fashion of a hollow-ground razor; otherwise its thickness is fairly uniform. The thickness of the blade decreases slightly toward the edge, so that the edge itself at the greatest width of the blade rarely exceeds three-sixteenths of an inch in thickness, and it may be as thin as an eighth of an inch.
>
> The handles or poles of the paddles are ordinarily from an inch to an inch and three quarters in diameter and are almost perfectly cylindrical. They taper slightly from the blade to the upper end, or what may be called the grip. In a woman's paddle this end may be truly called the grip, and it is usually notched in more or less of a fish tail form, . . . In the case of a man's paddle, however, a purely ornamental tip is put on the end, which is almost never touched in paddling (Barrett 1925:149-150).

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352 ●

Benches: /cˇumbúl^{y}a/. These are small seats measuring from four to eight inches in height and from four to nine inches in width. They are always cut from one piece of wood and often have two supporting surfaces. Barrett reports eight types of which I have seen but three. Most commonly these benches are composed of three flat surfaces, less commonly the seating surface is concave. Barrett should be referred to for details of style and construction. (Barrett 1925: 154-157).

spirit is said to reside in each piece. Black stone axes are especially potent, as are pieces of crystal that have been purchased in town. Tobacco is part of every curing; the smoke wafts the illness away from the body. A considerable amount of alcohol is used as well. The witch takes a mouthful of /ǐškala/, 'rum,' and sprays it out of his mouth with a loud "whoosh" at the patient's back; a considerable amount of rum fails to compress as spray, and the witch finishes the curing in an advanced state of inebriation! In general, the manner of effecting a cure is as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:344-352). However, I participated in one that differed considerably. I was told one day that a curing session was in progress at a point not too distant from my house. When I arrived, the cure had apparently been going on for some time. A middle-aged man lay on a reed mat that had been placed on the ground. Alejandro of Encanto sat off to one side leaning back against two parallel sticks that had been thrust into the ground to serve as a backrest. From time to time he alternately whistled short stretches of staccato sounds, that had a decided "blues" quality,

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the last. The grandmother will often remain behind taking care of the young children while the parents are out working. She may punish the children either by admonition or by slapping them. Generally, there seems to be more roughhouse behavior among the children of the household when the grandparent(s) are present than when are just the parents.

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When the in-laws and/or other relatives are resident in the house the same atmosphere tends to prevail. Each nuclear family occupies a section of the house. Sometimes a cubicle is built for sleeping and storing purposes. Meals are prepared separately and consumed individually. No one eats together as a group. The men are served first. One may be in a hammock, another seated on a bench, yet another may be standing off by himself at the front of the house watching the river. They eat where they are. The women and children eat after the men have eaten. They tend to form more of a group because of the proximity of the cooking area and they converse more together while they are eating than the men do.

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Newcomers to the household group such as a new son or daughter-in-law, tend to be shy and quiet. In

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

of these two roofs serves to separate the building into two parts: one for the general living and sleeping room, the other for cooking. The structure is thus given the appearance of a double house, although the floors of the two rooms are always at the same level and the house is a unit in every respect except the roof. The double roof serves to exclude the smoke, which rises from the open fire-box in the kitchen, from the living and sleeping room. This division of the roof results in two inner gables, the eaves of which are brought within the area of the house itself (pl. XI, *h*, *i*) and under normal conditions would allow the rain-water to fall upon the floor. To prevent this, a large eaves-trough is made by hollowing out half of the long trunk of a species of palm locally called pambil (Cayapa, bū′iñ-tcī). The roof always projects a considerable distance beyond the edge of the floor, so that rain-water from the eaves falls at a distance of at least three or four feet from the sides of the building, and the eaves extend far enough down to prevent the wind from blowing the water back on the floor. As before stated, the ordinary dwellings have no sides, but their place is partly taken by a more or less elaborate railing, such as that shown in pl. V, which lessens the danger of one accidentally falling from the elevated floor. Raised platforms are frequently constructed at one or more points along the sides of the building. Such platforms are from four to ten feet in length and from four to seven feet in width, as are those shown in pl. XI, *e*. The roof is correspondingly extended to cover them. These platforms are raised usually

342
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is favored. In these cases, it is always the rear of the house that is raised about four or five inches. The rear of the house is the cooking area, and it is here that the firebox is located. A common size for the firebox is four feet by five feet and it is packed with earth to a depth of four to six inches. Three rocks form a pot holder within which a fire is contained. There will generally be one such rock hearth for each related family resident in the house. Behind the kitchen area a bamboo ramp about three feet wide and twenty feet long serves the boys and men as a urinal; a hole about three feet out from the house serves the girls, women and infants.

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The gabled roof is pitched at about a forty-five degree angle and is framed by long single lengths of bamboo. The thatch consists of the long leaves of the Tagua palm which may reach a length of fourteen to sixteen feet. From the midrib of the leaf, a series of leaflets extend out for approximately three feet. Two or three months before roofing, the leaves are cut down and collected in the Tagua patch and placed on a low bamboo rack for drying. Sometimes the Tagua patch is a considerable distance behind the house, in which

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

of these two roofs serves to separate the building into two parts: one for the general living and sleeping room, the other for cooking. The structure is thus given the appearance of a double house, although the floors of the two rooms are always at the same level and the house is a unit in every respect except the roof. The double roof serves to exclude the smoke, which rises from the open fire-box in the kitchen, from the living and sleeping room. This division of the roof results in two inner gables, the eaves of which are brought within the area of the house itself (pl. XI, *h*, *i*) and under normal conditions would allow the rain-water to fall upon the floor. To prevent this, a large eaves-trough is made by hollowing out half of the long trunk of a species of palm locally called pambil (Cayapa, bū'iñ-tcī). The roof always projects a considerable distance beyond the edge of the floor, so that rain-water from the eaves falls at a distance of at least three or four feet from the sides of the building, and the eaves extend far enough down to prevent the wind from blowing the water back on the floor. As before stated, the ordinary dwellings have no sides, but their place is partly taken by a more or less elaborate railing, such as that shown in pl. V, which lessens the danger of one accidentally falling from the elevated floor. Raised platforms are frequently constructed at one or more points along the sides of the building. Such platforms are from four to ten feet in length and from four to seven feet in width, as are those shown in pl. XI, *e*. The roof is correspondingly extended to cover them. These platforms are raised usually

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

323 After a pot has become fairly dry and hard, its surface receives the final smoothing, and in some cases it is given [824 413] almost a polish. This is done by means of a large discoidal nut, called mūlūmbū mūñge'nū, indigenous to the region. The same nut is used in making tops and also the spinning handles for tops. In pl. LXXXV, 1, 4, it is shown used in these two ways. In smoothing pottery the edge of the nut is wet with saliva and is rubbed back and forth repeatedly over the vessel, thus smoothing the surface and making it more impervious by filling the pores. No slip or paint of any kind is used.

The vessels are now ready for firing. A quantity of wood is gathered and the pots are carried to an open place near the house. Here they are stacked one within another or arranged on the ground in any convenient manner, and a kiln is made by carefully piling wood around and among them. Coals are brought from the fire-box in the house, the pile is ignited, and the fire is carefully watched and more wood added as required. A pottery kiln is shown in pl. LXXXIX, the photograph for which was taken just after the fire was lighted. This firing process requires from twenty minutes to an hour, depending on the number and size of the pots, and the quantity of wood used. As the fire dies down, the pots are left as shown in pl. XC, being now thoroughly fired. The earthenware is generally removed with a pole while still hot, and is tested by tapping gently to detect any possible cracking. If badly cracked the vessels are [356] immediately thrown away, but in the case of large pots that are only slightly cracked, they are often kept and repaired with wax (brea).

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The material of this class next in importance to the rampile is that obtained from the petiole of the hoja blanca, called by the Cayapa fi'ba hakī, signifying, as does the Spanish term, "white leaf." This plant has a long pinnate leaf somewhat similar to that of the banana, but with a long, round, slender, and fairly hard petiole. It derives its name from the fact that the under-surface of the leaf-blade has a thick coating of white bloom. The strips of this material used in basket-making are obtained from the petiole of the leaf in the same manner as are those of the rampile, except that before splitting off the bark it is scraped. This removes a thin, succulent outer coat of light-green, and leaves the inner creamy-white bark which is hard and tough, though very thin. This hoja blanca bark is used chiefly for making small hamper-shape baskets (figs. 15–17) used as receptacles for trinkets, though it is frequently employed in making fans, especially the finer ones. It is much less durable than is the rampile, and for that reason, as also on account of its thinness, it is not adapted to the manufacture of large hampers or of mats.

The blades of the leaves of hoja blanca find a variety of uses, chief among which is as a covering for cargoes of canoes to protect them against rain. The leaves are much tougher than are those of most plants of a similar kind in this region and shed water perfectly. They are used even for repairing leaks in house-thatch, though they are never employed for entirely thatching a permanent building.

Hoja blanca is the only basket material which is ever artificially colored. The strips are stained with red

succession of teachers with varying degrees of competence. In 1960 the school teacher, who was a native of Camerones, began giving the Indian pupils drama lessons. The plays offered always involved Cayapa going to Negroes for advice. Generally, the plots involved marital bickering within the Cayapa families which were then solved by the Negro official. These scenes are always greeted with laughter by the assembled Cayapa who come to watch their children perform. No one would even dream of taking a family quarrel to a Negro official. It is interesting to note however, that one Negro is making some progress toward involving himself in Cayapa affairs. This Negro's name is Pindaleñas, and he presents a rather grotesque appearance.[8] His nose has been entirely destroyed by the ravages of yaws, and his hands are twisted into the shape of talons. This man has the distinction of being the only Negro who speaks Cayapa. Since he lives very near the ceremonial center of Punta Venado, he has been hired by the /ʌnʸʌ/ to keep the church clean. Pindaleñas attends every fiesta and becomes actively interested in most of the legal cases. On several occasions he publically

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might hear a piano or phonograph music from somewhere. That they still must quickly take a look at. The entire crowd rushes busily into the house concerned and up the stairs. Their curiosity is soon satisfied and they come down again and now they must be off quickly so as to be able to make use of the tide current. Their unpainted canoes are 8 to 10 meters (Translator--about 8 to 10 yds.) in length and from 70 to 90 centimeters (Translator--2 1/2 to 3 ft.) in width. They are slim and pleasing in shape and have black colored decorations around the edges. Each one of them accommodates from 5 to 8 persons, close together, with their meager belongings. They paddle along nimbly with their leaf-shaped oars and, while their canoes glide along silently and swiftly, the entire crowd has soon disappeared in the mouth of the Mira River. It will take them two days to reach their hometowns. During the journey they camp in the open over night, somewhere along the shore, in an empty pasture. But they have to be careful. Occasionally they are attacked and robbed there by Negroes, and if they resist, they are murdered in cold blood. Only recently a whole group of them, men, women and children, 14 persons altogether, were most cruelly murdered on the Mira River by some bestial Negroes.

[285] However, our friends will now have arrived home safe and sound on the upper Cayapa River. They are greeted from afar by the friendly smoke of their own hearths. Their villages consist of a few, widely dispersed bamboo huts of a most primitive type. A few uncut tree trunks have simply been rammed into the earth in a rectangle. The floor is at a height of 3 to 4 meters (Translator--ca. 3 to 4 yds.) and is made of split bamboo. Above this, at an equal distance, is the roof made of coconut (?) palm (Steinnusspalme) leaves. That is the entire structure. Since these houses have no walls, it is obvious that doors and windows are not required either. The trunk of the Ceiba trees, light as a cork, into which a few steps are hewn, serves as stairs. (The Ceiba tree produces the silk-like balsa wool, called "Kapok" on the European market.) These stairs are obliquely leaned on, without being fastened anywhere. A hen-roost can be climbed more easily than one of these Cayapa ladders. In order to be somewhat safe from surprises by unwanted visitors, the ladders are drawn up to the living quarters overnight, and when a family goes on a trip, the ladder is thrown into the river and left to float away. After all it is so simple and easy to fetch another Ceiba trunk from the nearby forest on returning and quickly hack a few step-like cuts into it with a chopping knife.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent canefields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported.

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Cayapa* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the priests visit the *Cayapa*.

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive.

In addition to permanent houses, small temporary ranchos are sometimes built when people are far from home. The houses in the "village" are standard structures, but the church follows Spanish ways: it rests on the ground and has walls.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Although *Cayapa* tradition records a period when the people wore blankets and even ponchos, today their clothes are scanty (pl. 59, *bottom*). The men wear a tight, small, white garment, made like bathing trunks, and a thin gaudy shirt of calico, with short and very tight sleeves. On festive occasions vests of European cut and manufacture are frequently donned over the shirt, and so are felt fedoras.

Women wear a long skirt of native cloth, girded with a narrow fringed belt. As in the Highlands, several skirts of different weights are sometimes worn. Head, shoulders, and chest are usually left bare.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

vations extending over a series of years were available, it would probably be found that the precipitation varies considerably from year to year. For instance, according to reports the winter months of 1909–10 were attended by an unprecedented rainfall. On the whole, therefore, it is safe to assume that the observations of the engineers referred to represent a fair average of the precipitation of this region.

In consequence of the great rainfall and the constant saturation of the ground, floods are frequent along all the rivers of this region. These freshets come, of course, only when there is a continuous and an unusually heavy fall of rain for several hours, or, as sometimes happens, for several days. In the latter event the Rio Cayapas rises several feet at its mouth, which is itself upward of a mile wide, and where the lowness of the bordering lands permits the stream to spread over wide areas. Farther up-stream, where the hills confine its waters, the river rises much higher; and at some points, where for considerable distances there are no low flood-plains and where the banks are steep, it rises as high as fifty feet.

As a result of such conditions there has been developed a form of pile-dwelling, the floor of which is raised from six to twelve feet above the ground. The Cayapa always endeavor to build their houses as near the river as possible, on account of their dependence on it as a means of travel and for other purposes. The floods, however, must always be taken into account in selecting a site even for such a pile-dwelling, since at times of such

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

731 floods it not infrequently happens that the waters rise
361 so high as completely to surround the house, and indeed sometimes to within a few inches of its floor.

132 The excessive rainfall naturally produces great humidity,[3] which would be very oppressive were it not for the fact that the sky is almost constantly overcast, so that the full power of the sun is rarely felt in the region. This fortunate circumstance renders the climate, which would otherwise be almost intolerable, very equable and pleasant.

Resources

TREES AND PLANTS

137 By virtue of the climatic conditions above set forth the vegetation of the Cayapa region is typically tropical. Almost every foot of ground is covered by a dense jungle growth comprising many species of trees, palms, shrubs, and smaller plants, and characterized by an abundance of vines and parasitic vegetation. So dense is this growth that it is practically impossible to travel on land even a short distance without the use of a machete.

137 Among the most important and characteristic plants
824 of the region are the various species of palms, many of which are put to use by the Cayapa in one way or another. In the following list[1] of the trees and plants of this section are given the Cayapa and the local Spanish names of those palms which are most useful to the

[3] One of the engineer's reports, above referred to, places the humidity at an average of about 80 per cent.

[1] See cat. 116, pp. 9-11.—AJ

[p. 6]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the means employed to accomplish it, the advantages in this new location over their former mountain habitat resulted in greater ease of agriculture, improved conditions for growing plantains, facility of travel on the river, and proximity to the sea. The change from their former life, which was that of a village community of mountaineers with maize as the staple food, was very considerable. They at present live scattered along the banks of the rivers, each family keeping to itself in large measure, but they still preserve a semblance of their former village life in the three pueblos, Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, each of which is a common meeting place for its particular division of the people.

The provincial and national governments recognize, in a way, the rights of the Indians to full and peaceable possession of their territory, and have endeavored to protect them by enacting laws prohibiting the settlement of other peoples along the Rio Cayapas and its tributaries. The enforcement of these laws, however, has been quite another matter, for the negroes, descendants of former slaves of Colombia and Ecuador, in later years have gradually worked their way up the streams until now their houses extend as far as Corriente Grande. Formerly Cayapa houses were found as far down-stream as Borbon, at the confluence of the Cayapas and Santiago rivers, but at present the house farthest down-stream is only a short distance below the confluence of the Rio Onzole with the Rio Cayapas.

As for the white population of the entire Province of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ethics is very high among the Cayapa themselves, and any case of unfaithfulness, if such were to be discovered among themselves, would be most severely dealt with. About 1897 or 1898 two negroes came to a Cayapa house, drove the men away, and took possession of the premises with the women occupants. On the following day the chief sent down the river a commission which conveyed to the local teniente politico at La Tolita the heads of the negroes, carefully wrapped in leaves of the hoja blanca, as well as the compliments of the chief, and with an explanation as to the reason why the heads had been separated from the bodies. Incidentally the explanation conveyed the intelligence that future offenses of this kind would be punished in like manner. The teniente politico was requested to forward to the governor at Esmeraldas the two heads and the above message, but owing to the rapidity of decomposition in the tropics, it was deemed best to give the governor the benefit of the message only. Fortunately for all parties concerned the governor's reply, it is said, was a complete vindication of the action of the Cayapa. So far as could be learned, no similar crime has been committed since that time.

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DAILY LIFE

The social organization of the Cayapa has a strictly family basis, although according to their own traditions they formerly lived, when at Ibarra and Pueblo Viejo, in village communities. At present each family regularly lives entirely separated from every other family, and usually at a considerable distance from its nearest

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

neighbor, though occasionally two or three houses may be within sight of one another along the river. In no case, however, is there an approach to communal life, each family forming an individual unit with family property-rights. There is, to be sure, a central government, the head of which is an hereditary chief, or *gobernador*, as he is at present called after the Spanish fashion. The purposes of this central government are strictly those of preserving law and order, settling controversies between individuals, and punishing infringements upon recognized social customs. In no case is there any interference by the central government with property or other recognized family rights and privileges.

A family, as the term is here used, consists of husband, wife, children, and dependents. By dependent is meant not necessarily one who is supported by the others, but one not having a house and a family of his own and who may choose to reside with some family, usually a closely related one. These dependents are usually newly-married sons or daughters, or are parents, grandparents, or other relatives of the head of the house or of his wife.

The daily life of the Cayapa is a busy routine for all members of the household, especially the women. In addition to the cooking, keeping the house in order, and attending to the wants of the smaller children, the mother of the household is kept busy spinning, weaving cloth, and making baskets, mats, fans, and pots, to say nothing of the work she does in the care of the crops and the gathering of the wild foods.

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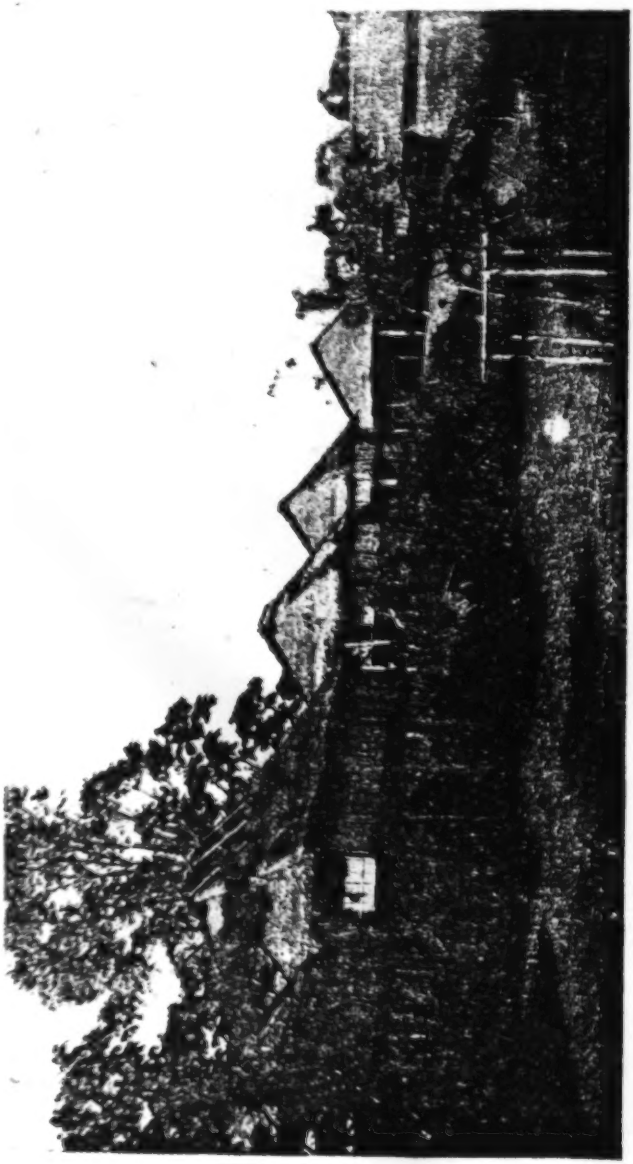
PL. VIII



VILLAGE OF PUNTA VENADO

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 52(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

near the permanent dwelling, and is almost always surrounded by cane-fields. The cane-mill is equipped with what may be termed the mill proper, consisting of a pair of large and very heavy rollers with a large hand-wheel used in turning them, the large storage pots for fermenting the cane juice, and the fireplace and pottery still used in distilling the rum made from the fermented juice. The similarity which such a mill bears to an ordinary dwelling is shown in pls. I, II, in each of which the structure to the right is the mill, and that to the left the dwelling. These two illustrations show also how close together the mill and the dwelling are sometimes built. In pl. VI is shown an isolated mill, with a field of young cane in the background. The dwelling of the owner of this cane-mill, illustrated in pl. V, is situated directly opposite on the bank of the river.

The three classes of buildings described are generally isolated from others. The continuously inhabited dwellings are never assembled into villages, but are scattered at intervals along the banks of the stream. There are, however, within the Cayapa territory, three villages, each consisting of a church and a number of houses. These villages are used by the people only when they come together for religious feasts and on other festival occasions. The houses in these villages are never occupied regularly except at such times, though they are constructed in every way like the dwellings occupied permanently by the people as homes.

The church, which of course is a modern institution, having existed only since the time of the Spanish con-

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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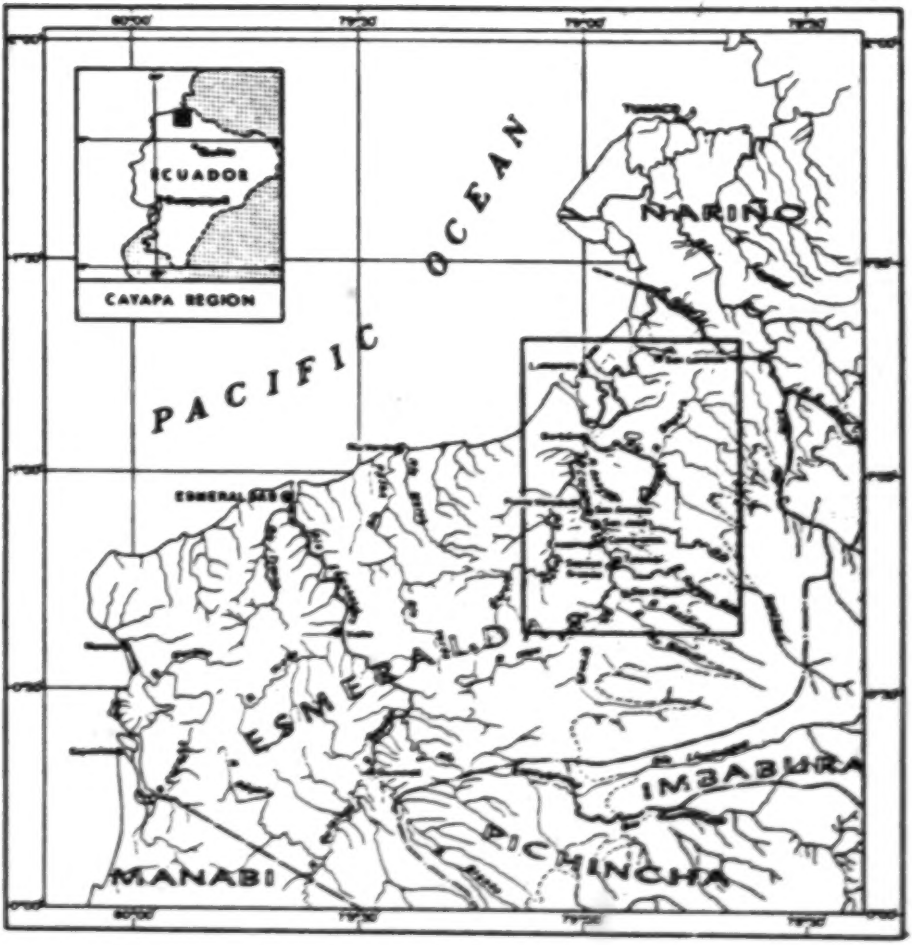

INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES
PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES
PROVINCIAL CAPITALS
VILLAGES
SETTLEMENTS
AREA ABOVE 500 METER CONTOUR

ESMERALDAS PROVINCE, ECUADOR

of the population of the Río Cayapas up to Sapallo Grande was Negro. Isolated Negro enclaves are found today as far up as San Miguel. Negroes tend to live in village settlements, some of which are of political and/or economic importance, while the Cayapa live scattered along the river banks. The town of San José, which lies a few miles below the Río Camerones, is the administrative center for the area. San Antonio, which is located a few miles above Punta Venado, is of considerable commercial importance as it is readily accessible to the small coastal vessels engaged in the banana trade.

The most characteristic feature of the area is its riverine quality, and settlement and movement centers on the rivers for both Indians and Negroes. The large hilly land areas between the rivers are completely uninhabited, and the dense jungle growth makes foot travel exceedingly difficult. Except for short hunting trips or to secure trees for the making of canoes, the jungle or monte is avoided. The river, on the other hand, is open and free. The river scene is seldom a quiet one. People going down stream maneuver their canoes into mid-channel, taking full advantage

small temporary shelters called by the Spanish term ranchos. In general construction these ranchos are similar to the permanent houses, but they may be only a foot or two off the ground. As the property holdings of most Cayapa are scattered, many build second permanent houses at other convenient sites and alternate residences as the farming situation dictates. If relatives have a house in the area already, then a new house need not be built, and shelter is taken with the kin. It is possible for a family to have no permanent abode of its own but rather to shift back and forth between relatives who happen to live near their property. This, however, is a very rare occurrence, and in the few cases recorded, I suspect that it is transitory. A "complete"person "un hombre completo" to be fully adult should be master of his own house. Pedrito Añapa, for example, was living with relatives, but he was bewitched and suffered from many illnesses, and in addition his land was "spoiled" by witchcraft. Despite this, he still felt that the best thing for him to do was to get some land elsewhere, and set up an independent household.

Subsistence Activities. Farming is the main occupation

[The Negroes, however, wean their children after one year, and some Cayapa women are beginning to imitate them.] Weaning is accomplished by shaming or ridiculing the child, or frightening him with stories of cannibalistic ogres, or applying bitter tasting substances to the nipple.

The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that arise from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. This stems in major part from the fact that the child is generally kept within the confines of the home at these ages. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls; it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. Consequently his movements within the house are restricted and he is effectively blocked off from direct sunlight and on canoe trips he is usually placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is

all lined up single file broadside to the altar. There were two bridal couples and the two sets of godparents, each couple clutching a lighted candle. The priest, an Italian, who had just arrived from missionary service in the Congo, told them that candles were not at all needed for the marriage service. The members of the wedding party looked somewhat discomfited, but they maintained their grips on the candles. The priest repeated his admonitions several times. There was no argument, but the Indians just stood there holding their candles in front of them. Finally, the priest, with a generous Italian shrug, said, "If you want to get married with candles, I'll marry you with candles, but you really don't need them." In a small way, Catholic flexibility had met Cayapa rigidity and the priest was beginning his accommodation.

Easter is the most important holiday for the Cayapa. The day before Easter week, people begin arriving at the ceremonial center and set up housekeeping. The following day, most of the people have arrived. There were no special services, and most of the day was spent in clearing the plaza. The /ún^{y}i/ began the work of

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

clearing. He worked alone for perhaps two hours before he was joined unenthusiastically by eight other men. They all worked separately and at a considerable distance from each other. Other men made minor repairs to the church, and still others made small repairs to the houses surrounding the plaza. All of the houses were in very poor repair, but no one felt obliged to undertake the effort required to make really good repairs. The houses were only used during Easter and Christmas, and none of the inhabitants felt sorely pressed.

The second day of Easter saw people busily engaged in building bamboo cross poles to which were fastened candles. That evening, about six, all of the fiesteros, dressed in their finery, formed a procession. A Negro carried a large statue of a saint in his arms at the head of the parade. Behind him, forming a straggling line, two and three abreast, came the Cayapa. Some men and women held candles in their hands, some men carried the large bamboo cross-poles with six to eight candles. Some carried the smaller statues of the saints. They walked around the church three times, and then entered. Groups of Negroes were present and they sang hymns in Spanish. The Cayapa like to have the

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diet now, but the leaves are in demand for roofing material. Another cash crop is hardwood trees, but they are not often planted; enterprising individuals cut them out of the unclaimed forest.

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Land is seldom held in one large block. It is usually scattered about among other holdings so that, quite often, choice properties are separated by distances involving several day's travel. Many Cayapa have two houses, each built as close as possible to their main holdings. Inevitably, they must spend considerable time away from large sections of their property and, as a result, Negroes often illegally harvest standing crops or, perhaps, plant their own. Negroes may buy land from the Cayapa, but as the banana economy continues to boom, the Indians are more and more reluctant to sell. Sometimes usufruct is rented by the Negro, usually for a share of the profits, but arguments invariably develop. It is said that the Indian is always at a disadvantage in his dealings with the Negro because of the latter's readiness to engage in witchcraft and "spoil" the land for the Indian owner. If several members of an Indian's family sicken or die, after a recent quarrel with a Negro about land, it is assumed that witchcraft has been

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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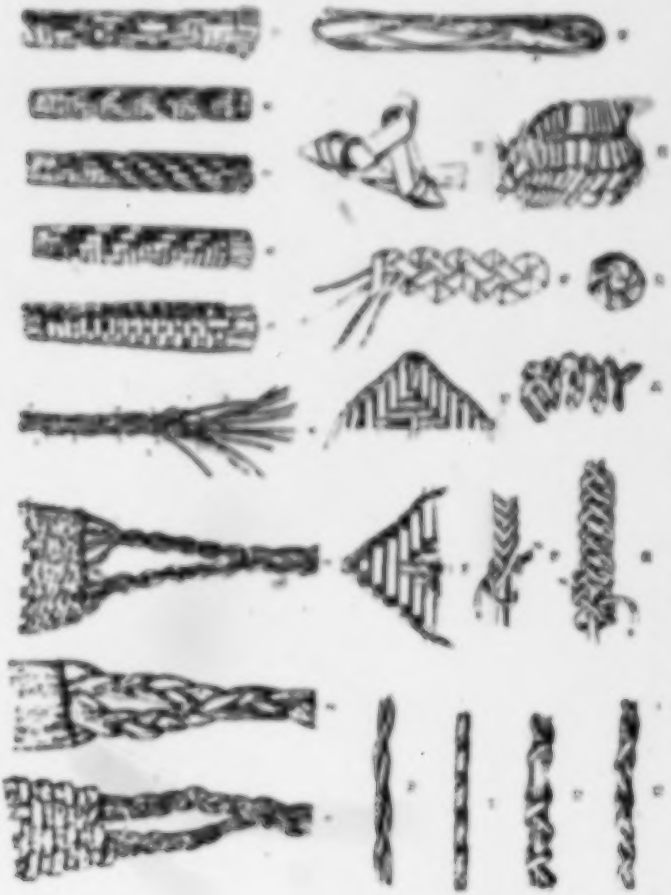

PL. CIII

HANDLES OF BASKETS AND FANS, AND BURDEN-BANDS

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 236 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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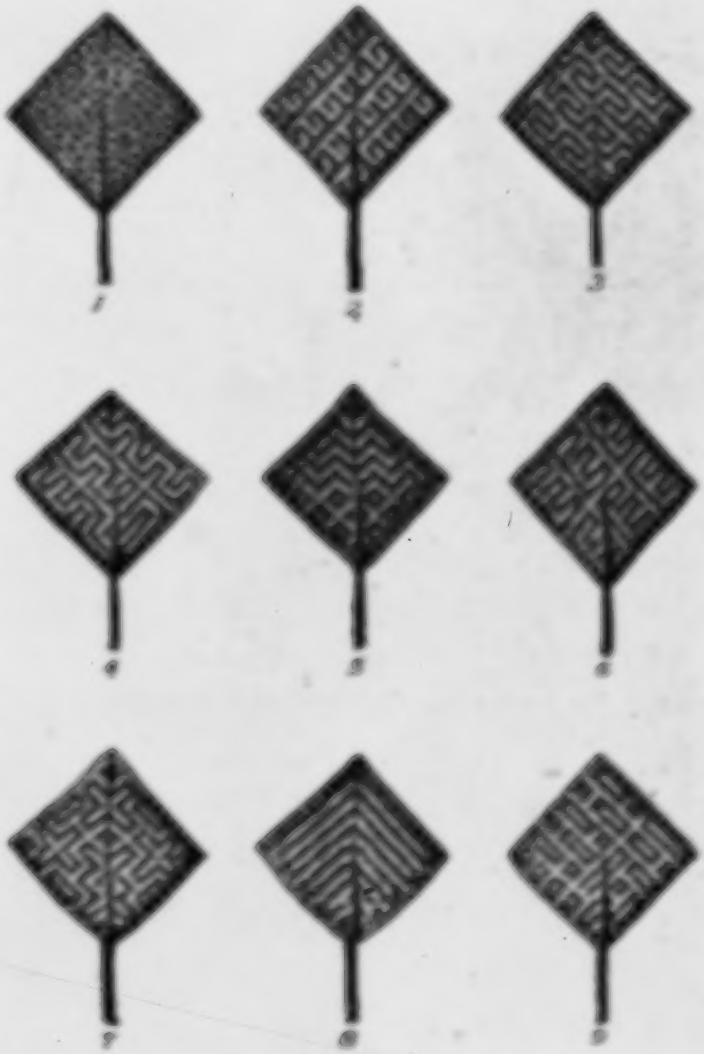

PANS

[p. 236(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

upon the forehead, but is more frequently employed as a shoulder burden-band. 285 482

A second type of burden-band is that shown in pl. CIII, 1, which is made of pitigua and is called by the Cayapa te'tsū tañla. In this the head-band is made in wicker with fairly broad strips of pitigua used as warp and a broad strip of the same material passing back and forth as woof. These warp strips are then split and made in two small braids that later merge into one larger braid as is shown in the illustration last mentioned. This type of burden-band is used almost exclusively in connection with the flaring burden-basket, which is supported by the band passing across the forehead. The remaining two types are made of the slender but very strong fibers of the palma real and differ one from the other only in the technic of the cord. In one instance this cord is simply braided, as in the kuna-kuna bark and the pitigua bands just described. A section of one of these bands called in Cayapa nintcū'a tañla, is shown in pl. CIII, 3. The other band, called lū'ra balya tañla, has a cord which is square in cross-section and is produced by the intricate technic shown in fig. 4 of the same plate. The head-band in each case is made in the same wicker technic in which several palma-real cords are laid side by side to form a unit warp element, and a couple of these same palma-real fibers are placed side by side to form a unit woof element.

FANS

The Cayapa make extensively a special type of fan, called nyē've or nyiwē'wi, used for fanning the fire and 285 293 372

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 to a certain extent for fanning themselves. As is shown
293 in pl. CIV this fan is always square and has a substantial
372 handle extending from one corner. Almost the only
[824] material used for fans is the bark of the petiole of the fan-leaf palm. On rare occasions the bark of the hoja blanca is employed, and such fans almost always show a pattern in red produced by coloring one set of the twilling elements with achote. Both these materials are prepared in exactly the same manner as in making basketry.

285 The blade of the fan is always made in the over-three and under-three form of twilling, while the handle consists of a bundle of the elements which form the blade, this bundle having an outer surface of twilling or wickerwork, as shown in pl. CIII, 5–9. Such fans are usually eight or nine inches square, though they are sometimes larger and frequently smaller. The larger fans are used almost exclusively for fanning the fire, while the smaller ones are used for giving personal comfort.

285 Fans are decorated with a considerable variety of
531 geometric designs of the same character as those found on mats, and in lesser variety on twilled basketry. Pl. CV shows a number of these patterns, which in most instances are without special name and in no case are they symbolic, as has been pointed out in treating the decorative art of the Cayapa.

285 The exact manipulation of the splints used in fan-making is shown in pl. CIII, 14 and 15, which exhibit respectively the uppermost corner and the right-hand corner of the front or upper surface of the fan. In detail the manipulation is as follows: A single long

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXVII	37	crab design white cotton (ne′ pīlya fībañ ūtcūa)
		nim bī′lya (untranslatable)
		crab design technic (ne′ pīlya decīma)
		eye (kapū′ka)
	38	eye (kapū′ka)
		crab eye (ne′ kapūka, nē′lū kapūka)
		dū′lalara kapūka, kapūka dala′la ke′tū (kapū′ka in each of these terms signifies eye. The remaining portions of these terms are untranslatable)
		balya′lyac (untranslatable)
		belt design (tcū′mbī pīlya). (This term belt applies equally to all designs occurring on belts)
	39	No interpretation obtained. Horizontal bars of this kind are usually called lya′tena, which signifies the palm-wood steps of a house ladder. As a matter of fact the design from which this figure was taken was a very small one and it is doubtful if this name would apply
	40	zigzag (dē′tcū)
		i′clabō′ñ (iron used with flint in striking fire)
	41	i′clabō′ñ (iron used with flint in striking fire)
	42	i′clabō′ñ (iron used with flint in striking fire)
		zigzag (dē′tcū)
		The rectangular closed figures are called kū′tca petī; kū′tca signifies dog, but pe′tī is untranslatable. The crossed lines between these rectangular figures are called pala′la, a term of unknown signification
	43	i′clabō′ñ (the iron used with flint in striking fire)

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juice called guarapo in Spanish.

Basketry. Fans, baskets, and pouches, are made in the same style and technique as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:183-230). There is a market for the fans which are used for fanning the embers in the fire-box when preparing a meal. They are often sold in the coastal towns of San Lorenzo and Esmeraldas as well as in the highland town of Ibarra. The money received for these fans is the property of the woman who made the fans, even though they were sold by her husband.

Weapons. The blowgun has disappeared from general use. Only a few specimens are left. All hunting today is done with the escopeta or muzzle-loading shotgun. Serving both as a tool and as a weapon is the machete or /miẽte/, and both men and women are quite adept in its use.

Housing.

Probably the cultural feature of the Pacific lowlands which most quickly attracts the eye of the outsider is the type of house used by the rural Negroid population. This is the square or rectangular pile dwelling with four-shed hipped roof of thatch, a peculiar roof crown, and palm-lath floor

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

585 upon the floor. First, the godfather of the groom, who
535 at the same time is master of ceremonies, danced with the bride; next the groom danced with the godmother of the bride; and finally the chief, followed in order of rank by the other officials, danced with the bride. The groom danced but once during the day, whereas the bride was kept dancing almost constantly. She, however was relieved from time to time by some other member of her family, who danced in her place for a few minutes. During all this time the groom sat at one end of the dance hall with his mouth covered, and conversed with no one except his godfather, and rarely with him. During the intervals between dances the bride sat likewise in silence in an adjoining room. The dancing was kept up during the entire afternoon and
585 night, with a single brief intermission. During this
301 intermission the bride and groom put on new clothing and were decked with pendants and necklaces of silver coins, and with garlands of the yellow flowers so much used by the Cayapa for decorating the images of saints in the church.

585 After donning this finery, the groom resumed his place
535 at the end of the hall and the bride continued her dancing, which lasted till nearly morning. With the coming
[373] of night, light, as usual, was provided in the dance hall by means of candles, small kerosene torches, and native
[77] torches (nĭ'lyū). Throughout the entire period the dance had been the simple one used by the Cayapa, but finally there was danced what is called the "San Juan," a recent importation from the mountain region which appears to be more or less, if not entirely, of Spanish origin.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

fiestas of the Cayapa, illustrates the completeness with which intrusive religious ideas may become engrafted on the beliefs of a primitive people. 796

As celebrated in 1909 at Punta Venado, this fiesta was of five days' duration, and in detail was as follows:

First day. Hueves Santo, April eighth

While many of the fiesteros reached the village on the previous day, a considerable number did not arrive until toward evening of this the first day of the fiesta. By evening, however, all had reached the village, and its population now aggregated about five hundred. On the first day there was no dancing or special feasting, but during the day several religious services were held in the church, consisting of simple "rosarios" said by one or another of the leading men of the village, or by one of the negroes present. The greater part of the day was spent by the men in completely clearing the plaza. Owing to the rapid and rank growth of vegetation, the entire village was overgrown with weeds, grass, shrubs, and vines, although it had been cleared to a considerable extent for the Christmas fiesta.

Second day. Viernes Santo, April ninth

The second day saw also no dancing or special feasting. Services similar to those of the first day were celebrated in the church throughout the day. A large number of banners were made of bandana handkerchiefs and bright-colored cloth, and about twenty-five candle torches of bamboo were constructed. These torches were made by 796 373

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 fastening in pairs, on opposite sides of a long bamboo pole, short joints of bamboo of the proper size to hold a ●373 candle. Some torches had as many as fifteen of these pairs of candle sockets, and in all there were spaces on the torches for upward of five hundred lights. The 796 several stretchers used in carrying the images of saints and also an image of Christ were newly draped and prepared for use in the processions.

At about 7 o'clock P.M. criers were sent out to summon the people to the church for the first of the more important services of the fiesta, which everyone is obliged to attend. By 7:30 all had assembled. The doors were then closed and fastened, and guards placed over them to prevent anyone from leaving during the service. 796 This rite was conducted by the sindico, or warden of the 785 church, assisted by some of the head-men of the village, and at intervals as it progressed first one and then another of the numerous candles about the altar were extinguished until at last but one flame remained. This the sindico took into the vestry behind the altar, leaving the room in utter darkness, whereupon each of the men and boys immediately produced one or two large paddle-shape pieces of tough green bark, which he had kept concealed upon his person, and proceeded to castigate himself severely. The men all wore shirts made of light calico or of bandana handkerchiefs. That they might receive the full force of the punishment, however, each man pulled his shirt up about his neck and struck himself upon the bare back with his paddle. The blows were delivered with great force, making a loud whacking sound, but no severe pain was inflicted, as the paddles

men, and occasionally only one shotgun is available to share among them. 224

Fishing is an important adjunct to the dietary pattern. Fish are dynamited, netted, speared, trapped, drugged, and hooked. Often a man or boy will work his canoe up-stream and then drift slowly down while he plays his hook and line which are tied to a light pole. The fisherman baits his hook with a lively grasshopper, drops his line into the water, then holds his arm motionless except for a slight movement of his wrist which causes the line to move with a sinusoidal motion. This favorite method can only be used when the river is very low. At these times, in the evening, three men or boys go out in a canoe moving slowly along the bank. One man paddles, another holds a flashlight or a pressure lantern, and the third man stands ready with a fish spear. The light attracts multitudes of fish, and the haul is invariably a huge one. Lobster can also be easily trapped when the river is low. A lobster trap, called <u>catanga</u> is baited with plantain. It is set under water alongside a bank that has some protuberance, such as a pile of driftwood. The mouth of the trap is placed so it faces

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

In addition to the foregoing food-producing plants, 248 there are various others that are valuable for other materials which they produce. One of these is cotton, called kū'a. The Cayapa are expert weavers and in 286 large measure produce all their own material. Their [439] textiles are made almost entirely of cotton, the only wool used being that obtained from the Quichua of the higher Andes, or in these days from the yarn of commerce. The yarn used by the Cayapa is always red or blue, and is employed for the sake of the colors, not for the material itself. They grow a white and also a brown cotton, the 248 former being, according to their statements, an introduced species, the latter an indigenous one. These, [386] together with the green and lavender dyes and the two colors of yarn, give them a total of six native colors. Cotton is usually grown from the seed, and requires little attention when once the plants have attained a fair size. Only a few plants of either the white or the brown cotton are grown by any one family, but they bloom perpetually and are sufficient to produce all the raw material needed. The cotton is allowed to mature completely, that is until the bolls have opened and the ripe cotton is nearly ready to fall. It is then gathered (being in the condition shown in pl. CVII, 11), thoroughly dried, and stored away in packages (such as that shown in fig. 12 of the same plate), and wrapped in leaves of the hoja blanca, until needed for spinning. To a limited extent also the [272] cotton plant is used in making a beverage, the leaves being boiled after the manner of tea.

Tobacco is considerably used by the Cayapa, but never 276

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the floor and the stone inverted over it to keep its grinding surface away from the dogs. When again needed it is cleaned by taking a cooked plantain, grinding it upon the stone, and rolling it around thoroughly over the grinding surface. This process takes up all the fragments of plantain left from the previous grinding, and thoroughly cleanses both the mealing stone and the muller. The ridges on the two sides and one end of the mealing stone help to keep the plantain from flying off during this grinding. The lack of a ridge along the second end, however, is of advantage in grinding green corn, which process has already been described.

Now and then the mealing stone and muller are used for treating other products, such as the inner pulp of the fruit of a tree called ma′iñ-tcī, which is ground and mixed with balsa charcoal to make the black face-paint called ma'lyû.

The only other native stone implement is that used as a sinker on the seine and the casting net. These sinkers are simply waterworn pebbles ranging from two to four inches in length and from an inch to two inches in diameter. They are called cūpū′ka, a general term signifying stone, and appear to have no special name. In large measure these pebbles, unworked, are rolled in the leaf called û′tya haki and tied directly to the lower edge of the net; but now and then are found sinkers of such form that they are likely to become detached from the net, hence these are provided with rough notches or even surrounding grooves.

Certain smooth stones, and especially black ones, are used in treating the sick.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The material of this class next in importance to the rampile is that obtained from the petiole of the hoja blanca, called by the Cayapa fī'ba hakī, signifying, as does the Spanish term, "white leaf." This plant has a long pinnate leaf somewhat similar to that of the banana, but with a long, round, slender, and fairly hard petiole. It derives its name from the fact that the under-surface of the leaf-blade has a thick coating of white bloom. The strips of this material used in basket-making are obtained from the petiole of the leaf in the same manner as are those of the rampile, except that before splitting off the bark it is scraped. This removes a thin, succulent outer coat of light-green, and leaves the inner creamy-white bark which is hard and tough, though very thin. This hoja blanca bark is used chiefly for making small hamper-shape baskets (figs. 15–17) used as receptacles for trinkets, though it is frequently employed in making fans, especially the finer ones. It is much less durable than is the rampile, and for that reason, as also on account of its thinness, it is not adapted to the manufacture of large hampers or of mats.

The blades of the leaves of hoja blanca find a variety of uses, chief among which is as a covering for cargoes of canoes to protect them against rain. The leaves are much tougher than are those of most plants of a similar kind in this region and shed water perfectly. They are used even for repairing leaks in house-thatch, though they are never employed for entirely thatching a permanent building.

Hoja blanca is the only basket material which is ever artificially colored. The strips are stained with red

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 386 achote, the plant which produces the red face-paint used by the Cayapa. This coloring matter is rubbed on the stem after it has been scraped down to the hard white layer of the bark and before the bark is stripped from the stem. The colored strips are used occasionally as a means of producing the geometric designs used in small hamper-shape baskets and in fans.

285 824 Three other plants with a habit of growth similar to that of the hoja blanca occasionally furnish materials for the hamper-shape baskets. They are the chocolatilla, called by the Cayapa tcōkōla′te, which yields a brown material; the hoja negra, called e′lūñ hakī; and the crinande, called viñga′tcī. The material in each of these plants comes from the petioles of the leaves. They are obtained and manipulated in the same manner as is that derived from the hoja blanca. None of the three, however, is ever colored.

285 482 [222] As above mentioned, the leaf of a large species of palm, called in Spanish chapil, is used on rare occasions for basket-making. Should a person be out hunting, or for any other reason be at a considerable distance from his house and unexpectedly find some fruit or other commodity which he cares to take home, he may, by securing a couple of the large leaves of the chapil, quickly fashion a temporary burden-basket, such as either of those shown in pl. XCII, 2, 5, in which to carry them. Such a basket is never kept for further use, for as soon as the leaves become dry they are very brittle and entirely worthless.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

thread may also be wound into large balls, but because much smaller quantities of these colors are used the balls are usually smaller. Likewise the red and the blue woolen thread, which is obtained by trade through Indians of the interior mountain region, comes in balls an inch or two in diameter, such as the ball of red woolen yarn shown in pl. CVII, 9.

Threads of four native colors are used by the Cayapa. Two of these, the white and the brown, are the natural colors of the two species of cotton. The lavender is made by dyeing with a pigment obtained from a univalve procured at the ocean, while the green is produced by a dye obtained from the leaf of a small shrub resembling the locust of the temperature zone. In addition to these native colors the red and blue woolen threads obtained through trade with the Indians of the interior are used. In dyeing the cotton either lavender or green it is wound into short skeins, the winding being usually done upon the great toe of one foot and the thumb of the left hand as turning points. Another method is to drive two wooden pegs into a section of plantain or other succulent stem and wind upon these. The skein thus formed is tied at the two ends near the pegs to prevent it from becoming tangled. It is then slipped off the pegs and placed in the dye, and by rubbing and thoroughly working the dye into the skein, an even as well as a fast color is finally obtained. The skeins are then laid out to dry and are later wound into balls and stored away. Pl. CVII, 8, shows one of these skeins after the dyeing is completed.

Dyes of only two other colors are used by the Cayapa.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

One is a jet black obtained by boiling the bark of a certain tree, and is used almost exclusively in the dyeing of old mantas or other pieces of cloth. The other is the red obtained from the achote and is used on rare occasions for coloring the material used in certain baskets and fans.

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WEAVING

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Weaving is always done upon a crude, though fairly elaborate, loom consisting of twelve essential parts. In pl. CIX is shown a photograph of one of these looms as it appeared in use in a Cayapa house. This shows the parts of the loom to fair advantage, but they are even more clearly shown in pl. CX. These parts are as follow:

Lateral uprights, *a*, *b*	= a'ipala
Cross-bars of frame, *c*, *d*	= tyūnlū'ra
Warp guides, *e*, *f*	= ya'ipe
Weaving batten, *g*	= tsē'hwa
Shuttle, *h*	= pī'picalyī
Warp separators, *i*, *j*	= yade'mbū
Head bar, *k*	= yade'mbū
Head stick to which the initial line of weaving is fastened, *l*	
Width gauge, *m*	= ityu'lya

The lateral uprights (*a*, *b*) are two long and comparatively slender poles. One end of each is forked, and each point of the fork is sharpened to a chisel edge. The points of each of these poles are forced through one of the narrow cracks in the palmwood floor of the house and across one of the joists below. The upper end of the pole is bound securely to one of the beams of the house,

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Glossary of Manta Design Names

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104

balt, karna'da. Also said to be the name of a certain crustacean, called in Spanish camaron brava. CXXIV, 55.

balya'lyac (untranslatable). CXXIII, 11; CXXVI, 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 23, 29, 32, 34, 35, 41, 43; CXXVII, 38.

basket. See pū'te.

belt or girdle, tcū'mbī, a term that may be used as part of the name of any design on a belt. CXXV, 44; CXXVI, 16, 17, 21, 28, 42; CXXVII, 21, 38.

bird, pi'tcū. CXXIV, 20, 23, 24, 29, 31, 43; CXXV, 6, 10, 13, 14.

la'pi'tcū. A small black and yellow bird, a good singer, much kept as a pet by the Cayapa. Spanish, pichichu. CXXIV, 44.

tū'mbitcūlit. A small black bird with red beak. CXXIV, 39.

frigate bird, nyambīwa'tū. CXXIV, 34.

boa constrictor, we'sū. CXXVII, 1.

burro, bū'rū. CXXIV, 11.

buzzard, kū'ndūrūrū, petyū'tyū; Spanish, gallinaso. CXXIV 36, 44.

canoe design, kūm bi'lya: kūm, from kū'le, canoe. CXXVI, 46.

centipede's hand, se'pūnde tyapa; hand (not leg) = tyapa'pa. CXXIV, 37; CXXVI, 49.

chicken, walya'pa. CXXIV, 26, 37.

color. Frequently an informant gave as the name of a particular design the name of the color of the material from which it was made. Such names, of course, have no significance in the interpretation of designs, but are of interest in that often they were the only ones obtainable. The names particularly used in this connection were:

te'nda, green thread, from a small shrub called te'nda tcī, the leaves of which provide the pigment used in coloring this thread.

ka'kū, lavender thread, this color being obtained from a small periwinkle-like mollusk.

The names for other colors were almost never used in this manner.

[386]

cow, waga'ra, from Spanish vaca. CXXIII, 35; CXXIV, 10, 15.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Indians. A number of these palms produce foods, and several provide leaves which are used in making house-thatch, while the trunk of one makes a durable flooring for houses. These matters will be taken up more specifically in the discussion of these subjects. 137 824

Another characteristic plant is the giant bamboo, which grows in clumps at frequent intervals along the banks of the rivers, especially along their lower courses. This bamboo often reaches a height of seventy feet or more, and has a basal diameter approximating ten inches. These immense stems serve various useful purposes, among the most important of which may be mentioned that of joists and rafters in house-building. 137 [342]

There is a great variety of trees in the jungle, many of which produce useful woods. Perhaps the most important uses of wood among the Cayapa are in house construction and in canoe-making. In the former the guayacan, which provides the almost indestructible pillars that support the pile structures, is of greatest importance. Several varieties of trees are used in canoe-making, but two or three kinds are preferred to all others. 137 342 396

Another characteristic of the jungle is the association of many species of plant life together in one area. Whereas in the North Temperate zone it is customary to see large tracts of land occupied by a single principal species of tree, such as the pine, in this Ecuadorian region a considerable number of trees of one species growing close together and in such manner as to form anything comparable with a grove is rarely seen. As a 137

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

along these rivers—these are used for hunting or for short trips from the rivers. All the permanent habitations are situated along the banks of the rivers, and to pass from one to another of these, as well as for making trips of greater length, the dug-out canoe, called kā'le, is used. In fact, the canoe is one of the most prominent features of Cayapa life. Everyone begins in early childhood the training which makes him an expert canoeman, and is perfectly at home in a dug-out, whether it be along the smooth sluggish waters of the lower course of the river, in the rapids of the upper course, or out on the ocean coasting to some nearby point.

From the important place the canoe holds in the life of the people, it is natural that much care should be given to its construction and that the art of canoe-making should have reached a high state of perfection. Of the many species of trees in the jungle, only a few produce woods which are hard and tough enough to be suitable for canoe-making. These qualities are found in certain species which have what may be called a criss-cross grain, that is, an interlacing of the wood fiber which makes splitting almost impossible. Though a considerable degree of hardness is required, too great hardness is not desirable. Certain woods, therefore, such as the guayacan, are too hard and heavy to be suitable.

Having found a tree of the desired kind, it is felled with an ax and the canoe is roughly fashioned from a portion of its trunk, as is shown in pl. LXIX, and finally this section is cut loose from the remainder of the tree.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

396

CANOE MAKING
[p. 134 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

396

CANOE-MAKING

p.134(b)7

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

It is then roughly hollowed out with the ax, the sides and bottom being left considerably thicker than is desired in the finished canoe. Frequently it is necessary to do this part of the work at a considerable distance from the river, and even at a considerable elevation above one of the small creeks or esteros tributary to the river. Such was the case with the large canoe shown in pls. LXX, LXXI, which was made at a distance of nearly three miles from the river and two and a half miles from the navigable waters of the nearest estero. Furthermore, the tree from which the canoe was fashioned grew near the top of a ridge about three hundred and fifty feet above the floor of the narrow valley of the estero, and the sides of this ridge were so steep that it was necessary to snub the canoe down to the estero by means of a couple of stout cables. Having worked out such a canoe to approximately its final form, it is turned up on one side and bound to one or two vertical stakes, as shown in pl. LXX. At the same time it is raised a few inches off the ground by means of blocks in order to prevent rotting. It is then allowed to dry and cure in the shade for several weeks.

Finally the owner invites a number of friends to join in hauling the canoe to a point where it may be floated. This task may be a comparatively simple one if the canoe is practically on a level with the river, but if it is at a considerable elevation, much care is needed. Also, the size of the canoe is an important factor. A small canoe may be hauled by one or two persons; but a large one, say one twenty-five or thirty feet in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

483 it does not slide from its course and strike a tree. Finally, when the bottom of the incline is nearly reached, both cables are released and the canoe is allowed to take its course over the remaining short distance to the floor of the valley, its momentum usually carrying it for some yards out on the plain.

Having reached the level of the estero or river, the hauling is now done entirely by hand until the canoe is finally launched. If launched in a small creek, it is often necessary still to haul it by hand for a distance down the creek, since it must be passed over sand-bars and even lifted over large logs, but small ones are always cut away. At last a point is reached where there is sufficient water to float the canoe down to the river. Sometimes, however, it is deemed advisable to haul the canoe only as far as a point on the estero known to be reached by floods; it is then tied to a tree until such time as the back-water of the river extends far enough to allow the canoe to be paddled down to the main stream.

•396 In either case the canoe is finally taken to the house. If it is small, it may be taken into the house, but if a large one, it is more frequently placed under the house [442] or in a nearby grove of palms or trees. It must then be worked and smoothed by means of adz and planes until reduced to the required thickness, and the desired form and finish are obtained, when it is placed in a dry, shady place to season thoroughly before being calked and painted with brea. In adzing the canoe it is placed in a normal upright position and the inner surface

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

adzed first. The inner sides are adzed first across the grain and then diagonally to it, and finally the bottom is adzed in a similar manner. This work is done with a hand-adz such as that shown in fig. 10. 396

This tool is of modern introduction, as indeed are the canoes themselves, as well as the method of their manu- 412 [177] [284]

FIG. 10.—Modern adz used in making canoes

facture. The blade of the adz is of steel and is made by local blacksmiths down the river. The wooden handle, shown in fig. 11, is made by the Cayapa, and is so constructed, with the large projection above and with the notches below, that the blade may be securely bound to it, as is shown in fig. 10, by means of pita-fiber string. The blade is concave, and its edge is usually quite regular and curved, so that, while its full width may be [284]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

412 as great as four inches, generally not more than an inch of the edge is in actual play when a blow is struck. The particular adz here shown has a very uneven edge, due to chipping.

[177] The adz is called aswē'la and kū'le mūcte, both of which terms are derived from the Spanish, the second term signifying "canoe machete." The adz handle is called aswē'la tyapi.

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FIG. 11.—Handle of adz

With this hand-adz repeated light blows are struck along one line after another, the lines being parallel, and perpendicular or diagonal to the grain of the wood. By this means the wood is reduced to uniform thickness and the surfaces are rendered comparatively smooth. The final smoothing of the inside of the canoe is done with the adz, but upon the outer surface and along both the inner and outer edges of the gunwales the adzing is followed usually by more or less smoothing with planes, called sepi'ō or sepi'lyū, made after the fashion of the ordinary carpenter's plane. The sides of a large canoe are thus usually reduced to about three-quarters of an inch in thickness, the bottom having a thickness of between two and three inches. The prow and stern of the canoe are carefully cut to the exact form desired and finished with the adz, no plane being needed at these points.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

these points. The form of the prow and stern are characteristic, being very narrow and always very concave on the upper surface of the extreme point, as compared with the negro and the Cholo canoes of this region, thus giving this part somewhat the appearance of a pair of ears. These features are clearly illustrated in the canoes shown in pl. LX. At a distance of from five to seven inches from the extreme point of the prow, there is left a slightly raised line on the upper surface, while on the under surface, at a distance of about three inches from the point, appears a decidedly convex line. The Indians say that the former has no special use, but that the latter serves as a hand-hold in hauling the canoe when landings are made. These two features, together with the hole through which the small mooring cable passes, constitute the only differences between the prow and the stern of the Cayapa canoe.

In general the desired form of a canoe is exactly determined by sighting along it with the eye; but the prow and the stern are carefully measured in order that they may be perfectly symmetrical, and the height of the sides and the thickness of the bottom are similarly measured in order to give the vessel its proper balance.

Having completed the adzing and planing, the canoe is placed under the house and thoroughly dried before calking and painting. Treated in this manner it is of course less liable to check and is more durable. However, canoes are frequently used when green, and those made for sale in the settlements are in most cases only slightly seasoned.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

396 The beeswax for calking and painting the canoe is boiled until of the proper consistency and adhesiveness; this is tested by dropping a small amount of the boiling wax into water and then pressing it between the fingers and also chewing it. The hot wax is applied with a [442] brush about two inches in width, called kū′kū sapa, made of a chisel-edged section of the outer fibrous covering of the coconut.

396 531 The purpose of the wax thus applied to a canoe is strictly utilitarian. Along the outer surfaces of the gunwale, however, are placed various designs in wax for decorative effect. For this purpose certain stamps made of the light soft balsa wood are used. These stamps are of two forms: one, triangular, with a beveled end, is used for line figures and outlines of triangles and other solid devices; the other is cylindrical and its end is used for making dots. The former is called pī ke′ndū, the latter tsū ka′nū. The wax must in all cases be applied while very hot, when it soaks into the wood. In order to keep the wax at the proper temperature, the pot containing it is frequently re-heated, fresh wax being added as this is done. The painting with the coconut-bark brush may be done rapidly and requires little skill; but the making of designs with the dies must be done carefully in order to insure uniformity in size, shape, and spacing. Many canoe-makers, of course, use comparatively little care in this painting, especially on canoes intended for sale. However, a man who takes pride in his work is always exact in applying the ornamentation and spares no time or pains

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

in his craftsmanship. The less particular artisan simply paints rude designs with a small coconut-bark brush.

The designs, called kū′m bīlya, used upon canoes are varied. They are largely geometric, consisting chiefly of dots, lines, and triangles, although sometimes animal figures are employed. These last, however, appear only on those canoes made by the Cayapa for sale. On pl. LXXII-LXXV are shown most of the designs used by the Cayapa on canoes made for their own use. They bear no special symbolic significance, none of them is typical of any special group of people, and no individual ownership is connected with any of them. In large measure they bear no names other than the generic kū′m bīlya, literally "canoe design."

As before mentioned, brea is the wax made by certain small bees common to the region. It is called amū′ya, and is of two kinds, black and yellow, the latter being much preferred. The particular bees which produce the brea are of four different species. A small black bee, which lives in hollow trees and is called paba ta′nda, makes the wax of the best quality and in greater quantities than any of the others. Another small black species, called ta′nda also, lives likewise in hollow trees and makes much more honey than wax, but a certain amount of its wax is used. A third species is called ciñemi′skī; it is also black, but builds its nest in the ground and its wax is used to a limited extent. The fourth species is a small yellow bee called amūī a′ma; its wax is black.

Brea is obtained by smoking out the bees and chopping

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

cloth, and is placed near the opening at which the bees enter and leave the tree or log. The smudge apparatus is then fanned until a volume of smoke is produced, which in time drives away or stupefies the bees and makes possible the taking of the brea. The wax is found in large blocks, usually at the bottom of the nest, and is cut out with an ax or a machete. It keeps indefinitely, and is stored either in the house or is buried in the ground until needed.

Shortly before or sometimes just after painting the canoe with brea, a hole is cut in the middle of the prow at a point just back of the slightly raised transverse line upon its upper surface, for the cable by which the canoe is moored. This cable, called kondō'pī, consists usually of from two to four strands of carefully selected pitigua twisted together. Such a cable of three strands is shown in pl. XCI, 1. The length of the cable usually varies according to its diameter and the number of its strands, governed by the size of the canoe for which it is made. For very small canoes, frequently a single strand of pitigua is sufficient, but in most cases a two-strand cable is required; very large canoes have three-strand and sometimes even four-strand cables. In making a cable it is necessary first to twist each of the pitigua strands separately, the bark of the strands first having been removed. By means of this twisting the strand is rendered pliable, as well as stronger, since the fibers, which ordinarily would be parallel, are forced to twist around one another. The twisted strand is now wound round a hooked stick, such as that used in cleaning the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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283 cane and plantain fields, and is allowed to dry for a few hours, usually over night. The two or more strands to be twisted into the cable are next tied in a simple knot at one end and the strands passed, one or more, on each side of an upright support. Six or eight feet of pitigua are then unwound from the hooked sticks, and each stick is taken by a person and the pitigua twisted, all strands, of course, being twisted in the same direction. After a sufficient amount of torsion has been secured in these strands, another person takes up the knotted end of the cable and begins to twist the strands together on the opposite side of the upright. In reality he does not himself twist these strands together—he merely pulls sufficiently to bring them out on his side of the upright so that the accumulated force of torsion in the separate strands twists them together into a two- or three- or four-ply cable, as the case may be. This is done very slowly, the worker twisting and pulling here and there in such manner as to cause the strands to twine round one another evenly, producing a cable of uniform size and strength throughout. The strands are unwound from the hooked sticks as rapidly as they are twisted together on the opposite side of the upright, until finally, when the ends of the strands are reached, the cable is prevented from untwisting by another simple knot or by a more or less intricate weaving of smaller strands of pitigua about the main strands of the cable, as shown in the illustration above mentioned and in a manner similar to that represented in greater detail in pl. CIII, 19, 20. This last is the more usual form of

3: Barrett E-5 (1903-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

securing this end of the cable, since it is necessary to have one end small in order to pass it through the opening in the prow of the canoe or for whatever other purpose it may be used. Ordinarily the cables are not tied about the prow of the canoe, but are simply passed up through the hole in the prow above mentioned, the knot in the cable below the prow holding it securely.

For ordinary purposes of travel and for carrying regular loads the canoe above described is sufficient. If, however, an excessively heavy or bulky and unstable cargo is to be transported, it is necessary to increase the buoyancy or to steady the canoe by means of outriggers, called by the Spanish name balsas, Cayapa na'na. In this region the term *balsa* has four significations. It is primarily a raft or float of any kind, and is the term naturally applied to the rafts of logs or bamboo which the Indians float down the river for sale at the settlements. The same term is applied to the outriggers used on canoes, as also to the tree and its wood from which these are made. This wood is very light, even when green or water-soaked, and when dry it is as light and soft as cork, qualities which make it very useful in numerous ways. The chief uses of balsa wood, however, are due to its buoyancy: it will carry in water much more than its own weight, and it is therefore used in rafting such heavy timber as guayacan. In this process, as many logs of balsa are procured as are necessary to sustain the weight of the guayacan, and these are lashed together into a float, the guayacan timbers being lashed on top of them. The guayacan timbers

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to maintain a precarious balance. Children from about the ages of nine to thirteen may have small canoes /kahile/ made for them, which may be seven to eight feet in length, and scarcely a foot in width. At these ages boys begin to accompany their fathers into the monte where the canoes are roughed out by axe and adze. They learn to select the proper trees as only those that are tightly cross-grained will not split easily. Occasionally canoes are roughed out at some height above the creek or rivulet that feeds into the main channel and in the process of carefully snubbing them down the boys learn to rig lines. A large canoe, about thirty-five feet long, may require almost a dozen men to bring it into the water from the monte, whereas a small canoe can be brought in by two or three men. Despite the fact that by the time the boys have reached their late teens they have acquired a large measure of skill in handling canoes, their canoes are nevertheless not considered finely finished until they have had several more years of experience.

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[313]

[461]

Paddles: /yámpa/. The oar is roughed out with a machete, and the finer lines are cut with a knife.

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437 They have sold the new small canoes, tree bark mats
[501 (damajaguas), palm-leaf fans, rubber and rolls of liana (these are
285 used in the construction of bamboo huts to tie up the palm-leaves
283] on the [284] roofs and for some other purposes in lieu of string),
which they have brought from the villages and with the cash they
have earned they now make their small purchases. They have
few wants and do not need much: a few feet of cotton cloth, a
chopping knife, some salt, a small mirror, glass beads, fish hooks,
● [411] powder and small shot for the old muzzle-loader which a few of
them may own. This would be all their heart desires. It is little,
even very little, and yet it takes long, even very long, until they
have made their choice and finally decided to buy. First they
talk it over among themselves in their guttural and sonorous lan-
guage and then they start bargaining, and then they count out their
money slowly and cautiously; finally having managed to get the
[462] desired goods, they packed them into the nearly full basket car-
ried by the wife. The women and girls timidly hide behind their
576 menfolk. When spoken to, they do not answer, although they
571 understand sufficient Spanish. Their jealous menfolk have strictly
[191] forbidden them to enter into conversation with men of other races
or tribes. They draw back bashfully. But if the husband is not
present, only the mother or brother, the women become very
loquacious, especially when their tongue has been untied by a
small present—a mirror, necklace or something of the kind. And
they are happy beyond words if you caress their little child, who
looks like a Japanese baby painted brown, and has a friendly smile
even for a stranger. It is amusing to watch the women meeting a
fashionably dressed lady in one of the shops; then they surround
her laughing, amazed and admiring, but they do not appear to be
jealous of the lace dresses worn by European women. The men,
on the other hand, do not honor even the most beautiful and most
elegant white lady with so much as a glance.

142 The Cayapa girls are pretty from the age of 12 to 16 years,
302 their bodies somewhat plump, but still with a beautiful shape.
584 Sometimes young men and women can be seen with red and black
streaks and dots on their faces, chest, arms and legs; this is a
sign that they are engaged.

505 Once their business in town is finished they prepare for the re-
turn journey to their villages. "Adios compadre, adios compadres,"
and chattering and laughing, happy and content, they hurry to
the shore where their canoes are moored. On their way they

352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
412 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cook-
ing utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunt-
622 ing and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who
rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
796 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes
sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not
interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful
Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

584 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
583 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father
turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the
young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible,
consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They
will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price
for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from
what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted
with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
[411] family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows,
i.e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to
kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting
feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take
place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who
will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but
also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these.
It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to
undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique
will administer a hundred blows (well-counted on fingers and toes)
with the ship. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but
bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his
teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the
test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
[278] can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will
be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato
(corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
[415] ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

241 Children wear no clothes at all until they are 6 or 8.

301 The hair is worn loose, long, and flowing by the women but is clipped
302 above the ears by the men. Both sexes wear necklaces and wristbands of glass and porcelain beads, coins, seeds, and beetle wings. Only women wear earrings.

302 The traditional *Chibcha* custom of frequently painting body and face is found among the *Cayapa*. Red, yellow, and black are used, and the designs are very numerous. Barrett reproduces many of the motifs and insists that there is no special significance attached to any of them, nor is there any age, sex, or property correlation.

TRANSPORTATION

501 **Watercraft.**—A large part of every *Cayapa's* life is spent on the water
[499] fishing and traveling. Canoes are built with great skill and care. They can withstand not only fluvial but also maritime travel and are routinely sold in the "civilized" coast towns. They are dugouts, usually 10 to 12 yards long but sometimes much larger. Balsa-wood logs are sometimes used as outriggers.

MANUFACTURES

320 Details of *Cayapa* manufactures are contained in Barrett's work, which describes and illustrates finished products and minutely discusses the techniques of preparation.

322 **Woodworking.**—Woodworking includes house building, making deadfall traps, and carving seats and children's dolls.

285 **Weaving and basketry.**—The women weave cotton cloth on a narrow
284 native loom, and the men do the sewing. The men also weave the fishing
462 nets and hammocks. Barrett's discussion of *Cayapa* basketry is outstanding. The *Cayapa* make many kinds of baskets, mats, and bins of bark and of various roots.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery is crude and undecorated. It is used particularly for
177 storage. Tradition claims that in their old Highland habitat the *Cayapa* made better pottery but that calabashes have since largely replaced ceramics.

324 **Stonework and metalwork.**—Stonework is limited to the metates
325 used in grinding corn and plantains. Although in aboriginal times Lowland Ecuador was a famous area of metallurgy, there is no evidence that the contemporary *Cayapa* practiced it.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapon most widely used today is the muzzle-loading
177 shotgun. The blowgun was important in the past, but today its use is restricted to boys, who shoot poison darts while playing at hunting. Hardwood lances are being given up, and the bow and arrow is said not to be mentioned in *Cayapa* tradition. The steel machete is ubiquitous.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

524 pots, and wooden and stone implements, made by themselves or by their elders especially for them. They construct play-houses after the fashion of dwellings, and often make small fish corrals like those used by their elders. The boys also make toy fish-nets and gigs, and still use the blow-gun as a plaything, although this old type of hunting weapon is now rarely used by the men.

The nearest approach to a game among the Cayapa, either among the children or among the older people, is that which the boys play with their musical tops, although this is not at all a game of chance. The floors of the Cayapa houses, being made of undressed palm-wood, are always too rough for the spinning of tops, and the ground is always too wet. Therefore, to provide a spinning surface, a large mat is spread upon the floor, or a manta or other piece of cloth is stretched tightly over the legs of a boy seated flat upon the floor. Then he, with usually another boy, spins the tops in opposition one to another, the point of the play being to see what top can knock the other from the spinning surface. There is no scoring in this amusement, and the whole pleasure of it is derived from the spinning of the tops and especially from watching them collide with one another. Often two boys are able to keep four or five tops spinning at the same time, so that their collisions create a lively scene and furnish much pleasure to the onlookers as well as to those engaged in the spinning. The spinning is usually done with the hands alone, although sometimes, if a very rapid

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

planting. They are, however, all eaten raw and to a limited extent by the Cayapa whenever obtainable.

Hunting

In the Cayapa region, where game of various sorts is so abundant, hunting is a practice of considerable importance. This is now done almost entirely with old-fashioned muzzle-loading shotguns, which have supplanted blow-guns almost entirely. In aboriginal times the blow-gun was the chief weapon employed in hunting, and a few of them are still in use, especially by the boys in hunting small birds. In addition to the blow-gun the Cayapa say that they formerly had lances made entirely of the wood of certain hard palms, and that more recently they used the bow and arrow. They maintain that they originally did not know the use of the bow and arrow, but that they became acquainted with these only after coming down from the high mountains to the vicinity of their present abode, which was then occupied by another people. The bow and arrow appear to have been comparatively little used at any time by the Cayapa, but formerly the lance was much used in hunting wild hogs and one or two other species of game. In fact it is still used by some in hunting the guanta, a species of large rodent which lives in burrows.

The blow-gun, called by the Cayapa pitcū's, is a slender tube varying from about six to nine feet in length, made of palm-wood wrapped with pitigua and the whole covered with brea, the black waterproof wax used especially for calking canoes. The blow-gun tapers

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

224 411 slightly toward its point, the opposite end being provided with a flaring mouth-piece two to three inches in diameter. It is made a follows: The innermost part consists of two pieces of palm-wood, each containing a groove, and forming, when placed together, a perfectly even-bored tube about three-eighths of an inch in diameter and with a wall half to three-quarters of an inch thick. The two halves of this tube are bound firmly together at from three to five points along its length by means of thin, narrow strips of pitigua, or with one of the stout fibers from the base of the leaf of the palma real. This binding is merely to hold the two halves of the tube together while they are being completely wrapped, which is done with strips of pitigua about one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness and one-quarter of an inch in width. It is wrapped tightly and very evenly from end to end in such manner as to completely cover the wood. This spiral wrapping of so long an object [284] requires a great length of these narrow strips. As the end of one strip is reached, the end of the next is inserted in such a manner as to be held firmly in place and to make each strip bind the next. This pitigua wrapping is in turn covered and made waterproof by a coating of brea, or wax, as above mentioned. On some of the blow-guns a hump is made in the brea at a point a short distance in front of the mouth-piece. This serves as a kind of sight by which to take aim, though obviously it is not a very accurate gauge, consequently the aiming is largely a matter of calculation by the hunter, and accuracy is acquired only by long practice. The

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

mouth-piece of the blow-gun is made of a more or less funnel-shape piece of wood which fits to the larger end of the gun. The implement is shot by blowing the breath suddenly, though not too forcibly, through this mouth-piece.

In this tube are shot very light palm-wood darts, called mō'ic or hambi tsū'ta, a foot or so in length and not much thicker than a heavy knitting-needle. Their lightness is overcome and the darts are given force by means of a weight of clay, called ya 'tū'mita, placed near the point. To make them fit in the tube in such a manner as to be air-tight, and thus give the air an opportunity to exert its force upon them, a small wad of cotton, called kūmi ti'ns, is wound about the dart near its middle. One of these darts is shown in fig. 7, *a*. Near the point may be seen the pear-shape clay weight, and about its middle the cotton wad. Such a small shaft would be of little service even

FIG. 7.—*a*, Dart of blow-gun; *b*, Quiver for blow-gun.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

in killing small birds if it were not for the fact that its tip is poisoned. The tip is sharply pointed and is covered for perhaps three-quarters of an inch back from its point with a vegetal poison called ha'mbi, consisting of the juice of a large tree growing in only a few places in the vicinity. This sap is gathered after the manner of rubber milk or the sande juice used in making torches. It is very viscous, and runs very slowly from a cut in the tree; in fact it is claimed that a few ounces only may be obtained from a tree in the course of a day. The juice dries within a few days, becoming solid and black or dark-brown in color. To get this into such a consistency that it may be applied to the points of the darts, a few drops of lemon or lime juice are added on one side of the receptacle in which it is kept, and a small amount of the poison worked up with this juice into a paste by means of a small paddle. The points are then dipped into this and revolved in order that they may be completely covered with it. They are then carefully laid out with a low support just back of the point so as to keep the poison from touching anything, and sufficiently low to prevent the paste from flowing back from the tip to any extent. The paste dries evenly around the point in about an hour and finally becomes very hard. When in this condition it will not rub off with ordinary friction, but immediately it comes into contact with liquid it dissolves. Thus, when a dart enters the body of a bird, a small mammal, or even a man, the poison quickly passes into the circulation. It is said to be very virulent poison and that

[of the blowgun dart.--Ed.]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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death ensues within a few minutes, even in men or large mammals. The palm-wood from which the darts are made is very tough and ordinarily would break with difficulty, hence one of them shot into the body of an animal, especially a man or a monkey, could be easily withdrawn. To overcome this, two slight incisions are made around the shaft, just back of the poisoned tip, about a quarter of an inch apart, so that if the shaft enters a body it is almost certain to break with the force of the blow at one or the other of these incisions. In case the dart does not break of its own accord, it is quite sure to break if an attempt is made to extract it, and in either event the poisoned tip is left in the flesh of the victim. Great care must be exercised in making and in handling these darts in order that the owner himself does not get even a small amount of the poison into his system through an abrasion of the skin or by pricking himself with one of the sharp points, for it is claimed that such an accident would almost surely prove fatal. However, without thorough experimentation with this poison it is impossible to vouch for the extreme virulence attributed to it by the Cayapa. There seems, in fact, some reason to doubt its very rapid action on the larger mammals, though in the case of small mammals and birds it is undoubtedly very effective.

A small carrying case, or quiver, called ha'mbi pa''ki, such as that shown in fig. 7, *b*, is made especially for blow-gun darts. It consists of a bamboo tube, about an inch longer than the darts, which is filled with soft fibers from the young leaves of a certain species of palm,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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the fibers being placed vertically in the tube. This filler is called hambī yata'pī. The palm fibers protect the points of the darts and also prevent abrasion of the clay weights. The rear or unpoisoned ends of the darts project an inch or so above the filling, the projecting end serving as an easy means of extracting the darts as needed. In the above mentioned illustration the ends of some of the darts are shown projecting above the rim of the quiver. In actual use the ends of the darts are usually below the level of this rim and are thus afforded all possible protection. In making the drawing for this illustration it seemed desirable to show the ends of some of the darts, hence they were pulled up into view above the rim.

The usual method is to poison the points and make the incisions above mentioned directly back of the points, and then to place these incomplete darts in a mass in the center of the quiver. Attached to the quiver is a small receptacle, called *t*ō'kūbī, usually a little wickerwork basket, in which clay is carried. Also there is attached to the quiver a small calabash or other receptacle for cotton, called hambī kō-a'iū. These appurtenances enable the hunter to put the clay weight and the wad on the darts as fast as needed. This is necessary, since if they were prepared in any considerable numbers and not used, the clay and the cotton would be of no service later. Usually three or four darts at a time are weighted and wadded ready for use and then carefully placed, each one by itself, near the outer margin of the palm-fiber filler. The quiver is suspended upon the hunter's back by

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

means of a string, called ya"tcua, which passes about the neck. 224 411

The blow-gun is carried over the shoulder or in the hand, but always with the point forward, since if it were reversed there would be danger of the mouth-piece being broken in passing through the jungle. When not in use the blow-gun is carefully keep in such position that no uneven strain comes upon any part of it, causing it to bend and thus to spoil its efficiency. It is frequently placed in the thatch under the eaves or in the loft of the house, but often it is suspended vertically by means of a string.

The blow-gun is an excellent and effective weapon for hunting all sorts of mammals and birds which live in trees or otherwise above the ground level, but for those which live always upon the ground and for birds on the wing this instrument is of little use, since it is not feasible to shoot horizontally or, in fact, at any considerable angle to the perpendicular, owing to the deflection due to gravity. Especially is this the case if the object shot at is small. The best results are obtained by getting almost directly under the object to be shot at and by this means practically overcoming the influence of gravity. Thus the blow-gun is especially used in shooting those mammals and birds, such as monkeys, squirrels, guatins, parrots, toucans, and a variety of other species, which are almost always to be found in trees.

The Cayapa were at all times inclined to be peaceable, 126 but wars were sometimes forced upon the most peace- 721

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

726 loving. It is said that on those rare occasions when the Cayapa engaged in hostilities, the blow-gun was used as a weapon, though the lance, called tsû'ta, seems to have been preferred. This weapon, six or seven feet in length, is made entirely of palm-wood, with a simple, very sharp point. A rude lance is used even at the present time in hunting certain mammals, especially the guanta (Cayapa wala'mbû), a large rodent which lives in a burrow. Armed with a lance, the hunter sits near the entrance to one of these burrows until the guanta comes out to feed, when he is able to spear it. On rare occasions also the lance is still used in hunting the wild hog and the peccary, which are both still fairly abundant in the jungle.

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The bow and arrow, the use of which is claimed to have been derived by the Cayapa from their old enemies, the former inhabitants of the Rio Cayapas, is not very clearly remembered by them, for the reason that it has not been in use for many years. The arrows are said to have been about a yard in length with shafts made from a species of wild cane, called by the Spanish name caña brava and by the Cayapa nya'nyi. The points were made of hard palm-wood. The bow and arrow appear, however, to have been comparatively little used by them at any time, and almost never as an implement for hunting. No names other than the Spanish terms for these two weapons could be learned.

224 No nets or snares are used by the Cayapa in the capture of mammals or birds, and only one form of trap is employed. This is the small deadfall shown in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

old mountain home at Pueblo Viejo and wiped their enemies out of existence.

In the only instance of war which the Cayapa describe fully, it appears that they organized themselves into war-parties and systematically invaded the enemy's territory. Predatory raiding was never practised by them, perhaps on account of their isolated position as well as by reason of their non-militant character.

The lance was the chief weapon used in war, though the bow and arrow seem to have been used to a slight extent in more recent times. The blow-gun with its poisoned dart was also used in war to some extent. It is claimed that the pre-Cayapa inhabitants of this region used throwing-stones with good effect. The sling, however, appears to have been unknown, the stones being simply thrown with the hand.

MANUFACTURES

Canoe-making and Canoeing

The rivers of the Cayapa region provide practically the only means of travel until the limit of navigation by canoe is reached. In fact, the streams provide almost the only means of travel at all, owing to the density of the jungle and to the fact that practically all of the Cayapa live along the rivers below the limit of navigation. The few trails through the higher mountains are almost never used except when journeys to the interior are made. On the other hand, there are various short trails extending back into the hills

juice called vinagre in Spanish.

Basketry. Fans, baskets, and pouches, are made in the same style and technique as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:183-250). There is a market for the fans which are used for fanning the embers in the fire-box when preparing a meal. They are often sold in the coastal towns of San Lorenzo and Esmeraldas as well as in the highland town of Ibarra. The money received for these fans is the property of the woman who made the fans, even though they were sold by her husband.

Weapons. The blowgun has disappeared from general use. Only a few specimens are left. All hunting today is done with the escopeta or muzzle-loading shotgun. Serving both as a tool and as a weapon is the machete or /machete/, and both men and women are quite adept in its use.

Housing.

Probably the cultural feature of the Pacific lowlands which most quickly attracts the eye of the outsider is the type of house used by the rural Negroid population. This is the square or rectangular pile dwelling with four-shed hipped roof of thatch, a peculiar roof crown, and palm-lath floor

ripe, but most often it is boiled green and then pounded on a mortar. Bits of meat and/or fish may be added to the pulp. In this form it is called bala by both Negroes and Cayapa. In the ripe form, it may be boiled and treated as bala, or it may be eaten raw. Children eat enormous amounts of ripe plantain, and they never seem to become satiated. Important adjuncts to the subsistence pattern are the traveling merchants who bring canoe-loads of dried fish, clams, bread, cookies, sugar, and candy as well as smuggled Colombian cloth and clothing, up from the coast.

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Hunting is a very important activity, and most Cayapa men spend one or two days a week tracking game. The main animals are large rodents called guanta /valámbu/, a smaller rodent called guatin /kúyu/, peccary /netúšu/, jaguar /kéla/, puma /l^{y}ukéla/, monkey /wášu/, squirrel /yámbu/, and the armadillo /čil^{y}ámbu/. Large birds are shot whenever possible and include toucans /čandútu/, the wild turkey /éle/, and a hawk /huyál^{y}u/. At the present time, hunting is done almost entirely with muzzle-loading shotguns. Hunting is generally a small operation involving no more than three

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352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
442 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cook-
ing utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunt-
622 ing and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who
rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
796 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes
sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not
interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful
Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

587 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
583 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father
turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the
young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible,
consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They
will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price
for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from
what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted
with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
[410] family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows,
i.e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to
kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting
feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take
place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who
will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but
also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these.
It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to
undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique
will administer a hundred blows (well-counted on fingers and toes)
with the ship. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but
bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his
teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the
test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
[278] can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will
be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato
(corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
[415] ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

While the fruit of the chonta dura is never eaten raw, there is another palm that produces a fruit similar in form but of a grayish yellow color, which is considerably esteemed in its raw state. Neither of these species of palm is purposely planted by the Cayapa, but when found they are carefully protected, and the fruits are harvested year after year.

One other species of palm, a very tall, slender one, produces a fruit which it eaten raw. To secure this the palm is usually cut down with a machete, which is always carried by everyone going into the jungle.

One of the most important of the natural products of this part of Ecuador is the tagua, or ivory nut. These palms, called ti'ñ tci or ti'mō būlō, are scattered throughout the jungle and are carefully conserved by the Indians, especially where a grove of them is found near a dwelling. The importance of this palm applies both to the Indians and to the negroes and whites. The ripe nuts, timbū pū'ka, or timō pōka, are an article of commerce, and their exportation to the United States and to Europe, where they are extensively used in making buttons, is an important industry. To the Indians, however, the tagua serves at least three other uses. When its green burs approach maturity, they are gathered and taken to the house, where they are cut crosswise with a machete. These burs are covered by an outer shell, called ha'ñda kika. They are very hard and can be cut only with difficulty. Each of the nuts in this stage of its development is an almost transparent gelatinous substance, called tcapi ta'ka, which may

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

The crisp, pure white, young leaves from the center of the crown of this palm are much esteemed as a food by the Cayapa. To secure these, however, it is necessary to cut down the whole plant, which is done with a machete or preferably an ax. The large, mature leaves of the crown are cut and pried away until the inner part of the trunk is reached. These outer, old leaves of the crown are even more fibrous and resistant than the trunk itself, and as it is almost impossible to cut them away with a machete, an ax is usually necessary. Owing to their great weight, and especially to the interlacing of the hard and very strong fibers at the bases of the leaves, a couple of chisel-pointed sticks, six feet or so in length, are needed to pry away the outer leaves after the mid-ribs have once been cut through with the ax. This inner trunk and those inner leaves which have already begun to unfold are next cut away, until the very young, succulent leaves, which as yet have not commenced to unfold and which appear in the form of a solid, slender cone of pure white, are reached. This cone often measures at its base as much as ten to fifteen inches in diameter, and may be even ten or twelve feet in length. It is a solid mass of crisp white matter, finer in texture than the innermost part of a head of cabbage and with a flavor resembling that of almonds. It is ordinarily eaten raw, either with or without salt, although a very good dish is also prepared by boiling it.

The palma real yields another useful product. The tough fibers, called niñtcü'a, which grow along the sides of the base of the mid-rib of the mature leaf, and which,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

it does not slide from its course and strike a tree. Finally, when the bottom of the incline is nearly reached, both cables are released and the canoe is allowed to take its course over the remaining short distance to the floor of the valley, its momentum usually carrying it for some yards out on the plain.

Having reached the level of the estero or river, the hauling is now done entirely by hand until the canoe is finally launched. If launched in a small creek, it is often necessary still to haul it by hand for a distance down the creek, since it must be passed over sand-bars and even lifted over large logs, but small ones are always cut away. At last a point is reached where there is sufficient water to float the canoe down to the river. Sometimes, however, it is deemed advisable to haul the canoe only as far as a point on the estero known to be reached by floods; it is then tied to a tree until such time as the back-water of the river extends far enough to allow the canoe to be paddled down to the main stream.

In either case the canoe is finally taken to the house. If it is small, it may be taken into the house, but if a large one, it is more frequently placed under the house or in a nearby grove of palms or trees. It must then be worked and smoothed by means of adz and planes until reduced to the required thickness, and the desired form and finish are obtained, when it is placed in a dry, shady place to season thoroughly before being calked and painted with brea. In adzing the canoe it is placed in a normal upright position and the inner surface

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

adzed first. The inner sides are adzed first across the grain and then diagonally to it. and finally the bottom is adzed in a similar manner. This work is done with a hand-adz such as that shown in fig. 10. 396

This tool is of modern introduction, as indeed are the canoes themselves, as well as the method of their manu- 442● [177] [284]

FIG. 10.—Modern adz used in making canoes

facture. The blade of the adz is of steel and is made by local blacksmiths down the river. The wooden handle, shown in fig. 11, is made by the Cayapa, and is so constructed, with the large projection above and with the notches below, that the blade may be securely bound to it, as is shown in fig. 10, by means of pita-fiber string. The blade is concave, and its edge is usually quite regular and curved, so that, while its full width may be [284]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

412 as great as four inches, generally not more than an inch of the edge is in actual play when a blow is struck. The particular adz here shown has a very uneven edge, due to chipping.

[77] The adz is called aswē'la and kū'le mûcte, both of which terms are derived from the Spanish, the second term signifying "canoe machete." The adz handle is called aswē'la tyapi.

396

FIG. 11.—Handle of adz

With this hand-adz repeated light blows are struck along one line after another, the lines being parallel, and perpendicular or diagonal to the grain of the wood. By this means the wood is reduced to uniform thickness and the surfaces are rendered comparatively smooth. The final smoothing of the inside of the canoe is done with the adz, but upon the outer surface and along both the inner and outer edges of the gunwales the adzing is followed usually by more or less smoothing with planes, called sepi'ô or sepi'lyû, made after the fashion of the ordinary carpenter's plane. The sides of a large canoe are thus usually reduced to about three-quarters of an inch in thickness, the bottom having a thickness of between two and three inches. The prow and stern of the canoe are carefully cut to the exact form desired and finished with the adz, no plane being needed at these points.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The beeswax for calking and painting the canoe is boiled until of the proper consistency and adhesiveness; this is tested by dropping a small amount of the boiling wax into water and then pressing it between the fingers and also chewing it. The hot wax is applied with a brush about two inches in width, called kū'kū sapa, made of a chisel-edged section of the outer fibrous covering of the coconut.

The purpose of the wax thus applied to a canoe is strictly utilitarian. Along the outer surfaces of the gunwale, however, are placed various designs in wax for decorative effect. For this purpose certain stamps made of the light soft balsa wood are used. These stamps are of two forms: one, triangular, with a beveled end, is used for line figures and outlines of triangles and other solid devices; the other is cylindrical and its end is used for making dots. The former is called pi ke'ndū, the latter tsū ka'nū. The wax must in all cases be applied while very hot, when it soaks into the wood. In order to keep the wax at the proper temperature, the pot containing it is frequently re-heated, fresh wax being added as this is done. The painting with the coconut-bark brush may be done rapidly and requires little skill; but the making of designs with the dies must be done carefully in order to insure uniformity in size, shape, and spacing. Many canoe-makers, of course, use comparatively little care in this painting, especially on canoes intended for sale. However, a man who takes pride in his work is always exact in applying the ornamentation and spares no time or pains

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The wooden seat shown in pl. LXXXIII, 1, is in all essentials the same as that shown in fig. 2 of the same plate, except that the broad support of the two narrow strips at the bottom is not present. The bottom of this seat, like those of the seats shown in figs. 4 and 5, is made by cutting out a transverse section from the middle of the block so that the two supporting surfaces are sections which run transversely to the grain of the wood. In the seat shown in fig. 2, on the other hand, the center is cut out in the opposite direction, that is, with the grain of the wood. Neither of these types of seat with the concave surface is very commonly used.

These wooden seats are found in almost every Cayapa house, although they are not used so frequently as might be expected. Ordinarily if a man wishes to sit down he uses the hammock, which serves primarily as a baby cradle. It is so swung that its ends are not more than ten to twelve feet apart, and he is able to sit almost erect and lean back against the end. Also the raised platforms at the sides of the house serve as seats. The women and children usually sit upon the floor, although occasionally a bench may be used by one of them, especially by a woman who wishes to spin. In large measure, however, such seats are used by visitors or by the men of the house when it is necessary to sit at some particular kind of work, such as sharpening machetes, adzing and planing paddles, and the like.

A wooden device similar in form to these seats is the base upon which the whetstone used for sharpening

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the machete is mounted (pl. LXXXIII, 7). Practically the only difference between this object and a seat such as that shown in fig. 6 of the same plate, is in the presence of the handle at one end. Both the whetstone base and the wooden seat is called tcûmbû'lya.

The whetstones, called tûla'ha, are made of a fine-grained sandstone and are purchased from the settlements down the river. A stone of almost any size is used, but one six by eight or ten inches is most usually employed. It is not fastened to the base, but simply rests upon it in order to bring the stone a few inches from the floor and to make it possible to place the hands on either side lower than the stone when necessary. With this simple apparatus and a hemispherical calabash of water to wet the stone a man will sit and sharpen machetes for a couple of hours at a time, especially when the cane-field is being cleaned or a new area in the bush is being cleared.

In fig. 1 of the plate last referred to is shown another wooden object similar in form to the seats. This is the special wooden base used as a rest upon which to set an earthenware pot as it is being coiled and shaped. Ordinarily these bases consist merely of a flat board of rectangular form. The one here shown is much more elaborate, being circular in outline and having four legs which slant outward from its perimeter; it is also hewn from a single block of wood, as are all the objects represented in this plate.

Another interesting class of wooden objects is dolls, called nawa'wa, made for the amusement of children.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

415 course provides two mates. The cutting is almost
[442] always done with an old machete, the edge of which is serrated by striking it with another machete at intervals of about an eighth of an inch. With this crude saw the shell of the calabash is carefully cut along a line marked usually by a string tied tightly around it. The removal

[285 531]

FIG. 13.—Calabash vessel and woven ring

of the pulp is in this case a simple matter. It is first scooped out in large pieces with the point of a machete or a knife, and then, when the inner surface of the shell is reached, it is scraped carefully and smoothly with a small, smooth-edged clam-shell. The drying also is a more simple process than in the case of the water-calabash, since the inner surface is more exposed to the air.

When dry, the mate is used for a multitude of purposes, such as dipping liquids, serving foods, and so on. If permitted to lie for a long time in any liquid, the cala-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

as many strips as it will yield. This split end is then grasped with the left hand at a point five or six inches from the cuts described, and is bent with the right hand down over the thumb of the left, or in the opposite direction over the fingers (fig. 14). This tension on the fibers causes them to cleave uniformly along the planes started by the preliminary splitting. A new hold is then taken farther down and the bending repeated, which results in the splitting of another section. In this manner it is possible to split rapidly a long root throughout its length. A root will sometimes yield as many as half a dozen strips suitable for basket-making. Before these are used, however, any rough or uneven places, due to chance cleavage of the fibers along these planes, are removed by scraping and sizing. The scraping is done by holding vertically to the ribbon a knife or other sharp-edged instrument while the ribbon is drawn over the edge of the heel or across the side of the knee. Obviously the width of such strips varies according to the part of the root from which they come. On the other hand, the root differs so slightly in diameter throughout that the variation in the width of a strip is very slight. For the finer basketry all splints are

FIG. 14.—Splitting strips for basketry

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

right. When this is completed the batten is again inserted and this binding firmly driven home against the last row of weaving.

The colored warp elements are now carefully selected and cut out close to the two ends of the weaving. Thus there are left only the white or brown cotton threads used as the body of the warp and the background for the patterns. These are cut about midway between the two ends of the weaving, thus freeing the textile from the loom.

Now and then it happens that, in the course of weaving, some of the warp or weft elements are broken, when it is necessary to tie them. The loose ends of such a tied strand naturally appear on one or the other of the surfaces of the fabric, which is now carefully inspected and such projecting ends cut off with a sharp knife.

Two small wooden rods a few inches longer than the width of the textile are next procured and the textile at each end is tied by means of the fringe of warp elements to one of the rods. There are twenty or even thirty such ties made around each of the rods. The textile is then taken to the river-bank, where four posts are driven in such manner that it may be stretched horizontally by tying the ends of the rods to the posts (pl. cxx). The fabric is then thoroughly wet and allowed to dry in the sun, which shrinks it as much as is possible, adjusting the strands one to another and tending to reduce any stiffness in the textile.

When dried the fabric is taken down and the fringe untied from the rods. A hemispherical calabash vessel or other rounded surface is next provided and with a

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

sharp knife the fringe, placed against the calabash, is trimmed close to the binding at the edge. The fabric is now ready for use.

Mantas (pls. CXIII-CXV), called tyū'nya by the Cayapa, used by the women as skirts, and also mochos (pl. CXVI), called wa'ra, are almost the only textiles now made. No other aboriginal garments are worn except the narrow belt (pl. CVIII, 1, 2) used by the women in connection with the mantas. These belts are woven in precisely the same manner as are the wider textiles, except that a loom is not used unless it is desired to make a wide and elaborate belt.

For narrow belts two short wooden pegs are driven into a section of a plantain or other succulent stem, and upon these the warp strands of the belt are set up on the two transverse bars (*c*, *d*) of a regular loom. For a narrow belt, pita string is often used as the weft. The wide belts are often nicely decorated with geometric or bird and animal figures. For weaving a narrow belt, no shuttle or batten is used ordinarily, the string being passed in the form of a ball between the warp elements, and the finger used to drive the weaving down tightly. The ends of narrow belts are not provided with a special binding; the warp strands at each end are simply braided, usually in two sections, the braids being used for the attachment of tassels made usually of red or blue woolen yarn.

Mantas, of course, are of various sizes, governed by the age of the persons for whom intended. The manta of an adult woman usually measures about thirty by sixty inches, and requires often several months for its weaving.

to maintain a precarious balance. Children from about the ages of nine to thirteen may have small canoes /kakúla/ made for them, which may be seven to eight feet in length, and scarcely a foot in width. At these ages boys begin to accompany their fathers into the monte where the canoes are roughed out by axe and adze. They learn to select the proper trees as only those that are tightly cross-grained will not split easily. Occasionally canoes are roughed out at some height above the creek or rivulet that feeds into the main channel and in the process of carefully scubbing them down the boys learn to rig lines. A large canoe, about thirty-five feet long, may require almost a dozen men to bring it into the water from the monte, whereas a small canoe can be brought in by two or three men. Despite the fact that by the time the boys have reached their late teens they have acquired a large measure of skill in handling canoes, their canoes are nevertheless not considered finely finished until they have had several more years of experience.

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Paddles: /yâmpa/. The oar is roughed out with a machete, and the finer lines are cut with a knife.

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Other wooden articles

still made by the Cayapa include the /téči wimáso/ 'bark cloth beater,' /mačúka/ 'plantain masher,' and food stirrers of various types. A full listing and description can be had by consulting Barrett (Barrett 1925: 159-161). Elliptical wooden bowls called batea in Spanish, are cut from a single piece of wood, and they serve as trays for the preparation of some foods.

Musical instruments, which are played by the men, include the marimba or /maʔímba/, a large drum called by the Spanish word bombo, and a small free-standing drum that tapers at the base called conunu. The Negroes use the same instruments, but they also use various gourd rattles and bamboo shakers. Guitars are occasionally found among the Negroes but only seldom among the Cayapa.

Pottery. This art is scarcely practiced anymore. In fact I was completely unaware that earthenware pots were in the household inventory at all until I was asked one day if I wished to punchase a small Cayapa-made one for five sucres (.30 U.S.). This was the only pot I ever saw, except for the large cantaras made by the people of the San Miguel section, for the storage of /wápo/, the fermented sugar-cane juice called guarapo in Spanish.

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If the mother should die first, then no attempt is made to remove the child. Births that result in death are said to have been caused by witchcraft. Insofar as I was able to determine, no counter measures are taken for revenge. 845 [754]

When labor pains begin, the woman is given a hot drink of rum, lemon, and sulfur. Some women claim to have had painless births, and others claim it hurt each time. After the delivery the mid-wife cuts the umbilical cord /pesíl^{y}i/ with a metal knife. The mid-wife buries the umbilical cord under the house about two hours following the birth. It is said that if the cord should be thrown away, then a malignant spirit would get it, and turn it into an animal that kills people. Also, if the cord were not properly buried, then the mother might die of hemorrhage. 844 [278] [412] 846 [776]

After the delivery the mother remains at home for two months. She does light tasks about the house, but she does not go to work in the fields. She observes some food taboos during this period such as being forbidden to eat crabs, clams, or meat. If the taboo is broken, it is believed that she will lose her [262] [784]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ears each. These bunches are then hung from the roof to prevent attacks by rodents. Wherever possible the corn is hung where the heat from the fire will keep it from molding.

The foregoing are the chief agricultural food products of the Cayapa. Excepting the maize and the potato, all were introduced since the Spanish conquest and are now systematically cultivated. In this connection should be mentioned certain palms which provide food of one kind or other, and which, while they cannot be strictly classed under the head of agriculture, since they are not planted and tended as are the other plants mentioned, are of considerable economic importance.

One of these palms is that commonly known by the Spanish name chonta dura and called kanō'tci by the Cayapa. One variety of this produces a cluster of red fruits, another a cluster of yellow fruits. The Cayapa name for the fruit of this palm is ka'imbé. Both ripen in the late summer months and are much esteemed as food. By means of a long hooked bamboo pole, these clusters are torn from just below the crown of the palm, which is usually quite tall. The fruits are boiled in a cooking-pot or kettle; the tough skin is then easily peeled off, leaving the yellowish mealy meat ready to eat. In the center of this, in turn, is a very hard nut which, when cracked, yields a toothsome white meat with a flavor resembling that of ripe coconut. The mealy yellow meat is usually eaten with a little salt, but is especially good when eaten with a thick syrup made from cane juice. It is also frequently boiled in this syrup, the result being a kind of conserved fruit.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

similar to that used in making the bark cloth of the region. When the fibers are beaten out and prepared for twisting into cordage, they are usually stored away in bundles, such as that shown in pl. CXIX, 2, until needed.

An important economic plant of the Cayapa country is that from which is made the bark cloth called by the local Spanish name damajaua and by the Cayapa name tû'ckī. This is beaten from the bark of an indigenous tree called tû'ckītcī. The tree is felled and a section of the bark the length desired, usually six to eight feet, is carefully removed, being split along one side only. The bark may then be beaten immediately upon the same log, but it is ordinarily rolled up and taken to the house where a log is kept especially for this beating, which is done with a short maul, called tatcī wima'so, such as that shown in fig. 6. One side of the maul, at least, is cut diagonally with grooves and corresponding ridges. The beating must be done within a few hours after the bark is taken from the tree, or before it dries considerably. Placing the strip of bark crosswise upon the log, it is beaten with considerable force with the grooved side of the maul, which is held at an angle of about forty-five degrees to the length of the bark. After beating one short section of the bark in this manner, it is moved across the log far enough to bring a new section into place, and in this way every part of the bark is reached.

FIG. 6—Beater for bark cloth

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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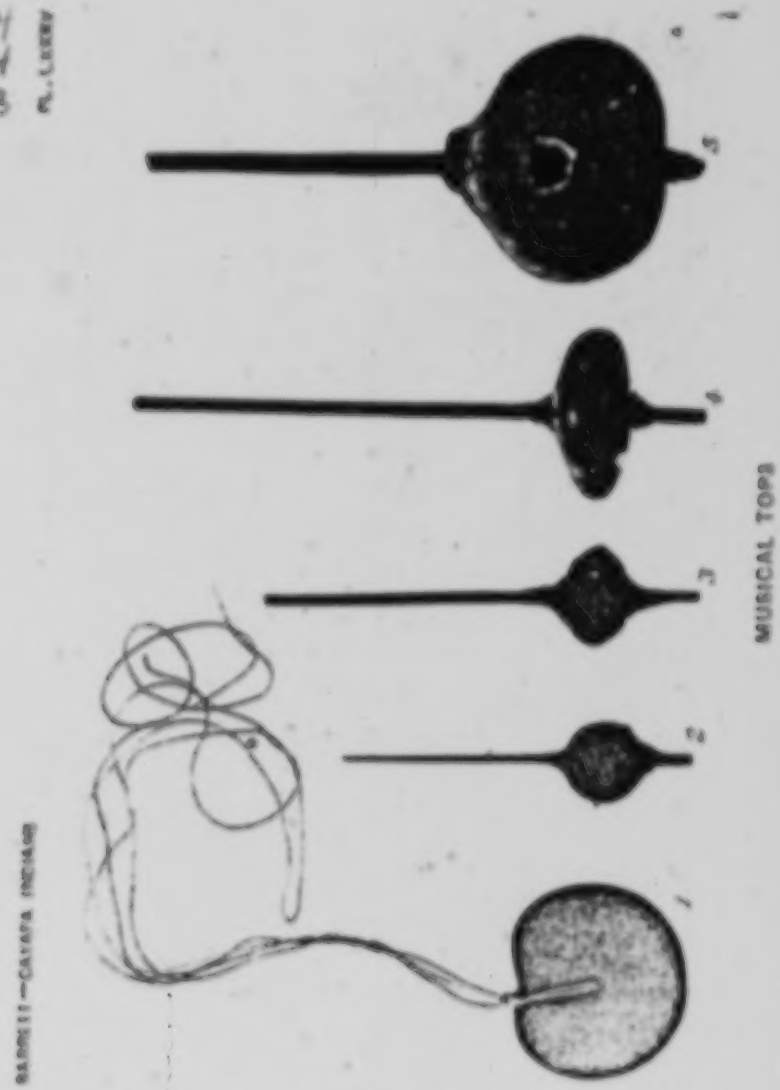

p. 162 (B)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

with considerable care, especially from the globose water-calabashes (the wa'iyû) which have such small openings. By repeatedly striking the shell of the calabash gently with the point of a machete or other sharp-pointed implement in such manner as to chip the shell away little by little, an opening of the desired diameter is made: this is usually at or near the point at which the stem of the fruit was attached, and its size depends on the size of the calabash, but it rarely exceeds an inch and a half. With a long implement (wai-be'rû, or wai-be'û; from wa iyû, calabash, and be'rû, hook), such as that shown in pl. CXVII, 1, the seeds and pulp are removed. It has one end shaped like a chisel, the other being fitted with a piece of coconut-shell in the shape of a hoe-blade. The chisel end is first inserted and the mass of pulp cut and worked into as small pieces as possible, a small quantity of water being added from time to time. The greater part of the pulp having been thus removed, the implement is reversed and the inner walls of the calabash are scraped with the hoe-end until they are smooth and clean. This process is usually performed in a canoe at the river where an abundance of water is available. Finally the calabash is turned with the opening downward over a stick, outdoors, until it has thoroughly dried. This curing in the more or less direct sunlight changes the color of the outer surface of the calabash from light-green to dark-brown.

Calabash receptacles are frequently ornamented with incised lines or figures, or with grotesque figures of mammals, birds, and human beings. A variety of these

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

tempering material is called tū ya'nda. The mixing of a small quantity of clay is a mere matter of rolling and kneading it in the hands; but if a considerable quantity is required, as in making a large olla, it is usually mixed in a large wooden tray such as that shown in pl. LXXII, 4. After thorough kneading, handfuls are torn from the side of the mass and thrown back violently on top of it. This process completed, a small lump of the clay is taken, or a very small, crude pot is made, and immediately baked in the fire-box in the house as a test. 323

To make a small plate-form utensil, one about four inches in diameter, a lump of prepared clay is rolled carefully between the hands to form a smooth sphere. The right thumb is then inserted and the ball of clay is turned about it in such manner as to make a depression in the center. Then by constantly pressing between the thumb and the fingers as the ball is rotated, the depression is gradually enlarged until finally the bottom and sides of the pot, of even thickness, are formed. If the vessel is very small, this work may all be done upon the palm of the left hand, but if it is of medium or large size, a board, ten or twelve by fifteen or eighteen inches (pl. LXXXVIII), or other flat object is used in order that the vessel may readily be turned. Occasionally the wooden base is elaborately made, as that shown in pl. LXXXIII, 1, which is circular, has four legs, and resembles in some respects the wooden benches before described. Its special use, however, is that of a rest for the larger pieces of pottery, and it is claimed by the Cayapa that it was rarely or never used as a seat. [413] 352

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

323 The bottom and sides of the small receptacle having been formed, the edge is trimmed and made of uniform thickness by placing the thumb on the inner surface at the edge, the end of the first finger on the edge itself, and the ball of the second finger on its outer surface. By passing the fingers, held in this position, back and forth over a space two or three inches at a time, the edge is gradually reduced to uniform thickness and all unevenness is removed. Places thinner than desired are patched with a small quantity of clay carefully worked in and smoothed like the rest. Should there be a place that is too thick, a pinch of the clay is taken with thumb and finger before the smoothing is commenced. The edge is finally smoothly finished with the inner surface of a small piece of green banana or plantain peel.

[323] There is always a certain roughness on the inner and outer body surfaces of a pot at this stage; this is removed by means of small instruments, called tõmbilya'mba, made usually from sections of broken calabash dishes or spoons, the edges of which are ground on a stone until they are uniform in outline and sharp. The smoothing of both the surfaces and the edge having been completed, the pot is set in the shade to dry and harden. This requires, in the case of a small, thin-walled pot, only a few days, when it is ready for firing. Care is taken not to dry a pot too rapidly, and that it dries uniformly, on account of the danger of cracking due to differential shrinking.

The base of a larger pot is made from a lump or mass of clay in the same manner as that above described, except that the edge is not smoothed so carefully. This

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

323 After a pot has become fairly dry and hard, its surface receives the final smoothing, and in some cases it is given [824 almost a polish. This is done by means of a large 413] discoidal nut, called mûlûmbû mûñge'nû, indigenous to the region. The same nut is used in making tops and also the spinning handles for tops. In pl. LXXXV, 1, 4, it is shown used in these two ways. In smoothing pottery the edge of the nut is wet with saliva and is rubbed back and forth repeatedly over the vessel, thus smoothing the surface and making it more impervious by filling the pores. No slip or paint of any kind is used.

The vessels are now ready for firing. A quantity of wood is gathered and the pots are carried to an open place near the house. Here they are stacked one within another or arranged on the ground in any convenient manner, and a kiln is made by carefully piling wood around and among them. Coals are brought from the fire-box in the house, the pile is ignited, and the fire is carefully watched and more wood added as required. A pottery kiln is shown in pl. LXXXIX, the photograph for which was taken just after the fire was lighted. This firing process requires from twenty minutes to an hour, depending on the number and size of the pots, and the quantity of wood used. As the fire dies down, the pots are left as shown in pl. XC, being now thoroughly fired. The earthenware is generally removed with a pole while still hot, and is tested by tapping gently to detect any possible cracking. If badly cracked the vessels are [356] immediately thrown away, but in the case of large pots that are only slightly cracked, they are often kept and repaired with wax (brea).

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

286 since such weaving is done in large measure only at odd times.

The trunks or mocho (pl. CXVI) worn by the men is [294] made of cloth woven by the women, a special narrow fabric being produced for this purpose. One of these pieces of cloth contains enough for two mochos. It is always cut and sewed by the men themselves, some of [462] them being adept with the needle. The women know almost nothing about sewing. It ordinarily even falls to the men to make the small mochos for the boys until they are old enough to sew for themselves.

The subject of manta designs is treated under Decorative Art.

CORDAGE AND NETTING

283 [824] In most cases cordage and nets are made of the fine, long, white fibers obtained from the leaf of the plant called in Spanish pita and in Cayapa sa'nō, and to a much more limited extent the fibers from the bark of a tree called in Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa señgi'lya are used.

The preparation and manipulation of pita, to which reference has been made hitherto, are quite elaborate. The long, slender, full-grown leaves of the plant are cut off close to the ground and brought to the house in bundles, such as those shown leaning against the house in pl. LXVI. While the leaf is still green the fibers are extracted by first scraping off the succulent portion of the concave side of the leaf and then stripping out the fibers 283 from the remainder. For this scraping there are required • 413 a semi-cylindrical log of palm-wood, called sañwi ci'nō,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS PL. [illegible]

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273

SCRAPERS, TORCH, LANCE, AND HOOK

[p. 274 (8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

and a double-edged shaving knife, called sañwi'ctcipapa. 283
The log is half of a nine or ten foot section of a trunk 413
of the pambil palm. Its flat side is leaned against 283
one of the horizontal beams that compose part of the superstructure of the house, at an angle of about twenty degrees with the perpendicular and about midway between two vertical poles the tops of which are bound to the opposite or outer surface of the beam. These poles, which are usually the forked ones used to support the loom, are placed about two feet and a half apart. At a height of six or seven feet from the floor a piece of pitigua is bound to the two poles and so placed that it passes horizontally across the curved surface of the log. A second piece of pitigua is tied horizontally and at a level also about six or seven feet from the floor, but at a distance of several feet toward the interior of the house.

The pita leaves are now sorted according to length. Six or eight leaves are then piled neatly one upon another, bottom uppermost. This bunch is bent double and passed behind the pitigua cord that runs directly across the log; the cord presses the leaves at their fold tightly against the log, holding them in place during their manipulation. The leaves are always placed so that the concave side of each is uppermost and so that at first the bases of the leaves hang down against the log. The upper half of the bunch of leaves, and also those individual leaves of the lower half which are not actually in use, are kept out of the way by being passed up over the cord above mentioned, which is stretched at some distance from the log.

Beginning now with the base ends of the leaves, the

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

263 lowest one in the bunch is brought down on the convex surface of the log, and with the corner of a knife the succulent outer layer is split throughout the length of the section of the leaf exposed. This allows the leaf to be easily flattened against the log so that the succulent layer may be scraped off with one of the edges of the knife (fig. 25).

263 493 [824] The knife used for this purpose is illustrated in pl. CXVIII, 2. It is usually made from half of a section of wild cane (Spanish caña brava), and is ordinarily from fifteen to eighteen inches in length. The soft center of the cane is hollowed out so that only the hard, woody portion of the outside of the stalk remains. The two edges of this semi-cylindrical section are very sharp, thus producing a serviceable implement.

263 The succulent portion of the leaf having been scraped off and the fine fibers exposed to a length of eight or ten inches at the base of the leaf, the fibers are loosened with a thumb or finger nail and are then split loose as far up the leaf as the scraping has progressed by pulling them gently outward. A slit is then made in this scraped section and the loosened fibers are passed through and looped (fig. 25) in such manner as to prevent them from becoming tangled as the scraping proceeds farther up the leaf. When this half of the leaf is completely scraped, it is hung at the side of the pole and the corresponding portion of the next leaf is scraped.

Finally, all the lower halves of the leaves having been scraped, the upper halves which had been placed overhead are brought down upon the log and held in position by means of the horizontal cord which secured the lower

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

in length and is used as a distinct unit in the weaving. When the weaving has proceeded to within six or eight inches of the end of the cord, a second is simply tied to it in a square knot and thus is added a new unit of material. Hence no shuttle is required as among peoples who use a very long thread or cord. In fact the only implement required in weaving is the mesh-stick, which is usually of bamboo, although large ones are sometimes made of wood. It is ordinarily from five to seven inches in length and varies in width according to the size of mesh desired (fig. 26). The relatively wide ones used in weaving the large-meshed set-net are called wa'lō tcīpapa, thus differentiating this form from that known as afa'ia tcīpapa, or ate' tciyapa, used in weaving the casting net. The general term for mesh-stick is ya' tcīpapa.

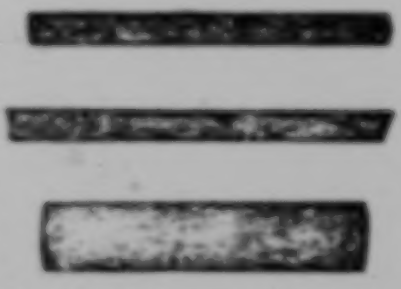

FIG. 26.—Mesh-sticks or gauges for weaving nets

In weaving one of the large set-nets, such as that shown in pl. CXX, 2, and called by the Cayapa wa'kū, the required number of knots, usually five, is first tied to start the corner of one end. By adding a knot at each end, new meshes are added; and as each row of meshes is woven, the width of the net may be increased to any desired degree. This first portion of the net forms a right triangle, one side of which represents the width of the net, the other an equal length along one side of the net. The hypotenuse of the triangle is the line along

And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cooking utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunting and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible, consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted with a dowry in order to find a man.

In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows, i.e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to kill a tahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasure, but also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these. It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique will administer a hundred blows (well-counted on fingers and toes) with the chip. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato (corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabitants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

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[415] they are by bringing along "Mates" and "Calabazas," i.e. bowls and pitchers made of the rind of pumpkin-like fruit, into which they put the greatest part of the food and drink offered in order to carry them home. Only when everybody has eaten until he is ready to burst and the majority are rather drunk, the wedding draws to a close. The young couple is finally left alone and may go to their hut. But before the couple are allowed to enjoy their love to the full, they must pass through a long cruel (because it is continent) trial period. They live and sleep together under their
[286] common mosquito-net made of cotton with red flowers, but not as husband and wife, but as brother and sister, and they are not allowed to touch each other for an entire year. They must remain pious, chaste and abstemious, no matter how difficult it may be for them. The purpose is to steel the virtue of abstemiousness and the strength of will. Only when this period of fasting and trial is over, may they succumb to the ecstasies of love. Woe to those
684 who cannot withstand and secretely attempt to taste of the forbidden fruit before the end of the trial year—if discovered they pay for their crime with their lives or have to seek refuge immediately in another territory which cannot be reached by the punishing arm of their strict rulers. Only once I had occasion to watch how a fiance, who was violently in love, gingerly and furtively with trembling hands touched the arm and naked breast of his betrothed.

302 During this year of betrothal they use red and black plant juices
584 to paint their faces, chests, arms and legs with streaks and dots. This custom corresponds to our engagement announcements and wedding rings.

846 Immediately after the birth of a baby, the young mother gets
[515] up from her bed, goes to the river and bathes. Bathing in the river is one of the Cayapas' passions. Each and everyone of them take at least two or even three baths per day. The young mother has barely left her child when the grandmother cleans it up a bit, puts it down again; and then the father lies down with it, staying in bed with the child from three to five weeks, letting his wife nurse him, just as though he were the woman in child-bed, who had gone through the pains of childbirth and was in need of recuperating and nursing care. The young mother, on the other hand, does her usual work already an hour after delivery, attending to her daily chores as though nothing had happened. This strange custom is connected with their religious concepts and their fear of evil spirits

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Death.—Death is not considered to be a natural phenomenon but is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body. A dead man's soul hovers around his house, which is usually abandoned, though it may be dismantled and sold. The corpse is buried in a coffin in a Catholic-style cemetery near the church. The dead man's possessions are usually given away, but it is not known who inherits his fields and clearings.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The great range of designs used by the *Cayapa* in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (fajas).

Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

Canoe paddles and wooden seats are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

Music and dancing.—Holidays, weddings, and other feasts are accompanied by much dancing and drinking. As elsewhere along the coast, the European marimba is widely used, as are panpipes, flutes, drums, and rattles. In recent years the Highland San Juan dance has been gaining in popularity. Also of immediate Highland provenience may be the small European wooden harp with palm-fiber strings.

Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. Guarapo, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

RELIGION

Native *Cayapa* religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are told for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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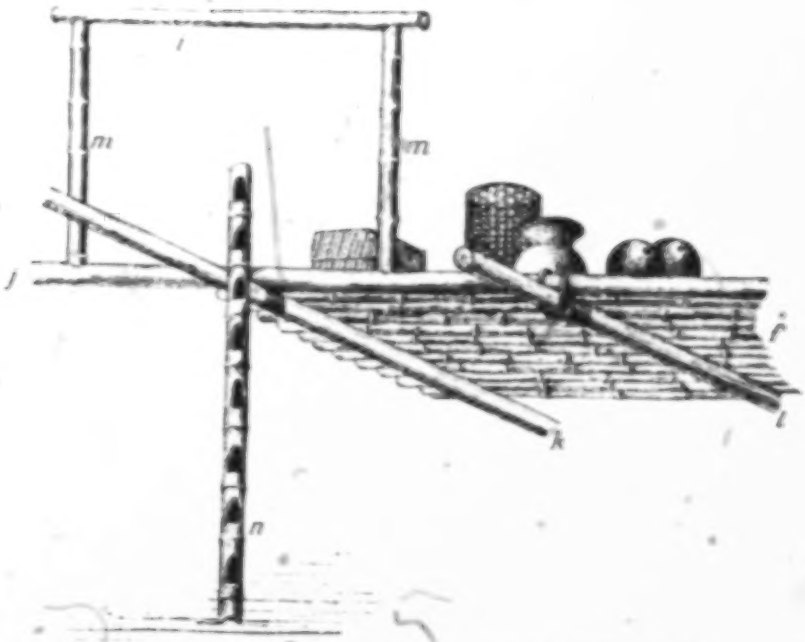

STORAGE PLATFORM OR LOFT

[p. 58 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

to the river to lay their eggs. The large eggs of the alligator are also much in favor, and it is said by some that alligator flesh is edible. The eggs and flesh of another and slightly different species of amphibian, called tulicio in the local Spanish, are likewise used for food. In addition to these foods there are certain insects which, either full-grown or in the larval state, are much esteemed.

Various methods are employed in the preparation of these foods. The plantain, the most important food product of the Cayapa, is prepared in a variety of ways. It is almost invariably gathered while green, and is regularly eaten in that condition, though ripe plantain is frequently used for making a kind of gruel, and occasionally it is roasted. The usual method of preparing the green plantains is by boiling, the outer covering of the fruit having first been removed. They are thus cooked for from a half to three-quarters of an hour in a pottery vessel, or nowadays more frequently in an iron or a granite-iron kettle, closely covered with a green leaf called ū′tya hakī, which is very tough and is used in many ways in the preparation of food. It is impossible to cook green plantain so that it is tender, hence the usual mode of preparing it is to beat the hard, cooked fruit with a stone muller upon a mealing stone (pl. LXII, f. 1, 2), mixing and kneading it meanwhile with the hand. Usually this beaten plantain, which is called bala, is eaten without seasoning, although a little salt may be added; or it may be mixed with dried meat during the pounding. The boiled green plantain is also frequently eaten without

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

pounding. The ripe plantain, on the other hand, is generally prepared, after boiling, by macerating with a wooden masher, matcō'ka, in a wooden bowl, called batea in Spanish. In pls. LXI, LXII these implements are shown, the masher appearing in pl. LXI, 1–5, and the batea in pl. LXII, 4. In this form the plantain will keep for three or four days, and is a nourishing, concentrated food. It is, however, never eaten in this form, but is diluted with water into a very thin gruel, which is drunk more as a refreshment between meals than as a regular food. The plantain mash is also carried on short trips into the mountains or along the river, and is made into gruel as needed.

Both green and ripe plantains are also roasted over coals, the ripe ones generally with the outer covering, the green ones usually without it. When thus cooked also, the green plantain is preferred to the ripe. It is ordinarily roasted until quite dry, when it is mashed on the mealing stone with the muller. The pounding in this case is not the same as in making bala—the plantain is merely mashed flat, without any mixing with the hand.

Still another method of preparing green plantain, but one that is not applicable to the ripe fruit, is the making of a kind of tamales. With a small shell the plantain is scraped to a mushy consistency, and, after the addition always of a little salt and sometimes of pounded meat, fish, or certain species of insects, is rolled into a long, slender cylinder, covered with the tough green leaf, ū'tya hakī, before referred to. This preparation is then roasted before the fire for some

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

minutes, usually until the leaf covering is largely, if not entirely black. The covering is then removed and the tamale eaten in that form or after being mashed flat upon the mealing stone. When obtainable, a species of large black beetle (*Rhymchophorus palmarum*), called kū′perū, is used as one of the ingredients in the making of these tamales, and it is said by the Indians to be one of the most toothsome of all their foods.

The method usually employed in preparing other vegetal foods, such as yuca, sweet potatoes, etc., is by boiling in the ordinary manner. Meats and fish are generally boiled in pottery vessels without the covering of leaves above mentioned, and they may also be broiled or baked. Broiling is done in the ordinary manner, by simply placing the food over the fire. In baking, however, a special method is employed. After being properly prepared and cut into small pieces, the meat is wrapped in two thicknesses of the tough green leaf above mentioned. The flat package thus formed is then placed upon the coals, and hot ashes and coals are heaped upon it. Several minutes are usually needed for this baking, and sometimes it is necessary to replenish the coals or to turn the package over to insure proper cooking. This method is much employed in cooking all kinds of meats, fish, shellfish, and crabs and other Crustacea.

In this warm, humid climate, where meat keeps but a very short time, drying and smoking over the fire is much employed by the Cayapa when any considerable quantity of meat or fish is on hand. For this purpose

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

415

MASHERS, CHOCOLATE STIRRERS, AND FOOD PADDLES

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p.76(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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MEALING BLOCK AND STONES, AND WOODEN TRAYS

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

PL. LXIII

UTENSILS FOR MAKING RUM

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

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415.

[p. 84(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

time, and each is followed immediately by the beveled point of the next stalk. Below the rollers and between the uprights which support the whole mechanism is placed a large canoe-shape wooden trough such as that shown in pl. LXIII, or in pl. LXV, into which the cane-juice flows. In case there is no such special wooden trough at hand, or the regular trough is otherwise in use, a small canoe is carefully washed out and used instead. When necessary, leaves of the hoja blanca or of the plantain are placed at the sides of this receptacle in order to prevent the juice from falling or splashing outside. These leaves are especially necessary when, as occasionally happens, a large pot instead of a trough or a canoe is used as a receptacle for the juice; in such an event a funnel is usually built up with leaves above the mouth of the pot.

When the whole rick of cane-stalks has been ground in this manner, the motion of the rollers is reversed, wedges are driven into spaces above the bearings of the uppermost roller in order to bring the two rollers more closely together, and the cane is rolled a second time. During this part of the process, however, two or three of the previously crushed stalks are placed one upon another and almost as much juice is pressed from each as was obtained in the first rolling. As the stalks are received from the rollers the second time, they are quite devoid of juice and are thrown out on the ground. Thus in front of each mill is heaped a large mound of cane trash, such as that shown in front of the mill in pl. VI.

During the grinding of the cane a large copper kettle,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

called pai'la, is kept filled upon a fire in another part of the building, and the juice is here boiled as rapidly as it comes from the rollers. This boiling is allowed to continue for from ten to twenty minutes, during which time the froth which rises to the top is skimmed frequently, with a special perforated dipper or skimmer, usually attached to a long handle and called cī'cūlya, or with a large calabash spoon called cī'ñ-kūtcada, the latter part of which term is from the Spanish cuchara, "spoon." When the juice has reached the stage where it boils without producing froth, this part of the process is considered finished; it is then dipped out of the kettle with a long-handled calabash dipper like that resting across the end of the canoe-shape wooden trough shown in pl. LXIII, and that in pl. LXV, and called sū'mbū or i'ckala pī cūñuntsūmi, and is placed in one of the large canoe-shape wooden receptacles above mentioned, where it is allowed to cool for several hours. When thoroughly cooled it is put away to ferment in large pottery vessels, or ollas, of the form shown in pl. LXXXVII, 11. Several thicknesses of the leaf of hoja blanca are placed over the opening of such a pot and tightly bound about the rim. The juice is then allowed to ferment for from two to three weeks, when it is ready for distillation. The boiling and subsequent cooling of the juice before placing it in the ollas is said to be necessary to prevent souring.

Usually a sufficient quantity of the juice, called by the Spanish name guarapo, rendered wa'pū in Cayapa, is prepared at one time to fill several large ollas. While

STILL, CANOE-SHAPE DISH, AND DIPPER

[P. 86(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6
274
415

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

fresh from the rollers, as well as after boiling, in fact at any stage before it begins to ferment, the juice is called pi' wapû, literally "water guarapo," in contradistinction to the fermented juice, which is called sa'wapû, meaning "sour guarapo." The ollas referred to are especially made for the purpose, and are the most difficult work of the potter, as their size renders them not only inconvenient to form and handle while drying, but makes them also extremely hard to fire. They are almost invariably coated inside and out with brea (Cayapa, amû'ya), the wax of a small bee, which renders them impervious and prevents waste through seepage. The bases of these large vessels are comparatively small, therefore to prevent them from tipping, each is set upon a ring made of refuse cane. When sugar-cane was first introduced among the Cayapa, rum was not made, but the fermented guarapo was much drunk, and even at the present time considerable quantities are so used. To be sure, it is by no means so intoxicating as rum itself, but after it has fermented for two to three weeks it contains a considerable proportion of alcohol. The fermented guarapo is drunk not only about the home and during the process of distillation, but also to a certain extent at fiestas, to which it is brought in large ollas and consumed in place of rum and by some in preference to it.

The guarapo is finally distilled in order to produce the concentrated alcoholic beverage known by the Spanish name aguardiente and called by the Cayapa i'ckala. The still used in this final process is illustrated in pl. LXIII, from a photograph made while the distillation was in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Çayapa SD6

time to time. This thick paste is then placed in a cooking-pot or kettle with the requisite amount of water and boiled, the consistency of the gruel of course depending upon the amount of water added. The thick gruel is eaten with the fingers, or frequently nowadays with a spoon, and is eaten as ordinary food. The thin gruel, which is more frequently made and which usually is sufficiently liquid to be called a beverage rather than a mush, is drunk from small hemispherical calabashes. It is flavored with a little salt, or preferably with sugar. This food is called champo (tcambō'se in Cayapa) and is used almost exclusively at feasts, where it is served in canoe-shape wooden vessels, called tcambō's küle, made especially for the purpose. These utensils are from two and a half to three and half feet long, their ends are made like the prow and stern of a regular canoe, and they are elaborately ornamented with the same painted designs as are used on large canoes. These little vessels may be set upon the feast table, but often they are carried about among the feasters, in which event one of the masters of ceremony takes the prow and another the stern and pass throughout the house, being careful that everyone is served. On the surface of the beverage float from two to four or five small calabash dippers, or mates, with which the champo is drunk.

A sufficient amount of maize to provide seed for the succeeding year is allowed to ripen on the stalk each season. The ears are gathered, the outer husks bent back, and tied together in bunches of a dozen or more

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

287 impeint of the maul (fig. 6) with which it was beaten as numerous sets of short parallel lines, all at an angle of about forty-five degrees with the perpendicular. Bark cloth is never decorated in any way and is strictly utilitarian. It serves almost exclusively as a sleeping [352 513] mat, and constitutes, together with a mosquito canopy and a thin cotton sheet used as a cover, all that is considered necessary for a bed. It is used occasionally for wrapping a dismantled loom or for some other special purpose.

The beating of the cloth must be done very carefully in order not to cut or tear apart the fibers, thus making holes in the cloth which render it practically worthless. The fibers naturally criss-cross and interlace in such a manner that when the beating is carefully done the result is a cloth which, while very thin, is at the same time very firm. If for any reason, however, a hole does appear in the cloth during the process of beating, it may be mended by simply placing over it a piece of bark of sufficient size to somewhat more than cover it and beating this in. The beating mixes the fibers of the patch with those of the main fabric in such manner as to make the patch almost as firm as the cloth itself.

At the present time some of the most characteristic utensils of the Cayapa are made from calabashes. They claim that in their former life in the mountains these utensils were of pottery and that the calabash came into use among them only after their arrival on the Rio Cayapas. It is said also that there was originally a calabash tree native to this region, but that the two

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

species now used, the one producing a globular fruit called wa′iyū, and the other an ellipsoidal fruit called cū′lya, were introduced here from Colombia. Every house is provided with one or more of these trees, and usually at least one of each of the two species. These large gourd-like fruits are produced in considerable numbers by such a tree and find a variety of uses. They are gathered when just ready to turn from green to ripe and are immediately hollowed out into utensils of several kinds. The details of manufacture and the uses of these utensils are treated on pages 166–173.

Another fruit, some species of which are said to be indigenous and some introduced, which is found abundantly in this region, is what is called by the local Spanish name guabo or guaba. This requires no cultivation, but the trees are carefully guarded against destruction. It is rarely if ever purposely planted, but grows from the accidental dropping of seeds. In the vicinity of almost every house there are several trees of one or more of these species. The fruits, which grow in long pods, are much esteemed and are almost invariably eaten raw. Each variety has its own special name, as follows:

Cayapa	*Spanish*
mactē′-pa cīlyū,	guabo de macheton (machete guabo, so named on account of the shape of the pod).
ni′ñga cīlyū,	guabo de tacoano.
pī′ cīlyū,	guabo dulce (sweet guabo). The Cayapa name signifies "water guabo."
sa′ cīlyū,	guabo agria (sour guabo). The Cayapa name also signifies "sour guabo."
pū′cīlyū,	guabo.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

These are carved from single blocks of wood and represent a variety of animate objects. Chief among them are human figures, both male and female; next follow mammals and birds, and now and then alligators are represented. In pl. LXXXIV, 1 to 5, are shown typical dolls representing human figures. The simplest of these, shown in fig. 4, is a cylindrical block of wood with carved head and face. From such simple forms dolls range through various stages of detail to well-carved figures such as that shown in fig. 5, in which the parts of the body are carefully represented and an attempt is made to imitate the cropped hair of the men by carving a raised band about the head, although the doll is evidently intended to represent a woman. The fact that the hair is thus represented is perhaps due to the inability of the workman to carve the long flowing hair of a woman.

Animals and birds of various kinds are carved more or less perfectly. Examples of these are shown in pl. LXXXIV, figs. 6 and 8. Fig. 7 of this plate represents a well-made figure of an alligator. Some of the figures, as for instance this alligator, are made of very hard wood, dressed and smoothly rubbed.

Dolls are about the only playthings, other than small pots, baskets, and other utensils, that the children have, for, as already stated, the Cayapa have practically no games.

In pl. LXI are shown several implements of wood, all of which are used primarily in cooking. In figs. 1 to 5 are illustrated typical mashers, called matcõ'ka,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

used especially for crushing ripe plantains in making the gruel already described. Some of these mashers are perfectly plain, consisting of a cylindrical stick with a large flat end (fig. 4), but most of them are more or less ornate, especially at the upper end. The simplest type of this ornamentation is that shown in fig. 2, in which the upper end of the masher is of a form similar to that of the lower end, but is considerably smaller. Various other forms of ornamental ends, with or without notches, are made; two of these are shown in figs. 1 and 3. Occasionally also some ornamentation is found along the handle, and especially toward its lower end, as shown in fig. 5.

Another wooden implement of special use is the chocolate stirrer, called tcōkōla'*te* tca'lī, two specimens of which are shown in pl. LXI, 6, 7. These stirrers always are provided with lateral projections at their lower ends, by means of which the stirring is done, the implement being twisted rapidly back and forth—between the palms of the hands. Chocolate is rarely used by the Cayapa, but when prepared as a beverage it is usually boiled in a pot somewhat similar to that shown in pl. LXXXVII, 9. The chocolate stirrers also are sometimes ornamented at the upper extremity, as shown in fig. 7, or directly above the four lateral projections at the lower extremity, as in the one illustrated in fig. 6. In the latter case the ring of small ridges projects almost if not quite as far as do the four lateral projections, hence the ridges serve to stir the chocolate as well as do the projections. Whatever useful purpose this ring

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

of small ridges may now serve, however, it seems to have had its origin in a desire to ornament the stirrers, since most of them are plain at that point (as is the one shown in fig. 7), and because various stirrers of this form have carvings at that point which are similar though much smaller and are obviously purely ornamental. 415 531

A second form of stirring implement is the food paddle, called kūwi'ñgī, two specimens of which are shown in pl. LXI, 8, 9. These are used for stirring all kinds of foods while cooking, but especially ripe plantain gruel and a kind of gruel or mush made from green corn. In many cases these paddles are perfectly plain, as is the one shown in fig. 9, but now and then they are embellished with notches or incised ornaments as is the case with the one shown in fig. 8. 415 [531]

A utensil in common domestic use is an elliptical wooden bowl, copied after a type made by the whites and negroes of the region and bearing only the Spanish name batea. They vary more or less in their elliptical form, but a typical specimen is shown in pl. LXII, 4. They are always provided with a projection at each end to serve as handles. They are hollowed out from a single piece of wood, and range from a foot to three feet in length. Bateas serve a variety of purposes, but they are used especially for the preparation of certain foods, such as ripe plantain gruel, corn gruel or mush, and the like. They are used also as trays for washing meats or other foods, and frequently are employed in mixing and working clay during the process of pottery-making. [177] [252] [323]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

415 pottery-making. A shallow wooden tray, like that shown in fig. 3, is sometimes, though much more rarely, made by the Cayapa for similar purposes. It also is called batea.

[272] Somewhat similar in form to the batea is the canoe-shape dish, called tcambōs kū'le, used in serving the drink or gruel called in Spanish champo and in Cayapa tcambō'se, which is made from green corn. This is made exactly after the fashion of a canoe, with the characteristic prow and stern ends, and ordinarily with the painting along the gunwales as well as upon the prow and stern. It is usually from two and a half to three and a half feet in length, and is much wider in proportion than the river canoe, being ordinarily from ten to twelve inches in width. As mentioned in speaking of the uses of corn, the champo dish is used only at fiestas for containing champo and on rare occasions the ripe plantain gruel called ma'la.

[252] Another wooden utensil is a heavy mealing block used especially for pounding green plantain to make the food called in Spanish bala and in Cayapa panda lō'ta. Such a mealing block, shown in pl. LXII, 1, may be compared in form and size with the average stone used for the same purpose. In fact, these blocks are much less frequently used than mealing stones, such as that shown in fig. 2. The mealing blocks are usually more or less elliptical in form and about eighteen inches in length. With such a block is always used a stone muller.

300 Various other implements are made of wood, but

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

most of these have been or will be discussed in other sections of this paper. Among these objects are hooks for suspending various commodities and for use as a fish-pole rack; spinning and weaving implements; mesh sticks used in the manufacture of cordage and netting; mauls for beating out bark cloth; the condensing board or "worm" employed in distilling, and stamps for body decoration and for canoe painting.

Stone Implements

The stone implements used by the Cayapa are confined almost entirely to the mealing stone and the muller. The former is usually a flat stone from eight inches to a foot in width, from a foot to two feet in length, and five or six inches in thickness. The upper side is slightly hollowed by means of pecking with an old ax or other heavy iron implement. Very few of these mealing stones are made at the present time; indeed few modern mealing stones are now in use. A similar type of stone was used by the former mound-building inhabitants of this region, and from these mounds and old village-sites the Cayapa now obtain practically all the mealing stones needed for their use. In pl. LXII, 2, is shown one of these stones of the typical, modern, Cayapa form, in which the depth of the hollowed upper surface is comparatively slight, but usually the mealing stones obtained from ancient sites are hollowed to a somewhat greater depth. The hollowed portion extends over almost the entire upper surface. Along the sides and generally at one end there is left a ridge to

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

retain the foods which are crushed and pounded upon it. Usually at the opposite end there is no such ridge, the opening serving especially in grinding green corn.

With this mealing stone, and also with the mealing block (pl. LXII, 1), is used a muller consisting usually of a cobblestone from five to seven inches in length, three to four inches in width, and two or three inches in thickness. Sometimes such a muller is shaped artificially. A typical muller is shown in place as it is used on the mealing stone in fig. 2.

The mealing stone and muller are used primarily for making what in Spanish is called bala, boiled green plantain mashed and pounded. From one to half a dozen green plantains are put on the mealing stone, then rolled lightly and mashed with the muller, after which they are pounded with considerable force with the muller held in the right hand while the left is used between strokes to return the fragments of plantain, which have been thrown off by the force of the blows, to the center of the mealing stone. From ten to fifteen strokes of the muller result in a mass of fine-grained but soggy plantain of a light-yellow color. This resembles in texture a piece of half-baked bread-dough and is much esteemed by the Cayapa and also by the negroes. The women and girls usually prepare the bala for the men and boys, and serve it on plates, or, in the more primitive fashion, upon the cooking leaves called ū'tya haki. After the men and boys have been served, the women and girls then make bala for themselves, which they eat directly from the mealing stone. After the meal, the muller is laid upon

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Calabash Implements and Utensils

415 177 245 A class of implements which appear to have come into use since the Cayapa moved to the river valley are made from calabashes, the gourd-like fruit of a tree grown quite commonly along the river. It is said by the Cayapa that in former times pottery was used largely for the many purposes which the various utensils made from the calabash now serve, for the reason that this tree does not grow in their former mountain home. They say that the particular species of calabash which they now grow and use so extensively is an importation from Colombia, but that there is indigenous to this section another and smaller species. The Cayapa maintain that the Indios Bravos, who formerly inhabited this region, used this indigenous calabash and made receptacles similar to those which they themselves now make.

415 245 As before described, there are now grown two different forms of calabash, the one globose (called wa'iyū), the other ellipsoidal (known as cu'lya). These fruits grow to about the size of a man's head, though sometimes they are considerably larger, and a tree produces a large number in the course of a year.

415 The calabash, for whatever purpose it is intended, is always gathered while green, but it is not at its best until it commences to ripen. On the other hand, if allowed to ripen completely it becomes too hard for use. The globose form is much more used than is the ellipsoidal, since the latter yields usually but one type of utensil: the spoon, of which six or eight are obtained from a single

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

calabash. Now and then a small cu'lya is cut into halves and used in the manner of the hemispherical calabash dish called in Spanish mate. The globose calabash yields seven types of utensils. Of these the water-calabash (used as a receptacle for storing water), the small trinket calabash, and the cotton-wad calabash (used with the blowgun), are made from the whole fruit and are therefore globose in form. The mate, the sieve, the dipper, and the skimmer, are each made from half of one of these fruits, and consequently are hemispherical.

The spherical calabashes, such as those shown in pl. LXIII and pl. LXV, are called wa'iyū and are used for carrying and storing water. They consist almost invariably of the large, entire, globular fruit, with a small opening made at or near the stem for filling and pouring. Such a calabash sometimes measures a foot or more in diameter, and each of the women and girls of the household has usually two at least in number, which she keeps filled and on the water rack near the fire-box. Even little girls have one or two small calabashes, which they regularly fill and use in connection with the cooking, in which art they learn to assist while very young. This smaller spherical calabash is used as a receptacle for various other articles: those measuring from two to four inches in diameter are used to hold such trinkets as fishhooks and the like, while the smallest ones, called le'meta, are for containing the red and yellow achote used as face-paint.

When gathered green, calabashes are filled with a mass of fairly hard white seeds and pulp, which are removed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

with considerable care, especially from the globose water-calabashes (the wa′iyū) which have such small openings. By repeatedly striking the shell of the calabash gently with the point of a machete or other sharp-pointed implement in such manner as to chip the shell away little by little, an opening of the desired diameter is made: this is usually at or near the point at which the stem of the fruit was attached, and its size depends on the size of the calabash, but it rarely exceeds an inch and a half. With a long implement (wai-be′rū, or wai-be′ū; from wa iyū, calabash, and be′rū, hook), such as that shown in pl. CXVII, 1, the seeds and pulp are removed. It has one end shaped like a chisel, the other being fitted with a piece of coconut-shell in the shape of a hoe-blade. The chisel end is first inserted and the mass of pulp cut and worked into as small pieces as possible, a small quantity of water being added from time to time. The greater part of the pulp having been thus removed, the implement is reversed and the inner walls of the calabash are scraped with the hoe-end until they are smooth and clean. This process is usually performed in a canoe at the river where an abundance of water is available. Finally the calabash is turned with the opening downward over a stick, outdoors, until it has thoroughly dried. This curing in the more or less direct sunlight changes the color of the outer surface of the calabash from light-green to dark-brown.

Calabash receptacles are frequently ornamented with incised lines or figures, or with grotesque figures of mammals, birds, and human beings. A variety of these

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

designs is shown in pl. LXXXVI. This decoration is accomplished by cutting with the point of a machete or a knife while the calabash is green, and results, when the utensil is dried, in a white linear figure on a brown background, since it is only the thin outer skin of the calabash that turns brown in the curing. After several days of curing in the open, excepting during rain, the calabash vessel is ready for use. It is rarely put into service immediately, however, since a considerable supply of these utensils is always kept on hand; more frequently it is stored away to season thoroughly and become more durable. A small cross-stick attached to a piece of pitigua cord is inserted in the opening of a globose water-calabash, which is then suspended from a rafter of the house to season. Ordinarily several of these calabashes are thus hung in a cluster. The opening is always plugged with a piece of hoja blanca, or of the leaf ū′tya hakī, used in cooking, in order to protect the calabashes from the ravages of cockroaches.

A second type of calabash utensil, called in Spanish mate and in Cayapa cu′lya, is usually hemispherical and is made ordinarily of the globose form of fruit. Now and then, however, an ellipsoidal calabash is used for this purpose, in which case the mate is elliptical in horizontal cross-section. Fig. 13 exhibits a hemispherical mate resting on a typical woven ring, made to keep it in an upright position, especially when used to serve liquid at feasts. About the rim and on the sides of the mate are shown incised decorations. By cutting the fruit exactly in two, through the stem, a single calabash of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

● 415 [442] course provides two mates. The cutting is almost always done with an old machete, the edge of which is serrated by striking it with another machete at intervals of about an eighth of an inch. With this crude saw the shell of the calabash is carefully cut along a line marked usually by a string tied tightly around it. The removal

[285 531]

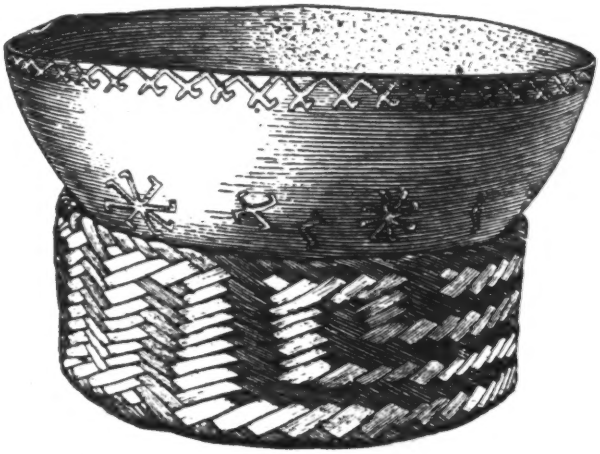

FIG. 13.—Calabash vessel and woven ring

of the pulp is in this case a simple matter. It is first scooped out in large pieces with the point of a machete or a knife, and then, when the inner surface of the shell is reached, it is scraped carefully and smoothly with a small, smooth-edged clam-shell. The drying also is a more simple process than in the case of the water-calabash, since the inner surface is more exposed to the air.

When dry, the mate is used for a multitude of purposes, such as dipping liquids, serving foods, and so on. If permitted to lie for a long time in any liquid, the cala-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

bash absorbs the moisture, causing it to soften and ultimately to decay; but if kept in a dry place when not in use, it may be of service indefinitely. Although the walls of one of these calabashes are not more than a sixteenth to an eighth of an inch in thickness, they bear a considerable strain, as when used in bailing canoes. Inasmuch as canoes are always left over night in the river, they often become more or less filled by rain during the night, consequently the need of calabash bailers is very great. On arising in the morning it is the duty of some member of the family, if the day is fair, to go to the river with a mate and bail out all of the canoes, both those of the members of the household and those of visitors.

The advantages of a mate over a pottery or other heavy vessel are apparent: it is easily made, fairly durable, and very light. Its lightness and portability are of special advantage in traveling by canoe, when every pound saved is important; moreover, it will not sink should it be dropped overboard. In fact, advantage is taken of the lightness of the mate in the following interesting manner: Some canoes are very long, and when fully loaded in their center it is impossible for a person in the prow to pass anything, such as food, to one in the stern. Therefore, in event of such need, it is necessary only to place the article in a mate, set the mate in the water, and as the stern of the canoe passes it, it is picked up. To pass any small object, such as a knife, it is usually placed on the blade of one of the long paddles and passed over the cargo. Obviously this could not be done with a round-bottomed mate, especially if it contained liquid.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The mate[1] has still another special use—that of a woman's cap. With it is worn a piece of light-weight black cloth or a double bandana handkerchief, which passes over the head and shoulders and hangs down the back as a protection from the sun. Usually this cap is decorated with incised lines and figures, and occasionally it is used as a drinking-cup in traveling, but it is never put to any of the ordinary uses in which common mates are employed. On long canoe journeys the women usually carry special mates for use as urinals.

By means of two small perforations at each of two opposite points, a hemispherical mate is bound to a long handle to serve as a dipper, especially in the distillation of rum. Such dippers, called sūmbū and ūīkala pī cūīnūnt-sū′mī, are shown in pls. LXIII and LXV.

Further, the bottom of a mate may be perforated to adapt it as a sieve or strainer, called cī′culya, in making green-corn mush and ripe plantain gruel. Attached to a long handle, such a strainer is employed for skimming the froth which rises in boiling cane juice preparatory to fermentation.

The third form of calabash implement is the spoon, called ci′ñ kūtcada, from Spanish cuchara. This implement is always made by cutting narrow sections from the side of an ellipsoidal calabash with the saw-like machete above mentioned. One of these fruits ordinarily provides material for six to eight spoons, varying in length from three or four to as much as fifteen inches. The large spoons are commonly used for stirring food while cooking, and both the large and the small

[1] [i.e., A hemispherical gourd container.---Analyst]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

PL. LXXXVI

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DESIGNS ON CALABASH UTENSILS

[p. 172 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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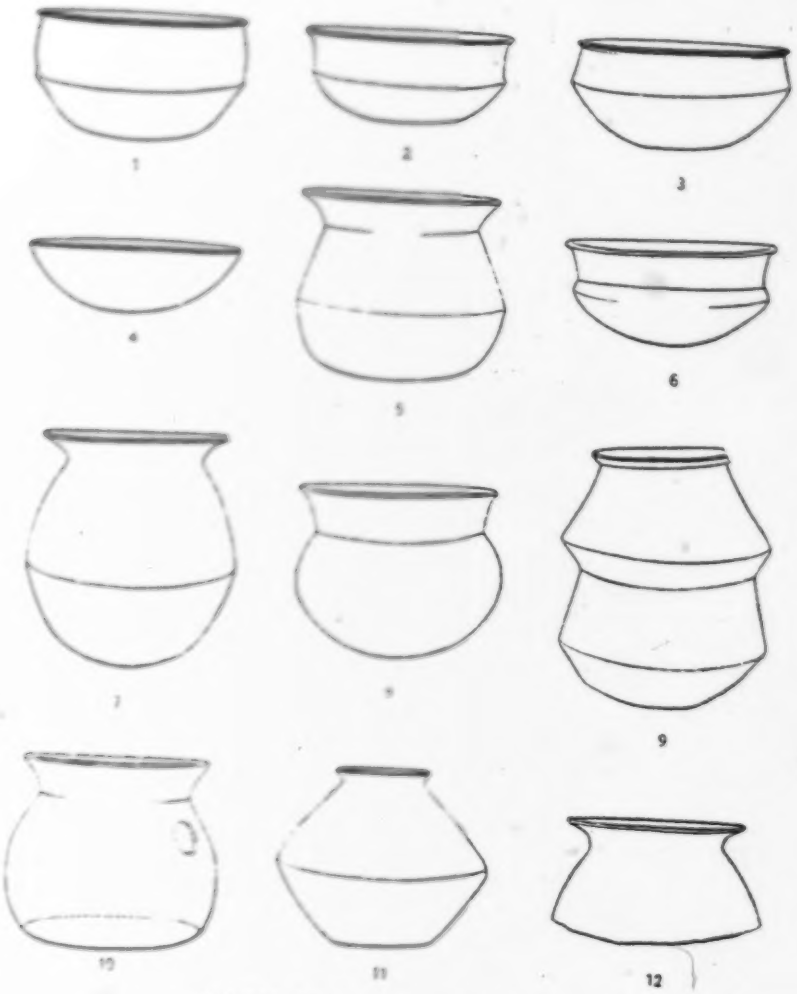
323



FORMS OF POTTERY VESSELS

[p. 172 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ones are used to a certain extent in eating, although for this purpose they have been largely superseded by iron spoons. Calabash spoons, like the mates, are often ornamented with incised lines.

Pottery

The Cayapa make a rather crude, heavy pottery vessel, entirely undecorated except in a few forms in which incised lines and dots are impressed in the rim or the shoulder; but no painting, slipping, or glazing is used. The generic name for pottery is pia'ma, or bĭa'ma.

There are in all ten forms of pots, eight of which are in general use among the Cayapa. All are shown in outline in pl. LXXXVII. These types are: 1, A shallow plate form (fig. 4), called specifically tŏ' palatŏ. 2, A somewhat deeper cooking-pot (figs. 1–3), the sides of which, under ordinary circumstances, are comparatively straight, while the rim is without a lip. 3, Another cooking-pot (fig. 6), with a more or less hemispherical base, a pronounced shoulder around the side, and a prominent outcurving lip. 4, A small, flat-bottomed pot (fig. 5), somewhat of the form of an inverted truncated cone and with a more or less outcurving lip. 5, A somewhat globose form (fig. 8), with wide neck and outcurving rim. 6, A large storage olla (fig. 11), called specifically bŭ'lŭm bĭama, with slightly oval bottom, more or less conical sides, and narrow neck with outcurving rim. 7, A large pottery caldron (fig. 7), which forms part of the still. 8, The condensing chamber (fig. 10), without bottom, used in distilling rum. Pots of the

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

323 forms shown in figs. 1–2, 6, are without special name,
415 being known by the generic term pĭa'ma. Those of the forms represented in figs. 5, 7, 8, are called kanda'rō.

323 To these earthenware vessels may be added a ninth
352 form, though it can not strictly be considered as a separate type, since it is made by breaking off the lower portion of one of the other forms (fig. 12). It is set over the fire and serves as a kind of chimney to direct the smoke and heat upward to the fish that are laid upon sticks
415 across its mouth for curing. There is also used, though
323 rarely, for making chocolate, a pot with reëntrant sides like that shown in fig. 9.

317 The clay, called tū or tō, used in pottery-making is
323 yellowish-brown in color and is dug from the banks of certain esteros. Usually a considerable quantity is gathered at a time and brought by canoe to the house, where it is worked over to remove stones, sticks, and other impurities. It is then wrapped in leaves and put in a shady place until needed, being moistened with water from time to time. For tempering the pottery there is mixed with the clay a bluish, gritty earth, called lu'c tū, meaning literally "blue earth or clay," which also is found in a few places along the river.

323 In making pottery, the woman takes a quantity of cleaned clay and again works it over to remove any remaining foreign substances, water being added if necessary to make it plastic. When the clay is of the proper consistency, the bluish, gritty earth above referred to is thoroughly kneaded into it, in quantity equaling perhaps one-tenth that of the clay. This

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

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POTTERY VESSELS SET TO DRY

[p. 174(a)]

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PL. XC

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POTTERY AFTER FIRING

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p.176(11)]

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If possible some ripe-plantain gruel, called ma'la, is poured into the newly-fired pots, which are returned to the embers where the gruel is soon cooked. This cooking serves to fill the pores of the pottery, rendering it practically impervious. If it is not practicable to boil the gruel immediately, the inner and outer surfaces of the receptacles are later rubbed thoroughly with green plantain for the same purpose. This method, however, is considered inferior to the other. 323

All pottery used for ordinary cooking and serving is completed with the firing and the filling of the pores with plantain. Those pots, however, designed for use in fermenting cane-juice in making rum or for the storage of liquids, rather than for use over the fire, are given a coating of brea, usually inside and out, which renders them impervious. It would be useless to apply the brea to pots that are to be placed over the fire, since it melts at a low temperature and readily ignites. Also, if a pot is not intended for storing liquids, there is no reason why it should be entirely impervious, since all earthenware will hold liquids for a short time without allowing moisture to pass through it to any detrimental extent. 323 415

So far as is known, fired clay serves but one other purpose among the Cayapa, that of making small sinkers, called wengōtca'lī, for fish-lines. These sinkers are either globose or cylindrical, with perforations through the center, and are fired in the same manner as ordinary pots. A line with its sinker is shown in fig. 9 (page 131). 323 227

[p. 182 is blank]

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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BASKETS OF PITIGUA AND CHAPA

[p. 186(B)]

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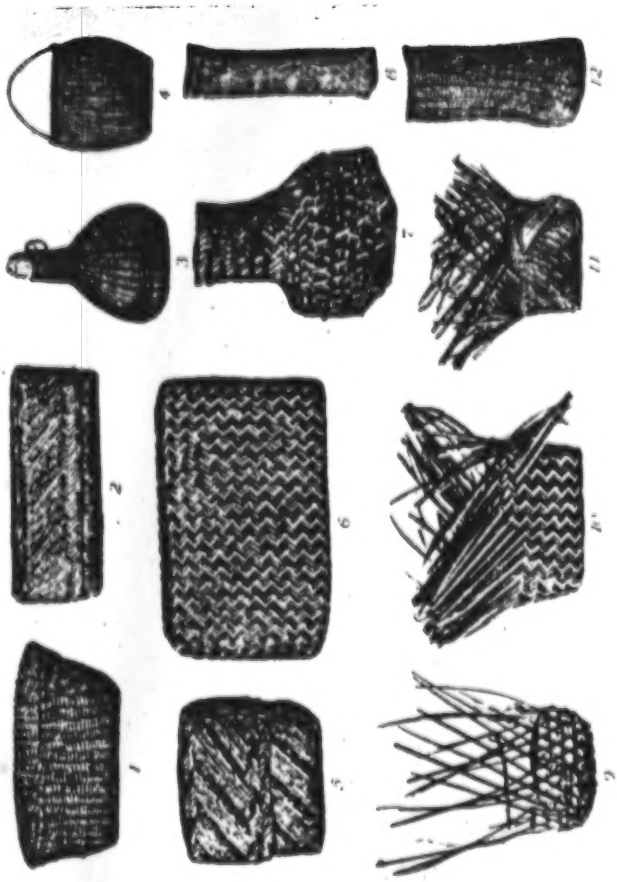
SD 6 Cayapa SD6



PL. XCIII

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

LIGHT BASKETS

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[p. 190(A)]

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

work is still more apparent than in the one here referred to, because these composite, wide elements are made to pass under and over one another several times instead of only once. This process is never employed except at the starting point of this form of basket.

In detail the technics employed by the Cayapa in their basketry are as described below. Further, in addition to its use in basketry, twilling is employed in making mats and fans, and wicker is used in certain burden-bands and in fan-handles.

WICKERWORK

Wickerwork, the simplest of the two-element technics, consists of the passing of a single active or woof element over and under successive passive or warp elements. The Cayapa employ this technic almost solely in connection with the material derived from the aerial root called pitigua and for the making of five forms of basketry: a burden-basket, a shallow rectangular basket, a bottle-shape bait basket, a more or less globose basket used in carrying fruits and as a general household utensil, and a long tubular basket used especially as a receptacle for spindles. Examples of burden-baskets are shown in pl. XCII, 4, 7, while the other forms are illustrated respectively in pl. XCIII, 1, 3, 4, 12.

Ordinarily the Cayapa wickerwork is comparatively tightly woven, as is shown in illustrations referred to. There are, however, two special types of wicker basket which are open in their technic. Both are made for the purpose of allowing water to pass readily through them, being used especially as cages for live crayfish which are kept in the river until required for food.

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

downward, then outward to a position in front of the next pair of warp elements, and finally inward and behind the next pair of these elements. Along the outer surface and directly opposite the above-mentioned horizontal splint, another is passed, and these two are secured by two splints passing spirally and in the same direction along the entire border in such manner as to fasten firmly the pairs of turned-down warp elements. 285

As above mentioned, the wicker technic finds slight use outside of basketry. It is employed in weaving the broad head-bands of the burden-straps which are made of pitigua or of the fibers from the leaf of the palma real, and occasionally in weaving the outer surface of the handle of a fan. In the use first mentioned the elements employed are fairly broad strips of pitigua, as shown in pl. CIII, 1. In the second, the warp elements are made by placing from four to six of the small cylindrical palma-real fibers side by side to form a broad and fairly rigid element. The woof element consists sometimes of but a single palma-real fiber, but usually of two placed side by side as shown in pl. CIII, 3. Occasionally more than two of these fibers are used in such a woof element. The surfaces of fan handles are almost always made, like the blades, in twilled technic, but occasionally one is found which is in wicker, as in the example shown in pl. CIII, 5. 285 293 [482]

TWILLING

The second technic consisting of two elements is twilling. This is employed in the making of hamper-shape baskets (pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 6, 10, 11): long, tubular 285 415

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

[415] 285 [352] baskets (pl. XCIII, 8), used as receptacles for spindles; mats (pl. CVI, 1, 2); fans (pl. CIV); and rings used as rests for calabashes (fig. 13). In all of these the material used is the bark of the fan-leaf palm, locally called pambil. But one type of basket has been encountered in which this technic is found in combination with another material: this is a square-bottomed, cylindrical basket similar in form to that shown in pl. XCII, 3, and is made of pitigua. A section of the side and border of this basket is shown in pl. XCIV, 6.

285 The manipulation of the elements in twilling varies considerably in Cayapa basketry. There are three fundamental methods of handling these elements, as follows: (1) A method by which one element passes over two and under two of the elements which run in the opposite direction (pl. XCIV, 3); (2) a method by which it passes in a similar manner over three and under three (pl. XCIII, 6, 10); (3) a method in which an element passes over seven and under one (pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 8, 11; and pl. XCIV, 5). [177] The last form is said to have been introduced among the Cayapa by the Indians of Colombia, and in substantiation of this it may be noted that the few Cholo who now live on the Rio Cayapas use this form of twilling extensively. The two simpler forms of twilling, so far as could be ascertained, have been long in use among the Cayapa.

In case no design is attempted, as in the basket shown in pl. XCIII, 11, or a simple design be desired, as in the baskets shown in the same plate, 6, 10, and pl. XCIV, 2, 3, these fundamental methods of handling the elements are not varied throughout the basket. If, on the other

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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531 numerical cycles of its own in the manipulation of the splints. In the design shown in the illustration referred to, the cycles produced by this fairly intricate pattern are exhibited in the accompanying pl. XCVI. In the first of these the cycle is that which results from following the splints downward from right to left, while the second is the result of following them downward from left to right.

• [415]

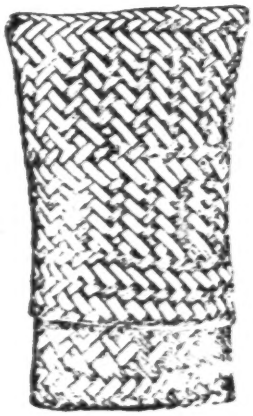

FIG. 15.—Twilled trinket basket

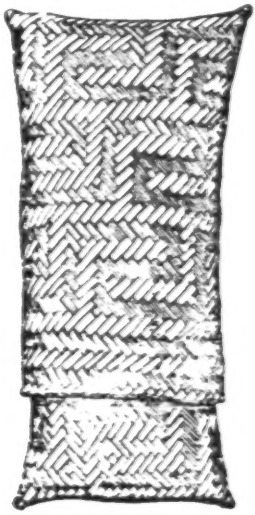

FIG. 16.—Twilled trinket basket

Taken separately, these two show fairly similar and very simple patterns. If, however, they are superposed, the points marked being taken as initial points, the intricate pattern in white shown in pl. XCIV, 1, results. From these cases and others similarly analyzed it is therefore evident that the exact mode of manipulation of the splints in all Cayapa twilling in which any intricate

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

pattern is attempted is governed entirely by the pattern desired, and that any numerical cycle will be employed which will bring to the surface the elements required to produce the desired pattern.

In connection with the change of sequence of the elements in working out an elaborate design, the technical processes involved in changing the direction of a line in a simple design, such as a zigzag, should also be noted. By the very nature of this technic the angle formed in changing the direction of a line is a right angle, as may be seen in pl. XCIV, 6. The change in direction is accomplished by shifting, after the vertex of the angle is past, the point of emergence of each successive horizontal element one vertical element to the right or to the left as the case may be. In this way each of the horizontal elements continues to pass over the regular number of vertical elements as the outer surface of the basket is viewed. The same is not true of the vertical elements however. Immediately in the angle the vertical elements are so crossed by the horizontal ones that only one width appears in the case of the first element, three in the next, and five in the third, after which the two divergent lines of vertical elements run regularly over three and under three. The procedure in the over-two and under-two twilling is the same except that the odd

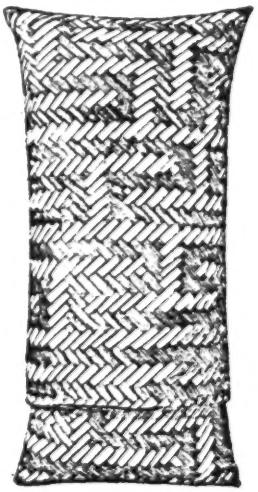

FIG. 17.—Twilled trinket basket

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 cordage. By this process of passing these leaflets from first one side and then the other round this core of leaf-ends, a corner of the basket is built up to its topmost point, where the ends of the last two or three leaflets are tied in such manner as to prevent the corner from loosening. In the same manner all four corners are built up and the basket is then complete.

Forms and Uses

285 • 415 According to form and use, Cayapa basketry may be classed as follows:

Burden-basket, flaring,	kū′bī (pl. xcii, 4, 7).
[482] Burden-basket with vertical sides and carried usually by means of two shoulder-straps,	fe′ pickalyī, fe hi′nū pickalyī e′ pickalyī (pl. xcii, 8).
Square-sided, temporary burden-basket of hoja de chapil,	kūla′ pickalyī, kūla′pō pickalyī, (pl. xcii, 5).
Common cylindrical basket,	picka′lyī (pl. xcii, 1, 3).
Hamper-shape basket,	pū′te (pl. xciii, 2, 5, 6, 10, 11).
Bottle-shape bait basket,	tū′ñūtcītcī, dyūñūtcī′tcī, (pl. xciii, 3).
Tubular basket used for spindles,	tcūrūkū′kū, tīwōtcī′tcī (pl. xciii, 8, 12).

In addition to this classification, in which baskets used for certain purposes are of special forms, there are other terms indicating use which are applicable to a basket of any form, material, or technic. For instance, the name pū-pickalyī, from pū′ka, "fruit," and picka′lyī, "basket," may be used in speaking of any basket in which fruit is carried or stored.

As indicated in most instances by the names in the

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

above tabulation, these several distinct forms of baskets have special uses. The four types of burden-basket are used almost exclusively for carrying heavy loads upon the back. The two types made of hoja de chapil are, as above stated, only for temporary use and are worthless except while the leaves are green. They are also sometimes used, even after they are dry and brittle, by the shamans in their medicine practices. The other two types, which are made of the very durable pitigua, are sometimes used as storage receptacles about the house when not needed for carrying burdens, which is their primary use.

The flaring basket, kū′bī (pl. XCII, 7), is carried by means of a single band provided with a special, wide head-band that passes across the top of the head as the bearer bends forward. This is primarily a woman's burden-basket and is used in the daily home life of the people for bringing fruits and other products from the fields and in a multitude of other ways. It is, however, rarely used in carrying wood, which is so often one of the most important functions of burden-baskets among aboriginal peoples. Wood is usually brought by the canoe-load from some point near the river where a suitable dead tree can be found.

The straight-walled basket, fe′ pickalyī (pl. XCII, 6, 8), is made especially for carrying burdens considerable distances, as on long trail journeys into the interior. Within their own territory these baskets are rarely needed by the Cayapa, since practically all travel is by canoe. Such a basket is provided with two burden-bands attached near the top and the bottom respectively,

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 482 and so placed that the broad bearing surface of each band stands vertically. These bands pass across in front of the shoulders after the manner of the straps of a knapsack. In the case of a large basket, such as that shown in pl. XCII, 8, the cords of the burden-bands pass round the basket to give the load greater security. Further, to add strength, and especially rigidity, to such a basket, two palm-wood rods are placed vertically on the inner surface of the basket, each being so placed as to be directly at the line along which one of the burden-bands is attached. The band is made to take a turn round this rod at each point at which it is attached to the basket. These rods are also of particular service in preventing the cords of the burden-bands from tearing out the relatively slender elements with which the weaving is done, when the basket is used in carrying such a load.

285 415 What is here termed the common cylindrical basket (pl. XCII, 1, 3, and pl. XCIII, 4) has no special use other than as a general storage receptacle for foods, etc. Such baskets are frequently kept in the loft or hung under the eaves of the house when containing articles only occasionally needed.

285 415 485 Perhaps the most useful basket of all those made by the Cayapa is the hamper-shape basket, pū'*le* (pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 6). This basket serves a variety of uses, chief among which are the storage of clothing and other valuable articles, and as a traveling case. No Cayapa enters on a journey of more than a day without one of these hampers, in which are his mosquito canopy, clothing, face-paint, any jewelry he does not wish to wear, and

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

any other articles of value he does not deem it safe to leave at home.

These hampers, especially when used in traveling, are tied about the middle with a cord or a woven band, and can be tumbled about without danger to their contents. They are frequently kept filled with articles in storage in the loft of the house, and often are suspended by the above-mentioned cord or band from the rafters or from one of the timbers at the eaves. Sometimes these baskets are made for special purposes. This is the case with the long one shown in pl. XCIII, 2, which was made especially for the storage of spindles, though the usual spindle storage-basket is a long tubular one like those shown in figs. 8 and 12 of the same plate. Another special form is the very small hamper-shape basket, such as those shown in figs. 15–17; these are used as receptacles for trinkets.

The bottle-shape bait basket, tū′ñūtcītcī (pl. XCIII, 3), is a very specialized form and, as its name implies, is made for the particular purpose of carrying live insect bait in the canoe while fishing. Its narrow neck is provided with a balsa stopper or with some leaves made into a bundle which serves the same purpose.

Tubular baskets, called tcūrūkū′kū (pl. XCIII, 8, 12), are made especially for the storage of spindles, either full or empty. These baskets are usually from thirty to forty centimeters in length by from seven to fifteen centimeters in diameter. Such a basket is hung by one edge of its opening, so that it hangs at more or less of a slant. It is usually suspended from a rafter or other part of the house-frame near the eaves, within easy

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283 285 415 reach from the floor. The Cayapa women are very industrious, and whenever not occupied about the daily routine of their houses and fields, are spinning and weaving. The spinning tripod (pl. CVIII) is always kept in a convenient place at one side of the house, and one or two spindles are usually kept on the small woven shelf near the bottom of the tripod. All extra spindles, whether empty or filled, are, however, kept in these long tubular baskets. When several spindles are filled they are emptied by winding the thread into balls, in which form it is stored until needed.

231 285 One very special form of basket not mentioned in the tabulation above is the large bottle-shape basket shown in pl. XCIII, 7. This unusual basket was made as a cage for a chicken. As a rule, rough baskets of the usual cylindrical form are utilized for this purpose, the opening being closed by binding its edges tightly together with a pitigua cord. This bottle-shape basket was the only one of its kind encountered, and no Cayapa name was given for it.

BASKETRY HANDLES

285 Most of the ordinary cylindrical baskets of small or medium size, regardless of technic, are provided with handles or bails such as those shown in pl. XCII, 3, and XCIII, 4. These handles are always of pitigua and are made in several forms.

The simplest handle consists of a plain piece of pitigua of the proper length, usually unsplit, tied at diametrically opposite points through the border of the basket. Usually it is passed through and brought up far enough

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

As above mentioned, the fibers are fed into the thread from the bottom edge of the roll of cotton, which feeds the fibers evenly from one end of the sheet to the other. Thus, by beginning at the outer corner of the lower edge of the sheet and feeding the fibers evenly into the thread as they come from along the line of the coil made by this lower edge, the opposite end of this edge is reached. This point is at the center of the bottom surface of the roll of cotton, and when it is reached the direction of the pull of the thread is reversed so that it follows this coil back to the outer surface of the roll where its direction is again reversed and the original path is followed to the center of the coil. In this manner the fibers are not drawn from one side more than from another, hence the roll of cotton remains constantly cylindrical and is simply shortened evenly until completely exhausted. 283

Having thus filled a spindle, it is usually placed in one of the long spindle baskets (pl. XCIII, 8, 12) until such time as several spindles have been filled and it is desired to wind the thread into balls. Such a ball is illustrated in pl. CVII, 10. [415]

In order that the thread may unwind readily from the spindle, this is held between the great and second toe of each foot. The short portion of the spindle shaft below the whorl is usually placed between the toes of the left foot, the opposite end of the shaft resting between the toes of the right foot. In this manner a reel is formed and the thread unwinds easily.

Thread is almost always stored in balls. The white and the brown thread is usually kept in balls from three to five inches in diameter. The green and the lavender

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

designed for their own use. In every instance these old-type designs are geometric, but the newer ones are usually realistic, depicting mammals, human beings, and other realistic objects.

In carving, the dolls are entirely realistic, as is shown in pl. LXXXIV, and depicting, the dog, alligator, bird, and especially the human form. In the last instance care is usually taken to indicate the sex. In paddle handles, on the other hand, the forms are usually simple and are always geometric, as is shown in pl. LXXVI. They have no special names. Even in the case of the elaborately carved handle shown in fig. 9 of the plate, no name was given for any of the designs. The same holds true of the designs in the face-painting sticks depicted in pl. CXXI–CXXII.

Closely related to ornamental carving are the wooden seats shown in pl. LXXXIII, some of which receive ornamental treatment certainly not demanded by utilitarian considerations. From comparison with similar objects of South and Central America it seems probable that in these seats, especially the forms shown in figs. 2 and 3, there lies a striking connection of the Cayapa culture with that of a number of other tribes in these regions. As has been shown by Professor Saville,[15] the archeological range of these objects is extensive, the most elaborate among them being the large stone seats from Manabi, carved to represent jaguars.

On the surfaces of calabash utensils are found the only incised designs in use among the Cayapa. These are

[15] See page 156, note.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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made by cutting with the point of a knife or machete through the calabash rind, exposing the inner, white, hard portion which at first contrasts greatly with the brown general surface of the utensil. After such a utensil has been used for a time the incised designs also become brown. The calabash designs shown in pl. LXXXVI present various realistic figures, as well as a considerable number of geometric designs. In the small series of figures shown in this plate there are ten recognizable animal forms, namely:

Subject	*Figures*
Human being	1–4
Human being on horse	5, 9
Monkey	6
Horse or dog	18
Bird	10–12
Lizard	13
Turtle	16
Crab	14, 36
Scorpion	7
Tick	15
Animal (unknown form)	8, 17

The majority of these designs are relatively small, but in the crab design shown in fig. 36 of pl. LXXXVI, is presented a notable exception. This design appeared about the opening of a large, spherical, water-storage calabash and covered about half the entire surface of the vessel. The usual names given to the various animals themselves are also applied to these designs. As usual, on the other hand, the geometric figures are frequently unnamed.

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Cayapa pottery is very simple in its forms and is entirely without decoration except in rare instances in

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

upon the table; the rest was divided into small bits, and, after an invocation by the warden of the church, the men and boys, all seated on low benches about the table, proceeded to feast. The women meanwhile partook of a portion of the food that had been sent to the next room to them. Having finished the meal, a benediction was pronounced by the warden and the floor was cleared of all scraps of food and the leaves forming the table.

Immediately fresh leaves were spread as at first, and the boda, the word being here used in its more restricted sense, was served. While an ofrenda has a very elaborate assortment of foods, a boda has only fish, oysters, or meats cooked in ripe plantain in the form of a thick gruel. This is served always in the aboriginal pottery plates of the kind shown in pl. LXXXVII, 4, although for everyday use dishes of European manufacture have almost entirely supplanted the pottery plates formerly used. In this particular case the boda consisted of a single course of plantain and fish, but sometimes other courses are served in order. The feast having been finished, the majority of the people went to their respective abodes in the village or to the house of the chief.

At such gatherings offenders against the law are usually brought before the chief, by whom justice is dispensed and differences between individuals adjudicated. On this particular occasion several matters of this nature demanded the chief's attention. The details of these will show something of the methods of dispensing justice among the Cayapa.

Immediately after the boda on this first day the chief sent some officers to bring before him certain offenders

Other wooden articles

still made by the Cayapa include the /tácĭ wimáso/ "bark cloth beater," /mašúka/ "plantain masher," and food stirrers of various types. A full listing and description can be had by consulting Barrett (Barrett 1925: 159-161). Elliptical wooden bowls called bates in Spanish, are cut from a single piece of wood, and they serve as trays for the preparation of some foods. 322 [412] [252] [415]

Musical instruments, which are played by the men, include the marimba or /mā́ⁱmba/, a large drum called by the Spanish word bombo, and a small free-standing drum that tapers at the base called conuno. The Negroes use the same instruments, but they also use various gourd rattles and bamboo shakers. Guitars are occasionally found among the Negroes but only seldom among the Cayapa. 534 [462] [171]

Pottery. This art is scarcely practiced anymore. In fact I was completely unaware that earthenware pots were in the household inventory at all until I was asked one day if I wished to purchase a small Cayapa-made one for five sucres (.38 U.S.). This was the only pot I ever saw, except for the large cantaras made by the people of the San Miguel section, for the storage of /wápa/, the fermented sugar-cane juice called guarapo in Spanish. 323 [178] [126] [273]

men, and occasionally only one shotgun is available to share among them. 224

Fishing is an important adjunct to the dietary pattern. 226 Fish are dynamited, netted, speared, trapped, drugged, and hooked. [262] Often a man or boy will work his canoe up-stream and then drift slowly down while he plays his hook and line which are tied to a light pole. [825] The fisherman baits his hook with a lively grasshopper, drops his line into the water, then holds his arm motionless except for a slight movement of his wrist which causes the line to move with a sinusoidal motion. This favorite method can only be used when the river is very low. At these times, in the evening, three men or boys go out in a canoe moving slowly along the bank. One man paddles, another holds a flashlight or a pressure lantern, [416] [373] and the third man stands ready with a fish spear. The light attracts multitudes of fish, and the haul is invariably a huge one. Lobster can also be easily trapped when the river is low. [824] A lobster trap, called <u>catanga</u> is baited with plantain. It is set under water alongside a bank that has some protuberance, such as a pile of driftwood. The mouth of the trap is placed so it faces

505 might hear a piano or phonograph music from somewhere. That they still must quickly take a look at. The entire crowd rushes busily into the house concerned and up the stairs. Their curiosity is soon satisfied and they come down again and now they must be off quickly so as to be able to make use of the tide current. Their
501 unpainted canoes are 8 to 10 meters (Translator--about 8 to 10 yds.) in length and from 70 to 90 centimeters (Translator--2 1/3 to 3 ft.) in width. They are slim and pleasing in shape and have
[531] black colored decorations around the edges. Each one of them accommodates from 5 to 8 persons, close together, with their meager belongings. They paddle along nimbly with their leaf-shaped oars and, while their canoes glide along silently and swiftly, the entire crowd has soon disappeared in the mouth of the
484 Mira River. It will take them two days to reach their hometowns.
648 During the journey they camp in the open over night, somewhere along the shore, in an empty pasture. But they have to be careful. Occasionally they are attacked and robbed there by Negroes, and if they resist, they are murdered in cold blood. Only recently a whole group of them, men, women and children, 14 persons altogether, were most cruelly murdered on the Mira River by some bestial Negroes.

101 [285] However, our friends will now have arrived home safe
342 and sound on the upper Cayapa River. They are greeted from afar
361 by the friendly smoke of their own hearths. Their villages con-
824 sist of a few, widely dispersed bamboo huts of a most primitive type. A few uncut tree trunks have simply been rammed into the earth in a rectangle. The floor is at a height of 3 to 4 meters (Translator--ca. 3 to 4 yds.) and is made of split bamboo. Above this, at an equal distance, is the roof made of coconut (?) palm (Steinnusspalme) leaves. That is the entire structure. Since these houses have no walls, it is obivous that doors and windows are not
417 required either. The trunk of the Ceiba trees, light as a cork,
824 into which a few steps are hewn, serves as stairs. (The Ceiba tree
512 produces the silk-like balsa wool, called "Kapok" on the European market.) These stairs are obliquely leaned on, without being fastened anywhere. A hen-roost can be climbed more easily than one of these Cayapa ladders. In order to be somewhat safe from surprises by unwanted visitors, the ladders are drawn up to the living quarters overnight, and when a family goes on a trip, the ladder is thrown into the river and left to float away. After
322 all it is so simple and easy to fetch another Ceiba trunk from the nearby forest on returning and quickly hack a few step-like cuts into it with a chopping knife.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent canefields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported.

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Cayapa* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the priests visit the *Cayapa*.

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive.

In addition to permanent houses, small temporary ranchos are sometimes built when people are far from home. The houses in the "village" are standard structures, but the church follows Spanish ways: it rests on the ground and has walls.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Although *Cayapa* tradition records a period when the people wore blankets and even ponchos, today their clothes are scanty (pl. 59, *bottom*). The men wear a tight, small, white garment, made like bathing trunks, and a thin gaudy shirt of calico, with short and very tight sleeves. On festive occasions vests of European cut and manufacture are frequently donned over the shirt, and so are felt fedoras.

Women wear a long skirt of native cloth, girded with a narrow fringed belt. As in the Highlands, several skirts of different weights are sometimes worn. Head, shoulders, and chest are usually left bare.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

motion is desired, a string with a grip is used. Occasionally a girl may be seen spinning a top, but it is primarily an amusement of the boys.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Buildings

The buildings of the Cayapa may be divided into four classes: the dwelling or regular abode, the rancho or temporary structure, the cane-mill and distillery, and the church, this last, of course, being of modern introduction. All these buildings, except the church, which is at ground level, are pile structures and are constructed according to a single general plan.

In pls. I-IV are shown typical dwellings. They are always rectangular in ground-plan (pl. XI), and vary in size according to the number of occupants, some reaching large dimensions. The dwelling of which the above-mentioned ground-plan is presented is 87 feet in extreme length and 41 feet in width. Dwellings are almost invariably situated along the river bank, and each is flanked by fields of sugar-cane, plantains, bananas, cacao, pineapples, and other crops. The dwellings are raised four to twelve feet from the ground, and access is gained by means of ladders such as those illustrated in fig. 1, especially those of the types shown in *a* and *d*.

The houses are fairly simple in construction. The framework consists of a number of heavy squared posts of a hard black wood called by the local Spanish name

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 [824] guayacan, in which notches are cut at the level of the floor (pl. XIII, *b*) to hold the stringers that support it. The tops of these posts are also notched for the beams that support the superstructure. The sides of the

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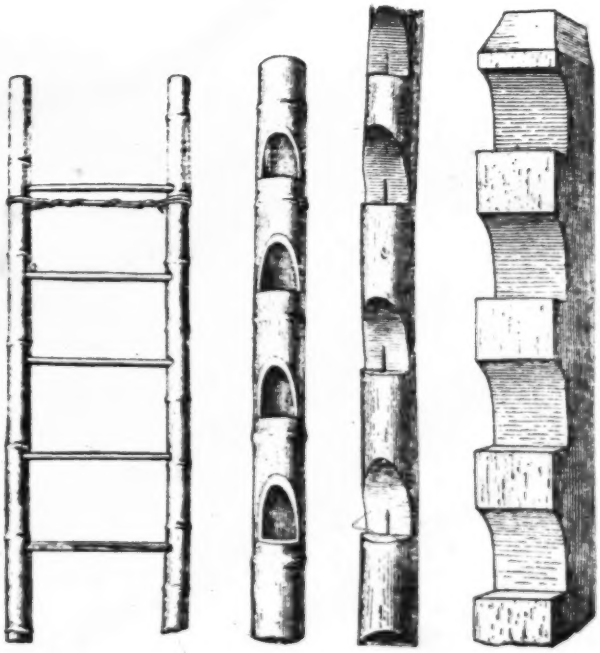

a *b* *c* *d*

FIG. 1.—Types of ladders

[824] building are entirely unenclosed. The roof is steep and is thatched with palm leaves. Sometimes a single roof covers the whole building, as in those structures shown in pls. II, VII; but upon the larger buildings it is ordinarily in two parts, as indicated in pls. X, XI. While the floor in such a structure is continuous, the presence

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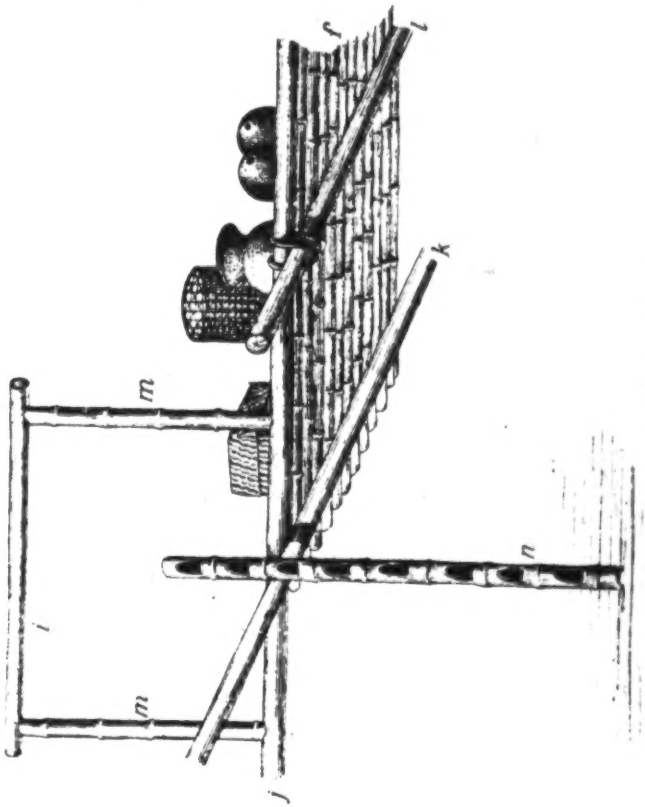
PL. XIV



STORAGE PLATFORM OR LOFT

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[P. 58 (B)]

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

ECONOMICS

The *Cayapa* economic unit is the virtually self-sufficient, one-family household. Land is owned and worked familially, and there is as much land to be had as the family can clear. If any special rules govern distribution and inheritance, they are not reported by our sources. Also, there seem to be very few provisions for interhousehold cooperation: men will help a neighbor bring down a tree trunk from the hills, but all other activities are evidently left to individual enterprise.

This self-sufficiency does not apply to all spheres of activity. Machetes and rifles are essential in jungle life, and most families make at least one trip a year to the coast for trading and social purposes. In the small Ecuadorean and Colombian towns they find a ready market for rubber, tagua nuts, and other forest products. Cocoa is grown specifically for this trade. There is also a limited market for some of their manufactures: canoes, mats, fans, and other basketry. In exchange, the *Cayapa* want metal goods: axes, machetes, shotguns, fishhooks, fish spears, and copper tubing for their distilleries. But they also like beads and mirrors, pearls, vests, and old derby hats. In recent years machine-made muslins and calicoes have been edging out native-made cloth.

The *Cayapa* are not yet incorporated in Ecuadorean economy. Their need for metal goods and trinkets has not yet forced them to work on plantations or in placer gold mines. Their own supply of rum has helped them avoid debts contracted for alcohol, and they have usually retreated into the forest when their self-sufficiency has been menaced. It is improbable that this selective acculturation can last very long.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The basic *Cayapa* social unit is the household. Though there is no definite indication as to size and composition, it appears to be an extended family including normally no more than 10 to 12 people. Chief Antonio Napa's house at Punta Venado could seat some 40-odd people at a feast, but it was unique in size, and the Napa household according to Basurco (1894) had only 8 to 10 members.

Barrett (1925) presents a detailed chart of kinship terms used by the *Cayapa*. We unfortunately know nothing about the behavior that goes with the terms or about marriage rules. On the face of it the system is a "lineal" one—collateral relatives are separated from lineal ones but are not differentiated among themselves. Thus, the term for uncle applies to both paternal and maternal ones. All terms are highly descriptive. There is no evidence of reciprocal use of terms, but Barrett's chart is not really complete. The system is quite unique and interesting.

The lineal and descriptive nature of the kinship system emphasizes the bilateral character of the *Cayapa* family. There is no clan organization. The extended family household is the truly basic social unit. There is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

neighbor, though occasionally two or three houses may be within sight of one another along the river. In no case, however, is there an approach to communal life, each family forming an individual unit with family property-rights. There is, to be sure, a central government, the head of which is an hereditary chief, or *gobernador*, as he is at present called after the Spanish fashion. The purposes of this central government are strictly those of preserving law and order, settling controversies between individuals, and punishing infringements upon recognized social customs. In no case is there any interference by the central government with property or other recognized family rights and privileges.

A family, as the term is here used, consists of husband, wife, children, and dependents. By dependent is meant not necessarily one who is supported by the others, but one not having a house and a family of his own and who may choose to reside with some family, usually a closely related one. These dependents are usually newly-married sons or daughters, or are parents, grandparents, or other relatives of the head of the house or of his wife.

The daily life of the Cayapa is a busy routine for all members of the household, especially the women. In addition to the cooking, keeping the house in order, and attending to the wants of the smaller children, the mother of the household is kept busy spinning, weaving cloth, and making baskets, mats, fans, and pots, to say nothing of the work she does in the care of the crops and the gathering of the wild foods.

adept at tailoring, and make their own clothing. Children learn from their fathers. A few men own sewing machines which they sometimes rent out; some take tailoring orders from their less skillful neighbors. Some men may even make their wives' skirts /pihtahal^{y}i/. The man wears western-style trousers with pegged cuffs that are shaped to permit easier gathering of the trouser leg at the calf, if wading should be necessary. The trousers are held up by leather belts that are purchased. The colors of the trousers are usually dark tones of blue, grey, khaki, or black. The Cayapa are restricted in color choice simply because the available trouser cloth that is purchased in the coastal towns tends to come in these shades. On the other hand, shirt material is available in a wide variety of colors and every conceivable color combination is used, very often in harlequin fashion.

The shirt /huwál^{y}i/ is cut in a rectangular fashion with a short slit neck which forms a 'vee' when worn. Tight short sleeves run down about three inches from the shoulders. The front and rear panels are joined together at the sides by colored strips of varying widths. The panels may be of the same bright color,

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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land is acceded to the cultivator. The theft of rubber appears to be more an indication of industry than of wrongdoing, and whatever criminal aspects exist are usually expiated by the sharing of the profits.

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The stealing of pigs, however, is in a totally different category. Unlike land, there is never a clouded title to the ownership of the animals, and unlike land, the fact of ownership of the animals is sufficient to establish the owner's legal rights. Pigs are not worked as is land, and increased production is left entirely up to the pigs. No matter how hard a pig thief may work--and, sometimes, he must run for miles across difficult country to round up the animal(s)--his industry brings him no rewards when he is caught, because he has contributed no productive labor. As a matter of fact, pig-stealing is recognized as an offense, although the thief may not be punished. The following case is illustrative of this point.

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The owner of stolen pigs tracks down the thief. Lorenzo Añapa became ill some time in 1957 and went to Sapallo Grande to consult the /ũn^{y}i/, Jesusito, who is a curer. The treatment lasted two weeks. When Lorenzo

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returned, he found that his pigs were gone. He suspected Perdomo of having taken them, and for one year he questioned residents of the area for evidence. At last he found the Negro who had bought the pigs and he identified Perdomo as the man from whom he had bought them. Lorenzo took this evidence to the late /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio, who returned with him and held a hearing. Perdomo was present, but said very little in his own defense as Ramón, a Negro employee of the man who had purchased the pigs, identified Perdomo as the seller. The pigs had been sold for five hundred sucres, and the /ún^{y}i/ ordered Perdomo to pay four hundred sucres to Lorenzo, fifty sucres to the witness, Ramón, and fifty sucres as a fine to the /ún^{y}i/, who had lost two days work to attend to this matter.

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Perdomo was not permitted to keep any of his ill-gotten gains nor, aside from the shame of being uncovered as a thief, was he penalized in any manner. As a rule, irregularities involving pigs are settled quickly. If a pig eats the produce from someone else's garden, for instance, payment is made for the produce without question. Occasionally, however, a quarrel involving pigs may become quite serious as is seen in the following

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account of a dispute that occurred about sixty years ago.

A foraging sow is killed and the owner chooses exile over revenge-murder. Gerardo's elder brother, Reninio Perdomo, had a sow that was just about ready to drop her young. She ate some plantain belonging to a neighbor who administered a severe beating to the sow. That same night the litter of piglets was born dead, and soon after, the sow died also. Reninio became highly incensed and beat up the neighbor. His anger still not assuaged, he decided to move to the coast, for otherwise he might kill the neighbor and then be imprisoned as a result. He could not tolerate the idea of imprisonment. "People now said that it was better to move out, than kill and get thrown in jail."

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The case is interesting because of the murderous passions invoked by the beating of the sow and her subsequent death--passions that were not aroused when land or rubber were involved. In addition, the case is of interest because it is the only known incident in which an individual, rather than commit murder, chose exile.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

In marked contrast to the sexual sphere, decisions involving land always involved a compromise solution, a balancing of conflicting claims. It appears to the writer that compromise solutions of this type preclude punishment for the usurper. Restitution rather than punishment or partial profit marks settlement of pig-stealing cases, because the thief does not have a claim based upon productive work. The compromise solutions in land disputes reflect a basic acceptance by all parties to the dispute that work validates ownership and keeps the boundary lines and title clear.

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small temporary shelters called by the Spanish term ranchos. In general construction these ranchos are similar to the permanent houses, but they may be only 4 feet or two off the ground. As the property holdings of most Cayapa are scattered, many build several permanent houses at other convenient sites and alternate residences as the farming situation dictates. If relatives have a house in the area already, then a new house need not be built, and shelter is taken with the kin. It is possible for a family to have no permanent abode of its own but rather to shift back and forth between relatives who happen to live near their property. This, however, is a very rare occurrence, and in the few cases recorded, I suspect that it is transitory. A "complete" person "un hombre completo" to be fully adult should be master of his own house. Pedrito Alape, for example, was living with relatives, but he was bewitched and suffered from many illnesses, and in addition his land was "spoiled" by witchcraft. Despite this, he still felt that the best thing for him to do was to get some land elsewhere, and set up an independent household.

Subsistence Activities. Farming is the main occupation

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> The distinctive characteristic of the corporate peasant community is that it represents a bounded social system with clear-cut limits, in relations to both outsiders and insiders. It has structural identity over time. Seen from the outside, the community as a whole carries on a series of activities and upholds certain "collective representations." Seen from within, it defines the rights and duties of its members and prescribes large segments of their behavior (Wolf 1955:496). . .
>
> The open community differs from the corporate peasant community in a number of ways . . . The open community comprises a number of subcultures of which the peasantry is only one. . . . (it) emphasizes continuous interaction with the outside world and ties its fortunes to outside demands (Wolf 1955:463). . .
>
> The open community lends itself to rapid shifts in production because it is possible to mobilize the peasant and to orient him rapidly toward the expanding market. Land is usually owned privately. Decisions for change can be made by individual families. Property can be mortgaged, or pawned in return for capital. The community the community cannot interfere in such change. (Wolf 1955:463).

Wolf of course did not intend these classifications to be an either-or device, and degrees of commitment to one or another community organization are to be expected. In terms of economic involvements with the money economy, the Cayapa display many of the features of the open peasant community: they own their land individually and may alienate it individually. Decisions are made by individual families and the community cannot interfere

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like the Negroes,

they cut more land for banana production, but unlike Negroes they always maintained a large reserve for subsistence agriculture. They are in the money economy but not yet of it. The Cayapa are not a completely open peasant community. Movement into the Cayapa cultural community is limited to born Cayapa and boundary maintenance is structured in terms of language and culture. A true picture, however, must view the Negro and Indian sectors as parts of a larger unit. The national government views the Cayapa as a corporate body with certain rights which do not pertain to the open peasant Negro communities in the area. The Cayapa are held by the government to be the owners of the land (which is ill-defined and not surveyed) and all outsiders must purchase land from them. This tends to emphasize the commercial character of the open peasant communities and we may be perhaps justified in calling them banana farmers. They must invest capital in farm land to increase production. The Cayapa need not do so. If the Cayapa requires more land, he may buy it to be sure, but he can also cut it out of the forest. However, as yet he tends not to increase his production at the behest of

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CHAPTER V

LAND, PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Land is the basis of the Cayapa economy. The region, undefined and unsurveyed, has been deeded to the Cayapa as a tribe. Negroes and Whites who desire land must purchase it from an Indian in order to have a clear title. The title is for the land itself and not just for usufruct. The Cayapa may obtain land by cutting it out of the virgin forest (monte jivaro), he may buy it or he may inherit it. More land is available for subsistence farming than for other purposes. For the cash crop of bananas the land must be of good quality, well drained, and within easy access of a navigable stream that flows into the main river body traveled by La Propaganda, the banana buyers. In addition, the grower must be able to meet the banana boat on schedule. A stand of rubber trees will also increase the value of the land. Rubber is sold in Colombia where, traditionally, the price is higher than in Ecuador and retail prices on consumer items wanted by the Cayapa are cheaper. Once a year, as a rule,

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diet now, but the leaves are in demand for roofing material. Another cash crop is hardwood trees, but they are not often planted; enterprising individuals cut them out of the unclaimed forest.

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Land is seldom held in one large block. It is usually scattered about among other holdings so that, quite often, choice properties are separated by distances involving several day's travel. Many Cayapa have two houses, each built as close as possible to their main holdings. Inevitably, they must spend considerable time away from large sections of their property and, as a result, Negroes often illegally harvest standing crops or, perhaps, plant their own. Negroes may buy land from the Cayapa, but as the banana economy continues to boom, the Indians are more and more reluctant to sell. Sometimes usufruct is rented by the Negro, usually for a share of the profits, but arguments invariably develop. It is said that the Indian is always at a disadvantage in his dealings with the Negro because of the latter's readiness to engage in witchcraft and "spoil" the land for the Indian owner. If several members of an Indian's family sicken or die, after a recent quarrel with a Negro about land, it is assumed that witchcraft has been

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at work and that the land is spoiled. The Indian will then sell the land for the best price offered but will often take a lower price to avoid selling to the Negro held to be responsible for the witchcraft.

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Sometimes, boys and young men are given sections of land as advance inheritances which they work as they wish, and their work validates their claim to the inheritance. Generally, only those children who have consistently helped the parents work the land are entitled to inherit. Ill will between parents and children need not enter into consideration at all. Maximino Añapa, for example, a son of Marianito Añapa of the Río Cameronas, as a very young child was sent to live with his mother's brother in Mulsne on the coast, possibly to get him away from an influenza epidemic in the inland area. He stayed with his uncle for many years and helped him work the land; later he cut some out for himself. He used to return to his parents' home for visits of varying lengths of time, but the main attraction for him, however, seems to have been the school at Encanto. When needed, he helped his father work the land; however, he will not inherit any of the land because he said that it had all been promised to his brothers. Since he

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spent the greater part of his life living and working with his uncle presumably he will inherit land from the uncle. His rights to such an inheritance, however, are still legally ambiguous, as the following reported dispute indicates.

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A conflict of the principle of inheritance by work-validation and the principle of inheritance by kinship. Some years ago when tagua was still selling well, Romulo Añapa and Trivinio "owned" some land jointly. Trivinio's mother had been the legal owner of the land originally. The manner of kinship between Romulo and Trivinio is not known. Trivinio was lazy and "never" worked the land, whereas Romulo helped Trivinio's parents. After the death of Trivinio's parents, Romulo agreed to sell all of the land for about eight hundred sucres to Marianito Añapa "who is somewhat related." Meanwhile, Trivinio sold half of the land to Sanchi, his /ãĩnⁿa/, 'sister's son.'

One day, a widow related to Romulo and Sanchi built a small rancho on the section of land that Sanchi believed was his by purchase. He threw the old woman off the land and she went crying to Romulo, who became

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very angry. A meeting was called in the house of Santiaguño Añapa, and Romulo pointed out that the land was really his as he had worked it, while Trivnio as a boy was lazy and never helped. Romulo, therefore, demanded the money that Sanchi had paid to Trivinio, plus more on the grounds that they were not family. Since Marianito had paid half of the agreed upon money to Romulo, he owned half of the land with clear title. If Sanchi wanted to keep the other half, he would have to make an additional payment to Romulo. Sanchi refused to pay any more money, and Trivinio refused to hand over the money he had received from Sanchi. Romulo and Trivinio are enemies to this day, and apparently the case never went to the chief for settlement. Sanchi continued to own the land that he had paid Trivinio for, and Marianito continued to own the land that he had bought from Romulo. In both instances, exactly half the land went to each purchaser.

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The principle of kinship, perhaps, has not been overridden by the principle of working the land, and the de facto inheritance was an equal division, that, in fact, seems to have been tacitly recognized by the

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principles themselves and constructive notice seems to have been drawn from the circumstances known to all of the potential buyers. Romulo wanted to sell all of the land but actually was offered, and accepted payment for, only half. He alone believed that he had the right to make a conditional sale of all of the land to Marianito. Trivinio made no pretense of selling more than half and did not object to Romulo's selling the other half, a recognition of the principle, at least in part, that work validates ownership of the land. The issue, however, was moral, rather than legal and since it was not completely resolved, Romulo and Trivinio have become life-long enemies. Marianito, who bought half the land, will not leave any to his son Maximino, precisely because Maximino has not been readily available to help work the land.

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Although ownership of land is validated by use, it is not necessary for property to be in continual use to validate ownership. A person may have clear title, either through purchase, inheritance, or by clearing the land from monte jivaro, which will be recognized by his contemporaries, but as land is never registered,

except when sold to a Negro or a White, if it is seldom used, the children and grandchildren may not be certain of the ownership and of the boundaries. Such problems may be resolved fairly easily if older people with knowledge of the original land transactions can be consulted, but the presence of such people, of course, can never be guaranteed. Land that is not in active use is always in jeopardy as illustrated in the following case.

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Huru Cimarrón attempts to claim land sold illegally by his father. Many years ago, the father of Huru Cimarrón sold some land that actually belonged to the father of Romulo Añapa. The purchaser was another Indian. When the real owner of the land was told of the sale he protested to the chief, who sent up a commission to get Huru's father. Huru was a child at the time. During the proceedings, his father remained silent, although he was ordered to pay back the one hundred sucres that he had received from the sale and was then fined thirty sucres which went to the chief.

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Some years later when both fathers were dead, Huru tried to claim the land. He and Romulo fought at

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Punta Venado, with relatives of each man joining the fray. After order had been restored, the chief stated that the land belonged to Romulo and that Huru was too young to have known what had happened earlier. Huru wanted Romulo to pay twenty sucres damages for cutting his head in the brawl, but Romulo refused on the grounds that Huru had started the argument. He did however, buy a half bottle of rum, which they consumed together. Both Huru and Romulo are "family," but the manner of relationship is unknown.

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Boundaries of land become well known with usage and may be disputed when the land is not used intansively. In either case, disputes may occur but are more apt to require settlement by a third party, if the boundaries are not well known.

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A Negro official renders a Cayapa-type decision. After Sanchi built a house on his land, he observed one day that Perdomo had planted bananas nearby. Sanchi insisted that they had been planted on his land and, with his mother's brother, Reverico, called in Cristobal, the Negro Inspector of the village of Camerones at that time. Cristobal decided that Perdomo should keep

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the crop but that when the plants were dead, the land should revert to Sanchi. Meanwhile, Marianito complained to Perdomo that the land was really his. Perdomo asked why he had not worked the land before, and Cristobal, the Inspectór, ignored the claim. Sanchi paid Cristobal ten sucres for his services.

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The decision was acceptable to both claimants. It followed the reasoning, apparently, that although the land belonged to Sanchi, he was not working it at the time. There seems to have been a general feeling that the land was monte jivaro and never had been worked before. It did however, adjoin the acknowledged property of Sanchi. By disputing Perdomo's use of the land, he signified his intention of using it. Perdomo was at a disadvantage because he had no land adjoining the section under dispute. Cristobal balanced propinquity and intention on the one hand, with actual use on the other, in reading his decision. The decision definitely acknowledges the land as belonging to Sanchi, but Perdomo was permitted to profit from his labor. The dispute occurred several years ago, and in 1960 it was being said that Perdomo planned to use the land again.

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Antonito forfeits his profit by fighting. About 1955, Pedro José planted some calabash trees to mark the boundary between his land and the neighboring land of Antonito Riki. One day, while working near the line, he spotted some cacao plants that had been planted on his side. He said nothing at the time, but some weeks later, during a wake given by Kalía at his daughter's death, Pedro José became drunk and inquired of the group at large, and of Antonito in particular, "Who planted the cacao?" Antonito admitted the act, and an argument began which soon developed into a general fight. Kalía stopped it after a while, stating that he did not want people to fight when he was sad over the death of his daughter. Pedro José wanted forty sucres damages for the blows to his eyes but Antonito, backed up by his mother, refused to pay and Pedro José left the wake with his daughter. Later he uprooted the cacao plants, but nothing more was ever done.

Although the uprooting of the cacao plants was an act of spite, Pedro José was justified, as the boundary was clear and well-known. Ordinarily, Antonito could have expected to profit from the labor he expended in planting the cacao, but by getting drunk,

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fighting, and then refusing to pay just damages, he effectively cancelled his proprietary interest in the cacao plants. That nothing more was ever done, indicates a feeling of ex post facto quid pro quo.

Decisions given by the /ún^{y}i/ concerning unauthorized planting often follow the decision made by the Inspectór Cristobal in the case of Sanchi vs. Marianito. Cristobal's decision was but one alternative in the Cayapa legal repetoire. It is not a very popular decision, because by the time the land has reverted to its original owner, most of its fertility is gone. This type of decision, however, seems to be applied when the claimant's title to the land is very clouded as a result of not having used it. In these instances, the decision is premonitory: it states very clearly "nota bene, work your land, or lose it." The following case decided by the /ún^{y}i/, Gabriel Añapa, illustrates this point.

Land used just for rubber tapping is jeopardized. In the early part of 1960, Ciro Añapa and his elder brother made a trip to Pichiyaco. Upon their arrival they were notified by a relative that their land had

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recently been planted without permission by the Cimarrón brothers of Encanto. Ciro and his brother were angry, but said nothing until they became drunk at a party at the home of Gabriel. Harsh words were exchanged, but Gabriel settled the case. He decided that the Cimarrón brothers could use the land for five years without any cost, but then the land would revert to Ciro and his brother, Santiagueño. Ciro did not like the decision and pointed out that the land would have to remain fallow for five years so that he would lose its use for ten years. There were about twenty-five rubber trees on the land, Ciro said, and if the trees were tapped by the Cimarrón brothers he would take the case, not to the /únʸi/, but to the authorities at Limones.

[648]

The Cimarrón brothers claimed that the land did not belong to Ciro and Santiagueño. Ciro claimed that the land belonged to his father. The major issue lay in the fact that Ciro and his brother did not plant crops, but only tapped the rubber trees. Rubber tapping per se involves very little work, and no clearing of bush. It cannot be equated with the work of clearing and planting the land, weeding, and harvesting. Ciro's

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[249]

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claim was definitely in jeopardy. It is interesting that he threatened to go to the provincial authorities. In discussing the case with the writer, Ciro stated that "the /ún^{y}i/, is not worth much, and when it comes to collecting fines, he doesn't do so. If need be, I will go to Limones." To be sure, Ciro was disgruntled with the unauthorized planting and the decision ruling it, nevertheless, in effect, he accepted it. The rubber trees became his main concern, although the /ún^{y}i/ did not specifically prohibit the Cimarrón brothers from tapping the trees. Gabriel's narrow decision left the door open for further litigation.

When title to the land is clear, decisions indicate that the owner should profit from unauthorized plantings. This may just as easily be stated in reverse, however; namely, the interloper is entitled to a substantial part of the fruits of his illicit labor. This point is illustrated in the following variant of a case described to the writer by the /ún^{y}i/.

The usurper is awarded limited usufruct. Some years ago, Pablo Candalehu asked Marianito Ñapa to sell him a small piece of land about twenty arms-length long.

423
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Marianito refused, saying that the land was worthless. Although Pablo built a house and planted the land, Marianito never complained. Recently, however, Marianito planted bananas and plantain on some of Pablo's land which also had a stand of about thirty rubber trees. Pablo went to see Marianito, but he remained silent, apparently out of shame. During a party in Encanto, Pablo notified the /ũn^{y}i/. When all the people gathered, Marianito's wife said they would stop all work on Pablo's land. The /ũn^{y}i/ replied that they should continue to work. As the first crop is usually small, they decided, it would all go to Marianito, but following crops were to be divided equally, and "when the crop dies, the land is Pablo's."

As an aside, Gabriel remarked that Pablo long ago had paid Marianito ten sucres for the land, but the other version of the case disputes the payment. In the case described above, Marianito came out slightly ahead; in the following version, the outcome is very different indeed.

The usurper is awarded substantial usufruct.

For many years, Pablo Candalabo had been working parts

423
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of Marianito's land. Marianito had never objected, but recently had planted some plantain, beans, and corn on the land being worked by Pablo. Pablo complained to the /ún^{y}i/ who decided that the land would revert to Pablo after the plantain died. Pablo wanted to be able to cut half of the crop, but Gabriel refused to permit this. He decided that the land would go to Pablo, if Marianito were no longer able to use it.

It does not really matter which of the two versions most closely approximates the truth. What is important, is that Gabriel's version seemed to warrant one type-decision, and the other version seemed to warrant another. In the latter version, Pablo, by his complaint, upset a precariously balanced situation of tacit reciprocity. In winning his case, however, he lost it, for after the land has been in use for many years it must be fallow for a period, so it is useless for many more years. The version of Gabriel hinges on whether or not Pablo had indeed paid for the use of Marianito's land. It was assumed that he did and, therefore, his complaint against Marianito's action was valid, and Marianito was ordered to share the gains of his unauthorized planting with Pablo.

4:Altschuler E-5.(1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

423
685
[137]

It is the nature of the tropical rain forest that neglected clearings revert to a condition closely resembling the pristine within a few years. In this event, it is difficult to determine whether or not one is cutting virgin growth. From time to time, this leads to a conflict that may be settled in any of the ways described above, or may be handled in the manner illustrated below.

Antonito demands a quit claim. About 1957, Ciro Añapa and his brother Santiagueño were told by Antonito Añapa, that they were working on some land that he had cut from monte jivaro. When Ciro's brother saw the land, however, it looked like jungle once more, and he pointed out that it must have been many years since Antonito had worked it. At a party at Trivinio's house when everyone was drunk, Antonito demanded one hundred sucres. Ciro replied that he never remembered Antonito's working the land under dispute. Beverico, who was present, told Ciro and his brother to pay the hundred sucres, saying that, after all, it was not a large sum of money. Beverico, however, did not know if the land belonged to Antonito or not. Ciro and his brother agreed to pay the

hundred sucres, but did not. During Christmas at Punta Venado, they were approached again, again agreed to pay, but failed to do so. Antonito later came to their house up the Río Camerones and then they paid the money.

The land is now the joint property of Ciro and Santiagueño, and they have clear title. The question of whether the one hundred sucres conveyed title by a sale, or served as a quitclaim is moot. Given the nominal price and the cloudy state of Antonito's ownership, the transaction could best be viewed as a quitclaim.

Indians seldom register land in their names, but if they sell land to a Negro, the transaction is usually registered at the insistence of the purchaser for his protection. Consequently, the Cayapa is never required to show proof of ownership; his statement that he owns the land for sale is sufficient. Some Cayapa find the prospect of selling another man's land, without his permission and knowledge, a beguiling one, and rumors are constantly being circulated of one or another Cayapa thinking of doing it, doing it, or perhaps having completed the transaction. In any event, the hurling

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of acrimonious charges, because of a rumor concerning fraudulent land sales, is usually sufficient to squelch whatever factual basis there may have been in the rumor. Very often, the rumors are just malicious in intent, as seems to have been the case in the following instance. 423 685 203 [626]

Rumor mongering causes family dispute. Ciro Añapa is not liked by his father's god-father's daughter. Through the system of compadrazgo they are considered to be family, /búlutála/. She apparently spends a good deal of time gossiping about Ciro, much to his annoyance, and although he would very much like to complain to the /ʿaʾi/, he does not do so because they are family. When Ciro lent some land to Perdomo in Encanto, she claimed that the land was not his and he had no right to make the loan. She generally spreads rumors of illegal land deals involving him. One day as he was studying in his house, three of the Cimarrón brothers and their mother visited him because they had heard that he had sold their land in Encanto to a Negro. The old woman burst into tears saying that she had once given a feast in honor of Ciro's dead mother, [608] [426]

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and she returned to her house where she continued to cry "like one does at a funeral." The Cimarrón brothers remonstrated with Ciro, who remained silent, ashamed, because "three mouths were speaking against me." All left except Segundo Cimarrón. Ciro asked him who had made the accusation and was told that it was Segundo's brother-in-law who was married to his sister, the very one who had been constantly gossiping about Ciro. Segundo then demanded fifteen hundred sucres, saying that they were not family anymore. Ciro replied that he did not have the money, and more to the point, that the charges were not true.

When the Cimarrón's mother went home to weep "like one does at a funeral" it meant that someone was going to die, which made Ciro's brother, Santiagueño, very angry, so that, at a party, he spoke very harshly to the Cimarrón brothers. The proliferation of baseless rumors involving land transactions such as those described above, is a realization that the Cayapa's hold on the land is becoming increasingly more tenuous as the expanding banana market causes the land to increase in value. This point was made very clear by Josefina Caisaro, the Negro Inspector of the village of Camarones,

[177]

[177]

who discussed land problems with the author. His arm described a broad arc over the Río Cayapas flowing before us as he said, "The Cayapa think that they own the land, but they just hold it by our grace." It is small wonder indeed, that the Cayapa rumor mill creates innumerable varisticjs on this basic theme.

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As we have noted, it is generally agreed that the right of ownership is validated by working the land. Often a group of brothers will work the land together, which is regarded as an ideal situation as brothers should be together, just as the term for brother, /ná.tala/, means 'sons together.' The actual working of the land imposes little problem concerning ownership, but for a stand of rubber trees that requires no maintenance at all, a problem is posed.

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Rubber trees are divided into three parts for three brothers. Huru Cimarrón and his brother Segundo, came to blows at a party held at the school house in Encanto. Their father had owned a piece of land just below the rampida, up the Río Camerones, on which were some rubber trees. Huru wanted to tap some of the rubber, but Segundo had arrived at the site first and made

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off with the latex. Huru claimed that the land was his, as he was the eldest son, and Segundo agreed to leave the untapped trees for Huru. But they are three brothers, and the /ún^{y}i/, to avoid further fighting, divided the land three ways among them.

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The rubber poacher keeps most of the profits. Espíritu Santo had a piece of land on which was a stand of about fifteen rubber trees. Chapiro tapped them without permission and collected about fifty pounds of rubber. He turned the rubber over to his brother, Bertram, who went to Colombia with Pablo Añapa and two Negroes, Estupinian and Manuel Caisero. Bertram sold the rubber for Chapiro. Huru Cimarrón had noticed that the trees were tapped and told people that Ciro had done the poaching. But Santiagueño, Ciro's brother, had seen Chapiro skulking in the vicinity and told people that the trees had, in truth, been tapped by Chapiro. Huru's wife, who is Espíritu's sister, became very angry with Chapiro and said that if she were a man, she would beat him up. Some time later at a party in Encanto, Espíritu approached Chapiro and asked how much he had gained by the sale. Chapiro did not argue, and

[439]
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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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settled for thirty sucres.

Given this very low settlement [Chapiro probably made at least two hundred sucres], it would appear that the interloper can realize most of his profits from illicit rubber tapping, while the owner of the trees can only plead mea culpa for not having been there first! Muru Cimarrón had been "outraged" by the theft of the rubber, nevertheless one wonders what he was doing in the vicinity of his brother-in-law's trees. Similarly, Santiagueño could only have seen Chapiro "skulking" if he too, had been in the vicinity of the trees. Everyone seems to have had a bit of larceny in mind.

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It is seen that in terms of land, work, and rubber, cultivation is not only a means of producing foodstuffs but of authenticating ownership as well. Thus, the individual who appropriates part of someone else's land is permitted, as a rule, to benefit from the act to the extent of his invested labor; if the purported owner accepts the appropriation without protest, that is, without indicating his own intention and desire to work the land, then the ownership of the

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land is acceded to the cultivator. The theft of rubber appears to be more an indication of industry than of wrongdoing, and whatever criminal aspects exist are usually expiated by the sharing of the profits.

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The stealing of pigs, however, is in a totally different category. Unlike land, there is never a clouded title to the ownership of the animals, and unlike land, the fact of ownership of the animals is sufficient to establish the owner's legal rights. Pigs are not worked as is land, and increased production is left entirely up to the pigs. No matter how hard a pig thief may work--and, sometimes, he must run for miles across difficult country to round up the animal(s)--his industry brings him no rewards when he is caught, because he has contributed no productive labor. As a matter of fact, pig-stealing is recognized as an offense, although the thief may not be punished. The following case is illustrative of this point.

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<u>The owner of stolen pigs tracks down the thief</u>. Lorenzo Añapa became ill some time in 1957 and went to <u>Sapallo Grande</u> to consult the /ʌnʸi/, Jesusito, who is a curer. The treatment lasted two weeks. When Lorenzo

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account of a dispute that occurred about sixty years ago.

A foraging sow is killed and the owner chooses exile over revenge-murder. Gerardo's elder brother, Reinio Perdomo, had a sow that was just about ready to drop her young. She ate some plantain belonging to a neighbor who administered a severe beating to the sow. That same night the litter of piglets was born dead, and soon after, the sow died also. Reinio became highly incensed and beat up the neighbor. His anger still not assuaged, he decided to move to the coast, for otherwise he might kill the neighbor and then be imprisoned as a result. He could not tolerate the idea of imprisonment. "People now said that it was better to move out, than kill and get thrown in jail."

[423]

The case is interesting because of the murderous passions invoked by the beating of the sow and her subsequent death--passions that were not aroused when land or rubber were involved. In addition, the case is of interest because it is the only known incident in which an individual, rather than commit murder, chose exile.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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In marked contrast to the sexual sphere, decisions involving land always involved a compromise solution, a balancing of conflicting claims. It appears to the writer that compromise solutions of this type preclude punishment for the usurper. Restitution rather than punishment or partial profit marks settlement of pig-stealing cases, because the thief does not have a claim based upon productive work. The compromise solutions in land disputes reflect a basic acceptance by all parties to the dispute that work validates ownership and keeps the boundary lines and title clear.

and probed and usually found wanting. 000

Cayapa law readily lends itself to a division into Civil and Criminal law. The former is concerned mainly with property (especially land) while the latter is preeminently concerned with sexual behavior and sin. In the realm of Cayapa Civil law, especially in cases that involve land, legal decisions are compromises in the sense that the usurper is permitted limited return on his labor. There is agreement by all parties to the dispute that land as such is owned, but lacking written records, the best proof that a claimant to land ownership has is evidence of his having worked the land he claims. Work is the best validation of ownership, but the land need not be continuously worked; however, as work is neglected, and as memories fade, ownership is contested. Basically, land disputes involve a claim by the usurper that the original ownership is in jeopardy. These claims are always balanced with the claims of the owner and a compromise solution is reached. The land, in effect, is shared for a period of time and the owner is warned that he must continue to work his land intensively or be subject to further challenges to his ownership. Compromise is an effective

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solution and serves to exclude the chief from entangling alliances with one party as opposed to the other. Whether this serves to enhance the position of the chief in his role as third person in the legal process, is not clear. Aubert (1963) believes that mediating decisions foster independence for the third party office, as well as increased prestige. Structurally, the office of /ũn^{y}i/ is an independent one that does not permit the formation of alliances with groups that are virtually impossible to form anyway, given the social and psychological structure of Cayapa culture.

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In the legal materials dealing with land it is seen that all of the parties to the dispute were in complete agreement as to the nature of land and its ownership. Conflict does not involve different value positions on the part of the disputants but rather individuals are competing for scarce goods that embody shared cultural values. Polygyny among the Cayapa represents a mixture of competing interests, as in land disputes, and also some lack of agreement as to what the basic issues and values are. Women are valued goods, in a sense, that at present are in scant supply. A compromise solution, as in land disputes, is not

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[178]

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

With these pigments, especially with the black, are made a great variety of designs ranging from broad bands to very fine dots and narrow lines. As is shown in pl. XXXIX-LII, the designs employed in these face and body paintings are of almost limitless variety and combination; however, while the Cayapa have developed this phase of personal adornment to such a degree, they never recognize any special signification in the designs employed. The designs, as those on mantas, canoes, calabashes, and other decorated articles, are sometimes named, but in few cases was it found that any of them were intended to be graphic, and in no instance was any symbolic meaning attached to them: they are regarded as merely decorative and have no other special purpose. Furthermore, none of the designs is the particular property of any individual or group of individuals, hence the greatest liberty is exercised in their use; in fact, it is not uncommon to see the same person change the designs on his face or body from day to day during a fiesta, and there is no sequence or other rule governing their use. Both men and women thus decorate themselves, using a small mirror in painting the face. In large measure, of course, the designs employed have been handed down from ancient times, but now and then a person depicts upon his face or body some new device taken from an article of modern manufacture. Such a case is shown in pl. LII, 11, where a modern three-pronged iron fish-spear is shown painted on a man's leg.

like the Negroes,

they cut more land for banana production, but unlike Negroes they always maintained a large reserve for subsistence agriculture. They are in the money economy but not yet of it. The Cayapa are not a completely open peasant community. Movement into the Cayapa cultural community is limited to born Cayapa and boundary maintenance is structured in terms of language and culture. A true picture, however must view the Negro and Indian sectors as parts of a larger unit. The national government views the Cayapa as a corporate body with certain rights which do not pertain to the open peasant Negro communities in the area. The Cayapa are held by the government to be the owners of the land (which is ill-defined and not surveyed) and all outsiders must purchase land from them. This tends to emphasize the commercial character of the open peasant communities and [illegible] justified in calling them banana farmers. They must invest capital in farm land to increase production. The Cayapa need not do so. If the Cayapa requires more land, he may buy it to be sure, but he can also cut it out of the forest. However, as yet he tends not to increase his production at the behest of

[P.189]

CHAPTER V

LAND, PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Land is the basis of the Cayapa economy. The region, undefined and unsurveyed, has been deeded to the Cayapa as a tribe. Negroes and Whites who desire land must purchase it from an Indian in order to have a clear title. The title is for the land itself and not just for usufruct. The Cayapa may obtain land by cutting it out of the virgin forest (monte jivaro), he may buy it or he may inherit it. More land is available for subsistence farming than for other purposes. For the cash crop of bananas the land must be of good quality, well drained, and within easy access of a navigable stream that flows into the main river body traveled by La Propaganda, the banana buyers. In addition, the grower must be able to meet the banana boat on schedule. A stand of rubber trees will also increase the value of the land. Rubber is sold in Colombia where, traditionally, the price is higher than in Ecuador and retail prices on consumer items wanted by the Cayapa are cheaper. Once a year, as a rule,

245
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diet now, but the leaves are in demand for roofing material. Another cash crop is hardwood trees, but they are not often planted; enterprising individuals cut them out of the unclaimed forest.

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Land is seldom held in one large block. It is usually scattered about among other holdings so that, quite often, choice properties are separated by distances involving several day's travel. Many Cayapa have two houses, each built as close as possible to their main holdings. Inevitably, they must spend considerable time away from large sections of their property and, as a result, Negroes often illegally harvest standing crops or, perhaps, plant their own. Negroes may buy land from the Cayapa, but as the banana economy continues to boom, the Indians are more and more reluctant to sell. Sometimes usufruct is rented by the Negro, usually for a share of the profits, but arguments invariably develop. It is said that the Indian is always at a disadvantage in his dealings with the Negro because of the latter's readiness to engage in witchcraft and "spoil" the land for the Indian owner. If several members of an Indian's family sicken or die, after a recent quarrel with a Negro about land, it is assumed that witchcraft has been

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at work and that the land is spoiled. The Indian will then sell the land for the best price offered but will often take a lower price to avoid selling to the Negro held to be responsible for the witchcraft.

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Sometimes, boys and young men are given sections of land as advance inheritances which they work as they wish, and their work validates their claim to the inheritance. Generally, only those children who have consistently helped the parents work the land are entitled to inherit. Ill will between parents and children need not enter into consideration at all. Maximino Añapa, for example, a son of Marianito Añapa of the Río Canaroses, as a very young child was sent to live with his mother's brother in Muisne on the coast, possibly to get him away from an influenza epidemic in the inland area. He stayed with his uncle for many years and helped him work the land; later he cut some out for himself. He used to return to his parents' home for visits of varying lengths of time, but the main attraction for him, however, seems to have been the school at Borbón. When needed, he helped his father work the land; however, he will not inherit any of the land because he said that it had all been promised to his brothers. Since he

[164]

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principles themselves and constructive notice seems to have been drawn from the circumstances known to all of the potential buyers. Romulo wanted to sell all of the land but actually was offered, and accepted payment for, only half. He alone believed that he had the right to make a conditional sale of all of the land to Marianito. Trivinio made no pretense of selling more than half and did not object to Romulo's selling the other half, a recognition of the principle, at least in part, that work validates ownership of the land. The issue, however, was moral, rather than legal and since it was not completely resolved, Romulo and Trivinio have become life-long enemies. Marianito, who bought half the land, will not leave any to his son Maximino, precisely because Maximino has not been readily available to help work the land.

Although ownership of land is validated by use, it is not necessary for property to be in continual use to validate ownership. A person may have clear title, either through purchase, inheritance, or by clearing the land from <u>monte library</u>, which will be recognized by his contemporaries, but as land is never registered,

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except when sold to a Negro or a White. If it is seldom used, the children and grandchildren may not be certain of the ownership and of the boundaries. Such problems may be resolved fairly easily if older people with knowledge of the original land transactions can be consulted, but the presence of such people, of course, can never be guaranteed. Land that is not in active use is always in jeopardy as illustrated in the following case.

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Buru Cimarrón attempts to claim land sold illegally by his father. Many years ago, the father of Buru Cimarrón sold some land that actually belonged to the father of Romulo Allapa. The purchaser was another Indian. When the real owner of the land was told of the sale he protested to the chief, who sent up a commission to get Buru's father. Buru was a child at the time. During the proceedings, his father remained silent, although he was ordered to pay both the one hundred sucres that he had received from the sale and was then fined thirty sucres which went to the chief.

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Some years later when both fathers were dead, Buru tried to claim the land. He and Romulo fought at

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hundred sucres, but did not. During Christmas at Punta Venado, they were approached again, again agreed to pay, but failed to do so. Antonito later came to their house up the Río Cameronas and then they paid the money.

The land is now the joint property of Ciro and Santiagueño, and they have clear title. The question of whether the one hundred sucres conveyed title by a sale, or served as a quitclaim is moot. Given the nominal price and the cloudy state of Antonito's ownership, the transaction could best be viewed as a quitclaim.

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of acrimonious charges, because of a rumor concerning fraudulent land sales, is usually sufficient to squelch whatever factual basis there may have been in the rumor. Very often, the rumors are just malicious in intent, as seems to have been the case in the following instance. 423 685 203 [626]

Rumor mongering causes family dispute. Ciro Añapa is not liked by his father's god-father's daughter. Through the system of compadrazgo they are considered to be family, /bélutála/. She apparently spends a good deal of time gossiping about Ciro, much to his annoyance, and although he would very much like to complain to the /ʿaʾi/, he does not do so because they are family. When Ciro lent some land to Perdomo in Encanto, she claimed that the land was not his and he had no right to make the loan. She generally spreads rumors of illegal land deals involving him. One day as he was studying in his house, three of the Cimarrón brothers and their mother visited him because they had heard that he had sold their land in Encanto to a Negro. The old woman burst into tears saying that she had once given a feast in honor of Ciro's dead mother, [608] [426]

adept at tailoring, and make their own clothing. Children learn from their fathers. A few men own sewing machines which they sometimes rent out; some take tailoring orders from their less skillful neighbors. Some men may even make their wives' skirts /pihtahal^{y}i/. The man wears western-style trousers with pegged cuffs that are shaped to permit easier gathering of the trouser leg at the calf, if wading should be necessary. The trousers are held up by leather belts that are purchased. The colors of the trousers are usually dark tones of blue, grey, khaki, or black. The Cayapa are restricted in color choice simply because the available trouser cloth that is purchased in the coastal towns tends to come in these shades. On the other hand, shirt material is available in a wide variety of colors and every conceivable color combination is used, very often in harlequin fashion.

The shirt /huwál^{y}i/ is cut in a rectangular fashion with a short slit neck which forms a 'vee' when worn. Tight short sleeves run down about three inches from the shoulders. The front and rear panels are joined together at the sides by colored stripe of varying widths. The panels may be of the same bright color,

diet now, but the leaves are in demand for roofing material. Another cash crop is hardwood trees, but they are not often planted; enterprising individuals cut them out of the unclaimed forest.

Land is seldom held in one large block. It is usually scattered about among other holdings so that, quite often, choice properties are separated by distances involving several day's travel. Many Cayapa have two houses, each built as close as possible to their main holdings. Inevitably, they must spend considerable time away from large sections of their property and, as a result, Negroes often illegally harvest standing crops or, perhaps, plant their own. Negroes may buy land from the Cayapa, but as the banana economy continues to boom, the Indians are more and more reluctant to sell. Sometimes usufruct is rented by the Negro, usually for a share of the profits, but arguments invariably develop. It is said that the Indian is always at a disadvantage in his dealings with the Negro because of the latter's readiness to engage in witchcraft and "spoil" the land for the Indian owner. If several members of an Indian's family sicken or die, after a recent quarrel with a Negro about land, it is assumed that witchcraft has been

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

ECONOMICS

The *Cayapa* economic unit is the virtually self-sufficient, one-family household. Land is owned and worked familially, and there is as much land to be had as the family can clear. If any special rules govern distribution and inheritance, they are not reported by our sources. Also, there seem to be very few provisions for interhousehold cooperation: men will help a neighbor bring down a tree trunk from the hills, but all other activities are evidently left to individual enterprise.

This self-sufficiency does not apply to all spheres of activity. Machetes and rifles are essential in jungle life, and most families make at least one trip a year to the coast for trading and social purposes. In the small Ecuadorean and Colombian towns they find a ready market for rubber, tagua nuts, and other forest products. Cocoa is grown specifically for this trade. There is also a limited market for some of their manufactures: canoes, mats, fans, and other basketry. In exchange, the *Cayapa* want metal goods: axes, machetes, shotguns, fishhooks, fish spears, and copper tubing for their distilleries. But they also like beads and mirrors, pearls, vests, and old derby hats. In recent years machine-made muslins and calicoes have been edging out native-made cloth.

The *Cayapa* are not yet incorporated in Ecuadorean economy. Their need for metal goods and trinkets has not yet forced them to work on plantations or in placer gold mines. Their own supply of rum has helped them avoid debts contracted for alcohol, and they have usually retreated into the forest when their self-sufficiency has been menaced. It is improbable that this selective acculturation can last very long.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The basic *Cayapa* social unit is the household. Though there is no definite indication as to size and composition, it appears to be an extended family including normally no more than 10 to 12 people. Chief Antonio Napa's house at Punta Verde could seat some 40-odd people at a feast, but it was unique in size, and the Napa household according to Barrera (1894) had only 8 to 10 members.

Barrett (1925) presents a detailed chart of kinship terms used by the *Cayapa*. We unfortunately know nothing about the behavior that goes with the terms or about marriage rules. On the face of it the system is a "lineal" one—collateral relatives are separated from lineal ones but are not differentiated among themselves. Thus, the term for uncle applies to both paternal and maternal ones. All terms are highly descriptive. There is no evidence of reciprocal use of terms, but Barrett's chart is not really complete. The system is quite unique and interesting.

The lineal and descriptive nature of the kinship system emphasizes the bilateral character of the *Cayapa* family. There is no clan organization. The extended family household is the truly basic social unit. There is

and say that it is because Jesus said that if the world comes to an end while many Cayapa are living, it would be very sad for them; it is therefore necessary for many infants to die. The population figures do indeed indicate that the Cayapa are not reproducing. For the Río Cameroness there is an average of 2.5 living children for each woman of childbearing age and almost 17 per cent sterility among the women.

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Adoption. Children will be adopted within the kindred, if the parents should die, but there is seldom adoption of non-related children or of illegitimate children. There are a few instances of an illegitimate child's being kept by the mother, but more often she will kill it at birth. The mother may offer the child for adoption, but the general feeling is that such a child having been conceived in sin is non-Christian, and few people want such a child. The Christian thing to do, they feel, is to kill it.

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There is something in the nature of short-term "loans" of children. A child is sometimes sent to live with an "uncle" or other near relative for varying periods of time. In some cases the relatives are

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childless and desire a son or daughter; in other cases the relatives may need extra help on the land. Sometimes the child stays permanently with his kin, returning to his parents for brief periods when requested to do so. In these instances the parent-child relationship is always retained but the child may lose his parental inheritance; however, he presumably has a claim for his patrimony from the estate of the relative with whom he has lived and worked. This will be discussed in greater detail in the legal material that concerns land and its sale or inheritance.

Childhood. During Cayapa infancy and early childhood the children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training well before the zonal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely as illustrated in the following excerpt from the writer's notes:

> . . . Augustin's wife was sitting on the floor by the marimba, nursing her child (two months) the older boy is sitting next to her and she seems to be taking special pains with the older boy (four years). She kept her right arm around him, stroking his head while the infant nursed . . . suddenly this picture of maternal love and affection changed radically. The infant

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at work and that the land is spoiled. The Indian will then sell the land for the best price offered but will often take a lower price to avoid selling to the Negro held to be responsible for the witchcraft.

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Sometimes, boys and young men are given sections of land as advance inheritances which they work as they wish, and their work validates their claim to the inheritance. Generally, only those children who have consistently helped the parents work the land are entitled to inherit. Ill will between parents and children need not enter into consideration at all. Maximino Añapa, for example, a son of Marianito Añapa of the Río Cayapas, as a very young child was sent to live with his mother's brother in Muisne on the coast, possibly to get him away from an influenza epidemic in the inland area. He stayed with his uncle for many years and helped him work the land; later he cut some out for himself. He used to return to his parents' home for visits of varying lengths of time, but the main attraction for him, however, seems to have been the school at Encante. When needed, he helped his father work the land; however, he will not inherit any of the land because he said that it had all been promised to his brothers. Since he

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spent the greater part of his life living and working with his uncle presumably he will inherit land from the uncle. His rights to such an inheritance, however, are still legally ambiguous, as the following reported dispute indicates.

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A conflict of the principle of inheritance by work-validation and the principle of inheritance by kinship. Some years ago when tagua was still selling well, Romulo Ãñapa and Trivinio 'owned' some land jointly. Trivinio's mother had been the legal owner of the land originally. The manner of kinship between Romulo and Trivinio is not known. Trivinio was lazy and "never" worked the land, whereas Romulo helped Trivinio's parents. After the death of Trivinio's parents, Romulo agreed to sell all of the land for about eight hundred sucres to Marianito Ãñapa "who is somewhat related." Meanwhile, Trivinio sold half of the land to Sanchi, his /nĩiⁿa/, 'sister's son.'

One day, a widow related to Romulo and Sanchi built a small rancho on the section of land that Sanchi believed was his by purchase. He threw the old woman off the land and she went crying to Romulo, who became

very angry. A meeting was called in the house of Santiagueño Anapa, and Romulo pointed out that the land was really his as he had worked it, while Trivinio as a boy was lazy and never helped. Romulo, therefore, demanded the money that Sanchi had paid to Trivinio, plus more on the grounds that they were not family. Since Marianito had paid half of the agreed upon money to Romulo, he owned half of the land with clear title. If Sanchi wanted to keep the other half, he would have to make an additional payment to Romulo. Sanchi refused to pay any more money, and Trivinio refused to hand over the money he had received from Sanchi. Romulo and Trivinio are enemies to this day, and apparently the case never went to the chief for settlement. Sanchi continued to own the land that he had paid Trivinio for, and Marianito continued to own the land that he had bought from Romulo. In both instances, exactly half the land went to each purchaser.

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The principle of kinship, perhaps, has not been overridden by the principle of working the land, and the *de facto* inheritance was an equal division, that, in fact, seems to have been tacitly recognized by the

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principles themselves and constructive notice seems to have been drawn from the circumstances known to all of the potential buyers. Romulo wanted to sell all of the land but actually was offered, and accepted payment for, only half. He alone believed that he had the right to make a conditional sale of all of the land to Marianito. Trivinio made no pretense of selling more than half and did not object to Romulo's selling the other half, a recognition of the principle, at least in part, that work validates ownership of the land. The issue, however, was moral, rather than legal and since it was not completely resolved, Romulo and Trivinio have become life-long enemies. Marianito, who bought half the land, will not leave any to his son Maximino, precisely because Maximino has not been readily available to help work the land.

Although ownership of land is validated by use, it is not necessary for property to be in continual use to validate ownership. A person may have clear title, either through purchase, inheritance, or by clearing the land from [illegible], which will be recognized by his contemporaries, but as land is never registered,

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except when sold to a Negro or a White, if it is seldom used, the children and grandchildren may not be certain of the ownership and of the boundaries. Such problems may be resolved fairly easily if older people with knowledge of the original land transactions can be consulted, but the presence of such people, of course, can never be guaranteed. Land that is not in active use is always in jeopardy as illustrated in the following case.

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Nuru Cimarrón attempts to claim land sold illegally by his father. Many years ago, the father of Nuru Cimarrón sold some land that actually belonged to the father of Romulo Añapa. The purchaser was another Indian. When the real owner of the land was told of the sale he protested to the chief, who sent up a commission to get Nuru's father. Nuru was a child at the time. During the proceedings, his father remained silent, although he was ordered to pay back the one hundred sucres that he had received from the sale and was then fined thirty sucres which went to the chief.

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Some years later when both fathers were dead, Nuru tried to claim the land. He and Romulo fought at

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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585 In the particular ceremony witnessed on the occasion
535 referred to, at about four o'clock in the morning, four couples danced the "San Juan." The men and the women formed two lines, at the head of which respectively were the groom and the bride; next came the godfather of the groom and the godmother of the bride, while the other couples were those who chanced to be selected for the dance. The music for this is very
585 different from that for the ordinary dance. The ma-
533 rimba was not used at all, and the players of the drums
534 and rattles did not station themselves at the end of the hall near the marimba, but each took his instrument and marched in time to the music up and down and across the hall (pl. CXXVIII). As the musicians and others
585 thus proceeded about the hall, each man exchanged
535 instruments, or hats or other articles of apparel, with
[431] whomsoever he met, the latter having no option in this exchange, his duty and privilege being to grasp the instrument or article of apparel from the man whom he next met. Notwithstanding this riot of fun and jollity among the musicians, they played in unison, and the dancers were able to keep their time and step perfectly.

The dance itself proceeded as follows: The two lines, one of men and one of women, danced up to each other and passed to the opposite side of the hall in such manner that each man passed between two women, and vice versa. Having arrived at the wall, they faced about, passed back again, and crossed until this had been done three times and the two lines were left facing each other and in their original positions, one near each side of the room. Next each one of the eight

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

dried whole; and guantas, deer, jaguars, pumas, armadillos, sloths, and wild hogs, all in dismembered parts. Among the birds were parrots, toucans, doves, grouse, wild turkeys, herons, and egrets, all dried whole. Dried fish of various species, especially the shad, were present. In vegetal foods also there was great variety, as the plantain, yuca, papaya, rascadera, sugar-cane, coconut, guabo, zapote, bread-fruit, orange, chonta dura, and palma real. Care was taken in arranging the table to see that there should be as much display as possible. The dried mammals and birds were in many cases placed in erect poses, and fruits or pieces of other foods were placed in the beaks of the birds and in the mouths or between the paws of the mammals. In one or two instances mammals were so posed as to appear as if fighting.

Directly after the service in the church, to which a small portion of the food was taken in order that by its presence during the service it might receive the blessing for all the food used in the feast, all the people of the village congregated at this particular house. The men and larger boys occupied the room in which the table was spread, and the women, girls, and small boys the room adjoining. The givers of the feast then presented to whomsoever they thought proper various articles from the table, such as a dried mammal, bird, or fish, and some fruit. These were for the recipients personally, and were to be taken home by them. On receiving such a gift, a man always took it personally or sent it to some of the women of his family in the adjoining room. This division of the food took a considerable part of what was

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

upon the table; the rest was divided into small bits, and, after an invocation by the warden of the church, the men and boys, all seated on low benches about the table, proceeded to feast. The women meanwhile partook of a portion of the food that had been sent to the next room to them. Having finished the meal, a benediction was pronounced by the warden and the floor was cleared of all scraps of food and the leaves forming the table.

Immediately fresh leaves were spread as at first, and the boda, the word being here used in its more restricted sense, was served. While an ofrenda has a very elaborate assortment of foods, a boda has only fish, oysters, or meats cooked in ripe plantain in the form of a thick gruel. This is served always in the aboriginal pottery plates of the kind shown in pl. LXXXVII, 6, although for everyday use dishes of European manufacture have almost entirely supplanted the pottery plates formerly used. In this particular case the boda consisted of a single course of plantain and fish, but sometimes other courses are served in order. The feast having been finished, the majority of the people went to their respective abodes in the village or to the house of the chief.

At such gatherings offenders against the law are usually brought before the chief, by whom justice is dispensed and differences between individuals adjudicated. On this particular occasion several matters of this nature demanded the chief's attention. The details of these will show something of the methods of dispensing justice among the Cayapa.

Immediately after the boda on this first day the chief sent some officers to bring before him certain offenders

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At the present time the Cayapa, in common with most rural Ecuadorians, practice a ceremony of nail cutting that has ritual significance in the sense that god-parents are selected for the child, and the extension of ritual kinship follows as for the rites of baptism and marriage. This ceremonial occasion which is called simply /tyákikánu/, is a very minor ceremony that may be performed at almost any age from a few months to perhaps six years, or it may never be performed. Almost invariably the god-parents for this occasion are Negro. As Negroes are in political and economic control of the region, we can say that this is a vertical extension of ritual kinship. The Indian seldom asks a Negro to assume this obligation. Quite the contrary, Negroes generally ask the father of the child if he would like to enter into compadrazgo.

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The actual ceremony is very simple. Only the participants are present as a rule. The nails are cut by the god-father, and the parings are placed in a glass of rum which is then drunk by the compadres. Small presents, such as a bottle of rum, some food, soft drinks, and tobacco, are exchanged. Thereafter, the

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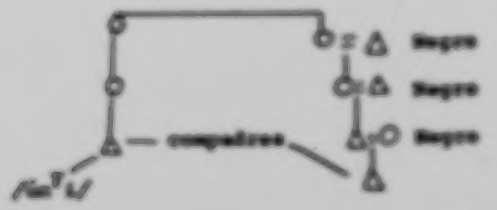
existing kinship ties by means of the nail-cutting ceremony with a Cayapa child. As an example, one Negro who is distantly related to the /ʼʌnʸʟ/ of the Punta Venado section asked if he could be his compadre. The manner of relationship is as follows:



The /ʼʌnʸʟ/ says that he does not know the name of this Negro kinsman and compadre who lives by the ocean near Punta Bajo on the other side of Limones at the mouth of the Río Cayapas. He came up one day in his canoe, bringing fish, green coconuts, clams, and other small gifts. [49.1] He asked if he could cut the nails of one of the children, and the /ʼʌnʸʟ/ agreed, and the Negro cut the nails of the daughter, Maria Agrecaria. The /ʼʌnʸʟ/ gave his new compadre gifts of sugar cane, plantain, and chontadura. [49.1] Since then, the /ʼʌnʸʟ/ had visited his compadre about ten times in a four- or five-year period, and in return

distantly by marriage and who, for one or another reason, seek to intensify a weak relationship. The important relationship is between the compadres and not between the spouses and the child. 608 852

Baptism. Every infant must be baptized as soon as possible by the priest. The god-parents chosen for this occasion are always Indian. Although some say that it is best to choose them from within the family, others claim that it is best to choose non-relatives. There are no strong feelings one way or another; however, most of my material indicates a bias in favor of having relatives as compadres of the baptism. A statistical treatment is not possible as my data center primarily on the Río Cayapas region and not on the Punta Venado group as a whole. 608 851 [101]

For the baptism the parents, the god-parents, and the infant go to Limones. The ceremony which is done in the Catholic manner by the priest costs two sucres which is paid by the father of the child. The priest is usually presented with a gift, such as a hen or a basket, made by the Cayapa. At this time no presents are exchanged between the compadres, although [197] [491]

the father may buy a meal and some drinks for everyone. The compadres now address each other by the same terms used between compadres in the nail-cutting ceremony. When the child grows up, he calls his god-father by the term /padénaʔápa/ and the god-mother by the term, /padénaʔáma/, and the reciprocal is /ʔhádu/ [padena, from Spanish padrino "god-father," áma "mother" ápa "father"]. Incest taboos, if not present before, are now extended, and the /ʔhádu/ may not marry any of the children of the god-parents. The relationship is marked by respect from all within it. From time to time as conditions seem to warrant it, the parties to the compadrazgo of the baptism gift each other with meat. Within a family each child will usually have a different set of god-parents from his siblings. This is a reinforcement of previously existing kin ties with a multiplicity of horizontally-extended ritual kin.

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Marriage. The Cayapa say that when one goes to heaven all of the souls there look alike. Everyone is the same height, and they all wear identical clothing. It is impossible to recognize the people

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At the Negro village of Concepcion, Indians wander about and visit casually the homes of many of the Negroes whom they know. Among themselves there are no casual visits to friends--there are really no friends, with the possible exception of some of the pupils at the Socorro Indian school. The language has no word for "friend" beyond the Spanish loan-word. There is family and not-family and, one does not visit family casually either. There must be a purpose beyond a desire just to visit. Dyadic relations are easily set up with the Negroes and are quasi-friendships that are quite clearly instrumental on both sides. I have no count but my decided impression is that penetration interweaves markedly between Indian and Negro. Negroes very often ask to become a god-parent for a minor ceremonial occasion when the child's nails are cut for the first time. The nail parings are placed in a cup of rum and drunk by the father and the Negro god-father. Small gifts are exchanged of little monetary value, and food is consumed along with the alcohol. Thenceforth at very irregular intervals, small presents will be exchanged. Gifting, while not especially generous on any level, showed an apparent increase with

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the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense interpersonal relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in three different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa:Cayapa, Cayapa:Negro, and Cayapa:White.

> . . . anxiety acquired in childhood might be generalized to other people . . . because of their similarity to the persons responsible for the frustration and punishment of the child--their similarity, above all, to the child's parents (Whiting and Child 1962:267).

Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa--much more so than Negroes and Whites.

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The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by avoidance or

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> The distinctive characteristic of the corporate peasant community is that it represents a bounded social system with clear-cut limits, in relations to both outsiders and insiders. It has structural identity over time. Seen from the outside, the community as a whole carries on a series of activities and upholds certain "collective representations." Seen from within, it defines the rights and duties of its members and prescribes large segments of their behavior (Wolf 1955:456). . .
>
> The open community differs from the corporate peasant community in a number of ways . . . The open community comprises a number of subcultures of which the peasantry is only one, . . . (it) emphasizes continuous interaction with the outside world and ties its fortunes to outside demands (Wolf 1955:462). . .
>
> The open community lends itself to rapid shifts in production because it is possible to mobilize the peasant and to orient him rapidly toward the expanding market. Land is usually owned privately. Decisions for change can be made by individual families. Property can be mortgaged, or pawned in return for capital. The community qua community cannot interfere in such change. (Wolf 1955:463).

Wolf of course did not intend these classifications to be an either-or device, and degrees of commitment to one or another community organization are to be expected. In terms of economic involvements with the money economy, the Cayapa display many of the features of the open peasant community; they own their land individually and may alienate it individually. Decisions are made by individual families and the community cannot interfere

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except in one instance. The Cayapa of the Río Cayapas have decided that no Indian may sell land to a Negro in the upper reaches of the river. Rumors are constantly reported that Negroes are moving in and there is definite concern that community strength is not sufficient to maintain the boundaries. The meager historical data indicate that in the early nineteenth century the Cayapa were largely self sufficient and were not producing much for cash. By the 1900's their wants and needs had increased and they were now engaged in the small scale production and sale of rubber and Tagua nuts. By the end of the first world war rubber and Tagua were major cash crops in the region. During the second world war rubber boomed and Tagua declined almost to the vanishing point. After the war the rubber market similarly declined. By now the Cayapa were well used to money and the things that money could buy, sewing machines, rifles, shotguns, shot, powder, cloth, watches, rubber boots, ready-made clothing, cosmetics, patent medicines, pressure lamps, rice, sugar, soft drinks, and many other products of our tinsel civilization. After the Second World War, Ecuador became a center of a banana boom and the Cayapa were affected greatly. Like the Negroes,

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CHAPTER V

LAND, PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Land is the basis of the Cayapa economy. The region, undefined and unsurveyed, has been deeded to the Cayapa as a tribe. Negroes and Whites who desire land must purchase it from an Indian in order to have a clear title. The title is for the land itself and not just for usufruct. The Cayapa may obtain land by cutting it out of the virgin forest (monte virgen). He may buy it or he may inherit it. More land is available for subsistence farming than for other purposes. For the cash crop of bananas the land must be of good quality, well drained, and within easy access of a navigable stream that flows into the main river body traveled by la Propaganda, the banana buyers. In addition, the grower must be able to meet the banana boat on schedule. A stand of rubber trees will also increase the value of the land. Rubber is sold in Colombia where, traditionally, the price is higher than in Ecuador and retail prices on consumer items wanted by the Cayapa are cheaper. Once a year, as a rule,

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

down stream because the lobsters tend to move against the current. The lobster easily enters the mouth which consists of a conical chamber made of pointed bamboo. When the lobster enters the bait chamber, it is prevented from leaving by the pointed ends of the small section of the cone. The trap is tied to a long pole. Traps are set at intervals along the river, and they are visited every morning. There are no restrictions as to site location, but once a trap is set, no one else sets one next to it..

While the Cayapa derive most of their subsistence from hunting, gathering, fishing, and planting, they are also engaged in commercial planting of bananas and as the market expands the Cayapa are becoming more and more peasant like.

Tribal Peasants

Wolf in his discussion of "Types of Latin American Peasantry" marks off two main categories, the corporate peasant community characteristic of the highlands and the open peasant community that characterises the tropical lowland areas.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

except in one instance. The Cayapa of the Río Cayapas have decided that no Indian may sell land to a Negro in the upper reaches of the river. Rumors are constantly reported that Negroes are moving in and there is definite concern that community strength is not sufficient to maintain the boundaries. The meager historical data indicate that in the early nineteenth century the Cayapa were largely self sufficient and were not producing much for cash. By the 1900's their wants and needs had increased and they were now engaged in the small scale production and sale of rubber and Tagua nuts. By the end of the first world war rubber and Tagua were major cash crops in the region. During the second world war rubber boomed and Tagua declined almost to the vanishing point. After the war the rubber market similarly declined. By now the Cayapa were well used to money and the things that money could buy, sewing machines, rifles, shotguns, shot, powder, cloth, watches, rubber boots, ready-made clothing, cosmetics, patent medicines, pressure lamps, rice, sugar, soft drinks, and many other products of our tinsel civilization. After the Second World War, Ecuador became a center of a banana boom and the Cayapa were affected greatly. Like the Negroes,

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4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

they cut more land for banana production, but unlike Negroes they always maintained a large reserve for subsistence agriculture. They are in the money economy but not yet of it. The Cayapa are not a completely open peasant community. Movement into the Cayapa cultural community is limited to born Cayapa and boundary maintenance is structured in terms of language and culture. A true picture, however, must view the Negro and Indian sectors as parts of a larger unit. The national government views the Cayapa as a corporate body with certain rights which do not pertain to the open peasant Negro communities in the area. The Cayapa are held by the government to be the owners of the land (which is ill-defined and not surveyed) and all outsiders must purchase land from them. This tends to emphasize the commercial character of the open peasant communities and we may be perhaps justified in calling them banana farmers. They must invest capital in farm land to increase production. The Cayapa need not do so. If the Cayapa requires more land, he may buy it to be sure, but he can also cut it out of the forest. However, as yet he tends not to increase his production at the behest of

4 Altschuler E-6 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the market, and to maintains a rough balance between subsistence and commercial farming. In the pages to follow we will view a tribal people through their law, attempting to redefine human relationships that are being restructured by new economic conditions.

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Polygyny. Max Reinaa stated that "Die Cayapa leben in sehr harmonischer Ehe, Vielweiberei . . . gibt es bei ihnen nicht" (Reinaa 1931:206). If the situation of pristine monogamy were true in 1931 or earlier in 1909, when Barrett reported nothing in the way of polygyny, it was certainly not true in 1960. To account for the change, we can look towards the expanding money economy that began to envelop the Cayapa several decades ago. Between 1931 and 1960, an economic factor of tremendous magnitude developed in Ecuador. Bananas began to be commercially valuable and in the boom period of the late 1940's and early 1950's the best prices were always to be had near the coast, and it was from the coastal areas that most of the following cases came.

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Cristobal uses his brother as a pawn to get a second wife. Cristobal, who lived at Viche, was a bruja or 'witch.' He came up from the coast one time to cure Margarita of an illness. She was single at the time. During the night while the curing session was going on, Cristobal seduced his patient. Later he asked her father to let him deliver her to his brother in Viche and the father agreed. When they arrived at Viche, it appeared

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Once a year, as a rule,

groups of Cayapa will band together for protection against the cutthroats and brigands that infest the coastal regions, load their canoes with as much rubber as they have been able to collect, and set off in small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colombian goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to poaching.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be good for raising pigs. (Remoteness lessens the possibility of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and zapotes. Large sections are planted to the tagua palm that, at one time, was as important economically as the banana is today. The tagua nut is only a minor item in the

juice called guarapo in Spanish.

Pottery. Pans, baskets, and pouches, are made in the same style and technique as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:183-200). There is a market for the fans which are used for fanning the embers in the fireplace when preparing a meal. They are often sold in the coastal towns of San Lorenzo and Esmeraldas as well as in the highland town of Ibarra. The money received for these fans is the property of the woman who made the fans, even though they were sold by her husband.

Weapons. The blowgun has disappeared from general use. Only a few specimens are left. All hunting today is done with the escopeta or muzzle-loading shotgun. Serving both as a tool and as a weapon is the machete or /machete/, and both men and women are quite adept in its use.

Housing.

Probably the cultural feature of the Pacific lowlands which most quickly attracts the eye of the outsider is the type of house used by the rural Negroid population. This is the square or rectangular pile dwelling with four-shed hipped roof of thatch, a peculiar roof crown, and palm-lath floor

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
ED6 Cayapa SD6

[P.189]

CHAPTER V

LAND, PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Land is the basis of the Cayapa economy. The region, undefined and unsurveyed, has been deeded to the Cayapa as a tribe. Negroes and Whites who desire land must purchase it from an Indian in order to have a clear title. The title is for the land itself and not just for usufruct. The Cayapa may obtain land by cutting it out of the virgin forest (monte jivero), he may buy it or he may inherit it. More land is available for subsistence farming than for other purposes. For the cash crop of bananas the land must be of good quality, well drained, and within easy access of a navigable stream that flows into the main river body traveled by La Propaganda, the banana buyers. In addition, the grower must be able to meet the banana boat on schedule. A stand of rubber trees will also increase the value of the land. Rubber is sold in Colombia where, traditionally, the price is higher than in Ecuador and retail prices on consumer items wanted by the Cayapa are cheaper. Once a year, as a rule,

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Once a year, as a rule,

groups of Cayapa will band together for protection against the cutthroats and brigands that infest the coastal regions, load their canoes with as much rubber as they have been able to collect, and set off in small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colombian goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to poaching.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be good for raising pigs. (Remoteness lessens the possibility of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and sapotes. Large sections are planted to the tagua palm that, at one time, was as important economically as the banana is today. The tagua nut is only a minor item in the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

622 village. The successor of an official is definitely known
623 long before the death of the latter, but an official vacancy is not actually filled until the coming of the priest. Then, in the presence of all the other officials and anyone else who may wish to be present, the priest delivers an address in which he names the new official, announces his duties and privileges, commends him to the respect of the people, and charges him with the duties and responsibilities which he is about to assume. On the death of the chief, for instance, his duties are relegated to some other official, usually one of the "alcaldes," until such time as the priest shall arrive and inaugurate a successor.

465 None of these officials are supposed to receive com-
622 pensation other than the honor and respect in which they
681 are held. The chief, however, usually levies fines upon offenders, of which he takes personal possession and could, if he so desired, use a portion of them for his private needs, since no special account of such matters is kept by anyone. As a matter of fact such a thing rarely or never happens; on the contrary the chief uses the fines for paying the services of officers of the law whom he may send on missions of various kinds, such as bringing culprits to justice, settling disputes among his people,
[756 and the like. A portion of the money he uses also for the
776 payment of shamans whom he employs now and then
789] to expel dangerous spirits from his village, from deep pools in the river, or from other places where these mysterious beings are supposed to endanger the lives of
[435] the people at large. At the present time, when coins of Ecuador and Colombia are comparatively easy to obtain, fines are paid in money, but in earlier times they were always paid in commodities.

437 They have sold the new small canoes, tree bark mats
501 (damajaguas), palm-leaf fans, rubber and rolls of liana (these are
285 used in the construction of bamboo huts to tie up the palm-leaves
283] on the [284] roofs and for some other purposes in lieu of string),
which they have brought from the villages and with the cash they
have earned they now make their small purchases. They have
few wants and do not need much: a few feet of cotton cloth, a
chopping knife, some salt, a small mirror, glass beads, fish hooks,
[411] powder and small shot for the old muzzle-loader which a few of
them may own. This would be all their heart desires. It is little,
even very little, and yet it takes long, even very long, until they
have made their choice and finally decided to buy. First they
talk it over among themselves in their guttural and sonorous lan-
guage and then they start bargaining, and then they count out their
money slowly and cautiously; finally having managed to get the
[462] desired goods, they packed them into the nearly full basket car-
ried by the wife. The women and girls timidly hide behind their
576 menfolk. When spoken to, they do not answer, although they
571 understand sufficient Spanish. Their jealous menfolk have strictly
[191] forbidden them to enter into conversation with men of other races
or tribes. They draw back bashfully. But if the husband is not
present, only the mother or brother, the women become very
loquacious, especially when their tongue has been untied by a
small present--a mirror, necklace or something of the kind. And
they are happy beyond words if you caress their little child, who
looks like a Japanese baby painted brown, and has a friendly smile
even for a stranger. It is amusing to watch the women meeting a
fashionably dressed lady in one of the shops; then they surround
her laughing, amazed and admiring, but they do not appear to be
jealous of the lace dresses worn by European women. The men,
on the other hand, do not honor even the most beautiful and most
elegant white lady with so much as a glance.

142 The Cayapa girls are pretty from the age of 12 to 16 years,
302 their bodies somewhat plump, but still with a beautiful shape.
584 Sometimes young men and women can be seen with red and black
streaks and dots on their faces, chest, arms and legs; this is a
sign that they are engaged.

505 Once their business in town is finished they prepare for the re-
turn journey to their villages. "Adios compadre, adios compadres,"
and chattering and laughing, happy and content, they hurry to
the shore where their canoes are moored. On their way they

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

of the five spirits which the stone harbored, and explained how each was angry at him because he had even thought of disposing of the stone. He of course refused to sell it, stating that it would be of no use to the purchaser for the reason that if the spirits were not willing that it be sold they would return, together with the stone, on the following night, to the basket in which he kept it, and that the purchaser would lose the price paid for it, since it would be impossible for him ever to keep the stone, no matter in how strong a receptacle it might be put, because the spirits were able to take it at will wherever they liked. 756 778

While these stones and other objects used by shamans in their practices are so highly prized and so carefully handled by them, little care is taken to guard such objects from contact with other persons. Ordinarily they are kept in an open basket upon the floor and within the reach of uninitiated adults as well as of children. There seems to be no fear that the mere handling of these objects will cause any ill effect on the uninitiated—it is only when such a person attempts to use one of them for the purpose of doctoring that there is danger. 756

As above indicated, objects containing spirits may be bartered among the shamans whenever the spirits themselves are willing, and they are sometimes sold without consulting the spirits; but if it is a particularly valuable object and the abode of several spirits, these are always consulted before it is disposed of. 756 778 437

Although there are several shamans in the three divisions of the Cayapa, shamanism is comparatively little practised, and the position of a shaman in the tribe 756

THE CAYAPA INDIANS*

by
Max Heimann

In the far north west of the Ecuadorian Republic there is a river named the Santiago. Near the village of Borbon it is joined by one of its tributaries, the Cayapa River. The Cayapa Indians, a harmless tribe consisting of no more than 2500 persons, live on the upper reaches of the Cayapa River and around its sources.

I have never been able to understand why they are called "uncivilized" and "savage." Would it be because they dress more simply, more comfortably, more suitably and cheaply than we European fashion slaves? Or would it be because they speak their own language, unknown to us, and because they do not know how to read and write and do not stuff their heads with the dead weight taught in schools and called "education"? Or even, would it be because they have other customs and manners as well as different moral concepts?

One thing is certain—the Cayapa are happy people, because they are more satisfied with their lot than we Europeans, who are so demanding and feel so superior with our conceit in our sham civilization, in the clothes prescribed for us by the tyrants of "fashion" and in the "wisdom" acquired in schools.

They frequently come to town in small groups of five to 20 persons. I have seen them many hundreds of times, but again and again I am delighted when I meet these small, but well-built and sturdy [282] figures. The men are not taller than 150-160 cm. (Translator--5 ft. to 5ft. 4 in.), while the women are barely 140 cm. (Translator--4 ft. 8 in.). Their skin is copper brown in color.

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* The author a business man, lived in Tumaco (southwest Colombia) for 35 years (1895-1930) and was German Vice-Consul for the Departamento Nariño from 1907 to 1920. Although he never actually visited Cayapa villages, he did have occasions to see and question groups of them "many hundreds of times," on their frequent visits to Tumaco. Apart from this, several of his employees have been in Cayapa villages and have given him reports. (K. Th. Preuss).

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

Children wear no clothes at all until they are 6 or 8.

The hair is worn loose, long, and flowing by the women but is clipped above the ears by the men. Both sexes wear necklaces and wristbands of glass and porcelain beads, coins, seeds, and beetle wings. Only women wear earrings.

The traditional *Chibcha* custom of frequently painting body and face is found among the *Cayapa*. Red, yellow, and black are used, and the designs are very numerous. Barrett reproduces many of the motifs and insists that there is no special significance attached to any of them, nor is there any age, sex, or property correlation.

TRANSPORTATION

Watercraft.—A large part of every *Cayapa's* life is spent on the water fishing and traveling. Canoes are built with great skill and care. They can withstand not only fluvial but also maritime travel and are routinely sold in the "civilized" coast towns. They are dugouts, usually 10 to 12 yards long but sometimes much larger. Balsa-wood logs are sometimes used as outriggers.

MANUFACTURES

Details of *Cayapa* manufactures are contained in Barrett's work, which describes and illustrates finished products and minutely discusses the techniques of preparation.

Woodworking.—Woodworking includes house building, making deadfall traps, and carving seats and children's dolls.

Weaving and basketry.—The women weave cotton cloth on a narrow native loom, and the men do the sewing. The men also weave the fishing nets and hammocks. Barrett's discussion of *Cayapa* basketry is outstanding. The *Cayapa* make many kinds of baskets, mats, and fans of bark and of various roots.

Pottery.—Pottery is crude and undecorated. It is used particularly for storage. Tradition claims that in their old Highland habitat the *Cayapa* made better pottery but that calabashes have since largely replaced ceramics.

Stonework and metalwork.—Stonework is limited to the metates used in grinding corn and plantains. Although in aboriginal times Lowland Ecuador was a famous area of metallurgy, there is no evidence that the contemporary *Cayapa* practiced it.

Weapons.—The weapon most widely used today is the muzzle-loading shotgun. The blowgun was important in the past, but today its use is restricted to boys, who shoot poison darts while playing at hunting. Hardwood lances are being given up and the bow and arrow is said not to be mentioned in *Cayapa* tradition. The steel machete is ubiquitous.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

ECONOMICS

The *Cayapa* economic unit is the virtually self-sufficient, one-family household. Land is owned and worked familially, and there is as much land to be had as the family can clear. If any special rules govern distribution and inheritance, they are not reported by our sources. Also, there seem to be very few provisions for interhousehold cooperation: men will help a neighbor bring down a tree trunk from the hills, but all other activities are evidently left to individual enterprise.

This self-sufficiency does not apply to all spheres of activity. Machetes and rifles are essential in jungle life, and most families make at least one trip a year to the coast for trading and social purposes. In the small Ecuadorean and Colombian towns they find a ready market for rubber, tagua nuts, and other forest products. Cocoa is grown specifically for this trade. There is also a limited market for some of their manufactures: canoes, mats, fans, and other basketry. In exchange, the *Cayapa* want metal goods: axes, machetes, shotguns, fishhooks, fish spears, and copper tubing for their distilleries. But they also like beads and mirrors, pearls, vests, and old derby hats. In recent years machine-made muslins and calicoes have been edging out native-made cloth.

The *Cayapa* are not yet incorporated in Ecuadorean economy. Their need for metal goods and trinkets has not yet forced them to work on plantations or in placer gold mines. Their own supply of rum has helped them avoid debts contracted for alcohol, and they have usually retreated into the forest when their self-sufficiency has been menaced. It is improbable that this selective acculturation can last very long.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The basic *Cayapa* social unit is the household. Though there is no definite indication as to size and composition, it appears to be an extended family including normally no more than 10 to 12 people. Chief Antonio Napa's house at Punta Venado could seat some 40-odd people at a feast, but it was unique in size, and the Napa household according to Basurco (1894) had only 8 to 10 members.

Barrett (1925) presents a detailed chart of kinship terms used by the *Cayapa*. We unfortunately know nothing about the behavior that goes with the terms or about marriage rules. On the face of it the system is a "lineal" one—collateral relatives are separated from lineal ones but are not differentiated among themselves. Thus, the term for uncle applies to both paternal and maternal ones. All terms are highly descriptive. There is no evidence of reciprocal use of terms, but Barrett's chart is not really complete. The system is quite unique and interesting.

The lineal and descriptive nature of the kinship system emphasizes the bilateral character of the *Cayapa* family. There is no clan organization. The extended family household is the truly basic social unit. There is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

135 in considerable deposits along this portion of the coast of Ecuador. In fact this region, like a large part of the western coast of South America, is rich in precious metals, those present in this particular locality being chiefly gold and platinum, although silver and copper are also found. It is an interesting fact that platinum first became known to the civilized world through its introduction from the Province of Esmeraldas; it had, however, been discovered and employed to a considerable extent in the making of ornaments by the aboriginal inhabitants of the region about the mouth of the Rio Santiago before its introduction into the modern arts, in fact long before the coming of Columbus. The high development reached in the art of metal-working by the ancient inhabitants of this section is shown particularly by the elaborate and delicately wrought ornaments of gold and platinum, and occasionally also of silver and copper, found so abundantly at La Tolita near the mouth of the Rio Santiago and at certain other points in that vicinity.

325 The Cayapa Indians of the present day are quite differently disposed toward metal-working, for they have no knowledge of the art, now using no metal [439] objects other than those obtained by trade, such as [173] axes, adzes, and machetes. They assert that they never came into contact with the ancient metal-workers of this region, for the reason that they were long ago driven out or exterminated by another tribe which the Cayapa in turn banished in comparatively recent times. Not only do the Cayapa do no metal-work themselves, but

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CAYAPA INDIANS

462 The women do all the spinning and weaving of cloth,
512 but the men sew all garments, not only for themselves
294 but also for the small boys who have not yet learned to
[291] sew. This is due largely no doubt to the fact that the single garment worn by the women requires no sewing whatever, while the two garments worn by the men must be sewn.

868 At a very early age boys begin to learn the arts practised by their elders, hence they are instructed in hunting, fishing, woodworking, and similar useful accomplishments of the men.

512 It is customary among the Cayapa to arise at dawn, usually between five and five-thirty o'clock, and to retire as soon as darkness comes, or between six-thirty and seven o'clock. These hours vary little throughout the year, owing to the proximity of the equator.

[527] The daily routine is usually about the same throughout the year, varying in event of a fiesta, or boda, which brings the people together at a particular village, from which, after some days of festivities, they return home.

[484] Another diversion is going down the river to the settlements. Sometimes this trip is made almost purely for

[439] pleasure and to obtain oysters and other sea foods, but more often these pleasure trips are combined with the selling of tagua, cacao, rubber, or plantains, and occasionally logs for lumber.

593 One of the most characteristic features of the daily life of the Cayapa is the devotion of the members of a family toward one another, especially that of parents toward their children. Few restrictions are placed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

AGRICULTURE

As before stated, the Cayapa practise agriculture to such an extent that it may be considered their chief occupation, for by it are produced their chief food supply and also certain materials used in textiles. Under agriculture should be classed not only the introduced domesticated plants, but also certain indigenous vegetal growths which are cared for to a greater or lesser extent. These various products are in large measure raised for consumption by the Indians themselves, but some are sold in the settlements at the mouth of the river.

The regular Cayapa dwelling, as before stated, is situated near the bank of the river, and is almost always flanked, usually on both sides, by clearings and fields. Plantains, bananas, sugar-cane, cacao, cotton, yuca, rascadera, pineapples, yams, tobacco, corn, coconuts, rubber, and certain herbs are grown by the Indians. The first five of these are almost invariably found in the fields immediately adjacent to the house. Some of the other products mentioned, such as yams, corn, coconuts, and yuca, are not raised by all the Indians, and rubber is more frequently grown at some distance from the house, as it thrives better under special soil conditions. In addition to these nearby fields, frequently a favorable location for more or less extensive plantings in the hills is found along the banks of some estero and at a considerable distance from the river. By some of the Indians it is claimed that the plantain grows better at some distance from the main stream, as does also "pita," the plant which yields the tough

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

progress, and in pl. LXV from a drawing so made as to show the wooden "worm" as well as the outside of the still. Such a still is composed of five parts. Three of these consist of (1) a large olla of the form shown in pl. LXXXVII, 7, which serves as a caldron and which is supported over the fire by three stones; (2) a second olla or vaporizer which surmounts the caldron and which is of the form shown in fig. 10 of the same plate; and (3) a flat, inverted cone of copper which rests in turn upon the vaporizer. This copper top, called i'ckala lanō pai'la, as also the large copper kettle used in reducing the cane juice by boiling, is obtained through trade. These appliances [439] are manufactured chiefly by metal-workers in Quito, and both are highly valued by the Cayapa largely because of the difficulties of transportation from Quito to the Rio Cayapas. The upper olla, or vaporizer, called kandyī-hū'lū, is without a bottom and therefore forms a large chamber into which the vapor from the boiling guarapo in the caldron below rises and comes into contact with the inverted copper cone, which is kept constantly cool by frequently changing the water in it. The vapor condenses on the under surface of this copper vessel, runs down to the point of the cone, and drips on a flat grooved board, called kandēlē'hō or kandyīhūlū ta''pa, which forms the fourth element of the still, and which serves in a way the same function as the worm in the still used by civilized peoples. Its position and its relation to other parts of the still are well shown by the drawing in pl. LXV. This "worm" conducts the liquid out through an opening in the side of the vaporizer and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[272] freshing and is drunk with much relish by the Indians.
257 The seeds themselves are spread upon mats on the drying platform of the house and are carefully watched during the next couple of weeks to prevent them from being wet by the frequent rains. After this period they are sufficiently dry to be stored away until the next trip down the river, when they are sold to traders. Cacao is
[439] one of the most important exports of Ecuador, whose territory is the source of a considerable part of the chocolate of commerce.

274 Although the Cayapa cultivate so much cacao, they
272 drink it only now and then, usually at fiestas. It is prepared by first thoroughly grinding the dried cacao upon a mealing stone such as is used for grinding plantain, and then boiling. For this purpose the Cayapa make a pot of special form, such as that shown in pl. LXXXVII, 9. The boiling chocolate is stirred at intervals with an implement of special form called tcōkōla'te tcali, illustrated in pl. LXI, 6–7. The result of this process is a comparatively thick, very rich and oily liquid, quite unlike the beverage prepared from the ordinary chocolate of commerce, since the chocolate prepared directly from the seeds as above described retains all the natural oil. It may be drunk in this form, but if sugar is available it is usually added.

249 Pineapples (Cayapa, tci'lya), the only use of which is as
[262] a food, are grown to a limited extent by some of the Cayapa. The green tops of the fruits themselves are planted close together in rows, and from these the plants grow. When once established, such a plant requires

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

very little attention until time to gather the fruit, which in this region is of excellent flavor, especially when allowed to ripen thoroughly on the plant. 249

The fleshy roots of the yuca (Cayapa, kû"tcû) are considerably used as food. The yuca is started by means of cuttings, and requires from seven to nine months to produce the edible roots. These roots are usually boiled in the regular manner when used as an ordinary food, but, as above mentioned, they are also frequently boiled in sugar-cane syrup to make a kind of preserves. The yuca is a very nutritious food, has an excellent flavor, and by many is much preferred to either potatoes or yams. It is never baked. 244 262 [252]

Potatoes (Cayapa, pû'lyû) do not thrive at this low altitude, owing to the heat and humidity, although they grow well in the valleys of the higher Andes. On rare occasions they are obtained from the Indians of these interior valleys who make journeys to the coast for trading and other purposes. They have also been procured in more recent years from the traders about the mouth of the river, but the Cayapa seldom purchase commodities of this class. 244 439 262

Another food of a similar kind which is grown by the Cayapa to a limited extent is the red yam. It is started by cuttings in the ordinary manner. In preparing them for food, the yams are boiled, but are never roasted, as is so frequently done by aboriginal peoples. 244 262 252

Of this class also is the root-stalk of the rascadera (Cayapa, ñû'a), a species of caladium which is grown to a limited extent by a few of the Cayapa. This is also pre-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

While the fruit of the chonta dura is never eaten raw, there is another palm that produces a fruit similar in form but of a grayish yellow color, which is considerably esteemed in its raw state. Neither of these species of palm is purposely planted by the Cayapa, but when found they are carefully protected, and the fruits are harvested year after year.

One other species of palm, a very tall, slender one, produces a fruit which it eaten raw. To secure this the palm is usually cut down with a machete, which is always carried by everyone going into the jungle.

One of the most important of the natural products of this part of Ecuador is the tagua, or ivory nut. These palms, called ti'ñ tci or ti'mō būlō, are scattered throughout the jungle and are carefully conserved by the Indians, especially where a grove of them is found near a dwelling. The importance of this palm applies both to the Indians and to the negroes and whites. The ripe nuts, timbū pū'ka, or timō pōka, are an article of commerce, and their exportation to the United States and to Europe, where they are extensively used in making buttons, is an important industry. To the Indians, however, the tagua serves at least three other uses. When its green burs approach maturity, they are gathered and taken to the house, where they are cut crosswise with a machete. These burs are covered by an outer shell, called ha'ñda kika. They are very hard and can be cut only with difficulty. Each of the nuts in this stage of its development is an almost transparent gelatinous substance, called tcapi ta'ka, which may

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

as above mentioned, interlace with the fibers of adjoining leaves in such manner as to make it necessary to pry the leaves apart with wooden bars, are strong and pliable, and are woven into burden-bands by which heavy loads are carried. These fibers often attain a length of about four feet and are possessed of tensile strength sufficient to enable their use as strings on the wooden harp which is now made to a very limited extent by the Cayapa. This instrument was borrowed by them from the Indians of the interior, who in turn copied it from the Spanish conquerors.

Another palm, found to a limited extent along the river, is the coconut, called after the Spanish, kō'kō-tcī. It does not, however, thrive at any considerable distance from the ocean, consequently few palms are found even at so short a distance up the Rio Cayapas as the mouth of the Onzole. Pl. CXXXI presents a view looking up-stream at the confluence of the Rio Onzole with the Rio Cayapas, and, upon the projection of land between them, the hacienda of one of the more prosperous of the negroes of the region. Several coconut palms appear in front of the house. Coconuts grow well along the immediate coast, and there are here large groves, the nuts being shipped to nearby villages and to points even as far away as Esmeraldas. They are purchased to a certain extent by the Indians, by whom they are used in very limited quantities as food, more especially for the so-called coconut-milk which is made from the ripe nuts.

In addition to the foregoing food-producing plants,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

addition to the foregoing food-producing plants, 246
there are various others that are valuable for other materials which they produce. One of these is cotton, called kū'a. The Cayapa are expert weavers and in 286
large measure produce all their own material. Their [439]
textiles are made almost entirely of cotton, the only wool used being that obtained from the Quichua of the higher Andes, or in these days from the yarn of commerce. The yarn used by the Cayapa is always red or blue, and is employed for the sake of the colors, not for the material itself. They grow a white and also a brown cotton, the 248
former being, according to their statements, an introduced species, the latter an indigenous one. These, [386]
together with the green and lavender dyes and the two colors of yarn, give them a total of six native colors. Cotton is usually grown from the seed, and requires little attention when once the plants have attained a fair size. Only a few plants of either the white or the brown cotton are grown by any one family, but they bloom perpetually and are sufficient to produce all the raw material needed. The cotton is allowed to mature completely, that is until the bolls have opened and the ripe cotton is nearly ready to fall. It is then gathered (being in the condition shown in pl. CVII, 11), thoroughly dried, and stored away in packages (such as that shown in fig. 12 of the same plate), and wrapped in leaves of the hoja blanca, until needed for spinning. To a limited extent also the [272]
cotton plant is used in making a beverage, the leaves being boiled after the manner of tea.

Tobacco is considerably used by the Cayapa, but never 276

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

276 to excess as among some other peoples. It is almost never grown by them, their supply coming from their negro neighbors or through trade. The Indians claim that tobacco was not known to this region in aboriginal times, but that it was introduced considerably later than the Spanish conquest. This statement is borne out by the fact that the name for tobacco is ta'kō, which is evidently an adaptation of the Spanish term tabaco. They use neither pipes nor cigarettes, but confine their smoking entirely to cigars made by themselves. They procure the half leaves of tobacco in bundles, which are stored away until a smoke is actually wanted, when each person rolls his own cigar. The habit of chewing tobacco appears to be unknown.

276 776 789 In addition to smoking for pleasure, tobacco is used ceremonially. When it is desired to drive out malevolent spirits from a certain spot, a medicine-man is called in, and, assisted by the ordinary people present and perhaps by another medicine-man or two, he performs a ceremony which makes the place untenable for the spirits. Each participant provides himself with a cigar and a small calabash of a decoction made from the leaves of a certain herb, and all make a systematic tour of the infested place. As they go slowly along they wet everything about them with the decoction, blowing it from the mouth in a fine spray. Interspersed with this spraying is the blowing of tobacco smoke into the air and on any objects with which they come in contact. The head medicine-man sings or whistles certain songs and waves a special banner from time to time as the party proceeds, and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6, Cayapa SD6

At the present time the hook-and-line is very much used in fishing, though this was introduced by the whites. Strong, slender, fish-poles, called wañgū-tca'll, seven to ten feet in length, are made from the upper branches of the large bamboo. They are gathered when thoroughly matured but while still green, and are hardened and straightened by heating. The lines, called wañgū-tcū'a, or sañdō'a, are made of native pita string and are usually quite fine. The strength of the pita fibers makes it possible to use a very fine line for comparatively large fish. Such a fish-line, provided with a special pottery sinker and an ordinary steel fish-hook, is shown in fig. 9; it is wound in this case on a cylindrical piece of balsa. This line is called tcūndyē'pū and is used in the hand after the fashion of a troll. In case it should be dropped or pulled overboard, it is saved by means of the balsa float. Ordinarily all lines are provided with lead sinkers, but the pottery cylinder especially made as a sinker is an old type and was formerly very much used. Hooks, called wañgi'la, are now obtained from traders at the coast, although it is

FIG. 9.—Fish-line with pottery sinker

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

said that when this method of fishing was first introduced through contact with the early Spaniards, crude hooks were fashioned by hammering out pieces of iron.

At the present time this method of hook-and-line fishing is so much in vogue that almost every man has his special little canoe and a special short paddle which are used almost exclusively for fishing. It is customary to paddle for some distance against the tide or current and then to fish back down with the current along the bank. In this way little effort is required in paddling, and a sculling motion of the paddle with the left hand is sufficient to keep the canoe in its desired course. With a pole and line go a small, hemispherical, calabash dish of angle-worms, a small bottle-shape basket (pl. XCIII, 3) of grasshoppers, or a calabash of a certain small reddish fruit, all of which are used as bait, each according to the kind of fish sought.

On rare occasions the trot-line, called weñgütçû'a (?), such as that shown in pl. CXIX, 1, is used. The main line, called señgi'ri, is made usually of the coarser string fiber called by the Spanish term cosadera, while the small "leaders," called simply sañdô'a, to which each separate hook is attached, are made of pita string.

War

The Cayapa maintain that in ancient times they rarely went to war, and then only on the greatest provocation, as, for instance, when they were harrassed by the former inhabitants of their present domain until forbearance was no longer possible and they descended from their

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Most families, however, go at least once a year, while
505 those living on the main Rio Cayapas and its tributaries
484 to the limit of tidewater, which is just above the con-
● [439] fluence of the Rio Camarones with the main river, usually go down to the coast several times a year, each time taking with them a load of various commodities such as plantains, tagua, rubber, and cacao, for sale. For such a journey from two to several days are required, and each member of the family must take along his mosquito canopy, his strip of bark cloth which serves as a bed, and other necessary personal articles, while the party must be provided by the women with cooking utensils and food for the journey. Each member is usually bedecked in his best clothing and necklaces, and it is customary also to paint elaborately the exposed parts of the body, as is done on the occasion of a fiesta.

For the protection of the small children, a mat, such as that shown in pl. CVI, 2, is placed with its two ends just inside the gunwales of the canoe so that it bows up in the form of a canopy. Such a protection is shown in pl. LXXX. The cargo of the canoe is always protected from rain with hoja-blanca leaves, or now and then with large plantain or banana leaves. In the Cayapa country, where it rains practically every day, a downpour never hinders one from making a journey. An ordinary rain is met without protection, but if it is very severe one may be well sheltered by holding up a large plantain or banana leaf on the windward side.

505 It is unnecessary to provide a camping outfit in this
484 region, since hospitality is a custom of the country;
574 consequently in making a journey it is necessary only

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the machete is mounted (pl. LXXXIII, 7). Practically the only difference between this object and a seat such as that shown in fig. 6 of the same plate, is in the presence of the handle at one end. Both the whetstone base and the wooden seat is called tcūmbū'lya.

The whetstones, called tōla'ha, are made of a fine-grained sandstone and are purchased from the settlements down the river. A stone of almost any size is used, but one six by eight or ten inches is most usually employed. It is not fastened to the base, but simply rests upon it in order to bring the stone a few inches from the floor and to make it possible to place the hands on either side lower than the stone when necessary. With this simple apparatus and a hemispherical calabash of water to wet the stone a man will sit and sharpen machetes for a couple of hours at a time, especially when the cane-field is being cleaned or a new area in the bush is being cleared.

In fig. 1 of the plate last referred to is shown another wooden object similar in form to the seats. This is the special wooden base used as a rest upon which to set an earthenware pot as it is being coiled and shaped. Ordinarily these bases consist merely of a flat board of rectangular form. The one here shown is much more elaborate, being circular in outline and having four legs which slant outward from its perimeter; it is also hewn from a single block of wood, as are all the objects represented in this plate.

Another interesting class of wooden objects is dolls, called nawa'wa, made for the amusement of children.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

248 The cotton ordinarily grown in this section is of a brownish color, and it is claimed by the Cayapa that this is indigenous. It must be said, however, that brown cotton rarely grows wild along the river or in the mountains, but is seen almost exclusively about inhabited places or the sites of recently abandoned habitations.

The second variety of cotton is pure white and is also grown by the Cayapa to a limited extent. It is main- [177] tained that this is not a native plant, but is a direct importation from the mountain region or from the Rio [439] Esmeraldas territory. In fact, this white cotton is now sometimes purchased by the Cayapa in their trips to the Rio Esmeraldas, because so little of it is grown along their own river.

When the cotton bolls open and the seeds with their covering of fine fibers are almost ready to drop, they are gathered and, if necessary, dried. The contents of two of these fully opened bolls are shown in pl. CVII, 11. It is frequently desirable to store the cotton away in this [488] form for some time, in which event a considerable number of the bolls are made up into a package which is wrapped with a leaf or two of hoja blanca. Such a bundle is usually tied with a piece of pitigua and in this form may be stored for an indefinite period. In the bundle shown in pl. CVII, 12, a section of the wrapping has been torn away in order to show the contents. 283 When it is desired to prepare the cotton for use, the bolls are cleaned of the seeds and of any foreign matter that may have become mixed with the fibers, since the presence of any foreign substance interferes materially with spinning. In this

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283 thread may also be wound into large balls, but because much smaller quantities of these colors are used the balls [439] are usually smaller. Likewise the red and the blue woolen thread, which is obtained by trade through Indians of the interior mountain region, comes in balls an inch or two in diameter, such as the ball of red woolen yarn shown in pl. CVII, 9.

283 Threads of four native colors are used by the Cayapa.
386 Two of these, the white and the brown, are the natural colors of the two species of cotton. The lavender is made by dyeing with a pigment obtained from a univalve procured at the ocean, while the green is produced by a dye obtained from the leaf of a small shrub resembling the [439] locust of the temperature zone. In addition to these native colors the red and blue woolen threads obtained through trade with the Indians of the interior are used. In dyeing the cotton either lavender or green it is wound into short skeins, the winding being usually done upon the great toe of one foot and the thumb of the left hand as turning points. Another method is to drive two wooden pegs into a section of plantain or other succulent stem and wind upon these. The skein thus formed is tied at the two ends near the pegs to prevent it from becoming tangled. It is then slipped off the pegs and placed in the dye, and by rubbing and thoroughly working the dye into the skein, an even as well as a fast color is finally obtained. The skeins are then laid out to dry and are later wound into balls and stored away. Pl. CVII, 8, shows one of these skeins after the dyeing is completed.

Dyes of only two other colors are used by the Cayapa.

adept at tailoring, and make their own clothing. Children learn from their fathers. A few men own sewing machines which they sometimes rent out; some take tailoring orders from their less skillful neighbors. Some men may even make their wives' skirts /pihtahal^{y}i/. The man wears western-style trousers with pegged cuffs that are shaped to permit easier gathering of the trouser leg at the calf, if wading should be necessary. The trousers are held up by leather belts that are purchased. The colors of the trousers are usually dark tones of blue, grey, khaki, or black. The Cayapa are restricted in color choice simply because the available trouser cloth that is purchased in the coastal towns tends to come in these shades. On the other hand, shirt material is available in a wide variety of colors and every conceivable color combination is used, very often in harlequin fashion.

The shirt /huwál^{y}i/ is cut in a rectangular fashion with a short slit neck which forms a 'vee' when worn. Tight short sleeves run down about three inches from the shoulders. The front and rear panels are joined together at the sides by colored stripe of varying widths. The panels may be of the same bright color,

or the front may differ from the back in solid colors. Often the panels may be cut vertically or diagonally with different brightly hued colors. The shirt, which falls to knee-length, is usually bordered at the hem by the same band that joins the front and rear panels. Sometimes the multicolored hem may be overlaid with the panel material that has been cut in triangular points. This gorgeous array is usually topped off with a white plastic fedora that has been smuggled in from Colombia. If the feet are shod, they are usually encased in knee-length rubber boots. For festive occasions, the men wear lipstick and round patches of rouge on their cheeks. Sometimes they also place a round spot of rouge about an inch and a half in diameter, in the middle of their foreheads. The over-all effect is quite striking.

Some men do not use cosmetics but prefer to dress up for fiestas in western clothing that often includes underwear and transparent nylon sport shirts in white, red, blue, yellow, or green. On occasion, a man will place a bright yellow straight plastic comb in his hair. Men quite often buy wrist watches for which they have no earthly use. The watches are fairly expensive, poorly

juice called guarapo in Spanish.

Basketry. Fans, baskets, and pouches, are made in the same style and technique as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:183-250). There is a market for the fans which are used for fanning the embers in the fire-box when preparing a meal. They are often sold in the coastal towns of San Lorenzo and Esmeraldas as well as in the highland town of Ibarra. The money received for these fans is the property of the woman who made the fans, even though they were sold by her husband.

Weapons. The blowgun has disappeared from general use. Only a few specimens are left. All hunting today is done with the escopeta or muzzle-loading shotgun. Serving both as a tool and as a weapon is the machete or /múste/, and both men and women are quite adept in its use.

Housing.

Probably the cultural feature of the Pacific lowlands which most quickly attracts the eye of the outsider is the type of house used by the rural Negroid population. This is the square or rectangular pile dwelling with four-shed hipped roof of thatch, a peculiar roof crown, and palm-lath floor

of the Cayapa and the Negroes of the area. The extreme humidity of the region, coupled with the saturated, heavy clay soil that predominates, precludes slash and burn cultivation. The Cayapa region is just on the very southern edge of the area marked by a peculiar diagnostic trait:

> . . . slash-mulch cultivation, of probable Indian origin, has evolved. Seeds are broadcast and rhizomes and cuttings are planted in an uncleared plot; then the bush is cut; decay of cut vegetable matter is rapid, forming a thick mulch through which the sprouts from the seeds and cuttings appear within a week or ten days (West 1957: 129).

The main food crops are maize /pí$\check{s}$u/, plantain /pánda/, sugar cane /éla/, sweet manioc /kú?$\check{c}$u/, Rascadera (Xanthosoma sagittifolium), a taro-like aroid tuber called /túa/, squash /ú/, pineapple /$\check{c}$íl^{y}a/, beans /múlu/, and bananas /seda/. The latter were universally considered to be starvation food, and prior to the recent world market demand for them, were fed to the pigs. There are many fruits such as papaya /papá^{i}ya/, oranges /lánsa/, lemons /lémo/, zapote /sapúte/, guabo /$\check{s}$íl^{y}u/, chirimoya (A. cherimola). Some sweet potatoes are grown, but they are scarce due to the depredations of

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pigs who find them especially delectable. The Cayapa seldom plant coconuts, but the Negroes do so whenever possible. Important palms are the Tagua and the Chontaduro. The tagua nut was formerly an extremely important economic product; its hard seed was in constant demand on the world market for the manufacture of shirt buttons. With the rapid development of the plastics industry some thirty years ago, the market for tagua seeds completely collapsed. The Cayapa still talk nostalgically of the days when money did apparently grow on trees. Though its export value has declined, the tagua palm, nevertheless, is still important to the internal economy: the leaves are used extensively for roof thatching, the nut is a minor item in the diet, and when the tree dies, the /múšu/, a delectable and very oily grub can be dug out of the trunk. Both men and women may work in the gardens. Generally speaking, however, the men clear the garden and the women plant the seeds or roots. Men and women may harvest the crops.

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The staff of life for the inhabitants of the Pacific Lowland Culture Area is the plantain which is found in many varieties. It may be eaten green or

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ripe, but most often it is boiled green and then pounded on a mortar. Bits of meat and/or fish may be added to the pulp. In this form it is called bala by both Negroes and Cayapa. In the ripe form, it may be boiled and treated as bala, or it may be eaten raw. Children eat enormous amounts of ripe plantain, and they never seem to become satiated. Important adjuncts to the subsistence pattern are the traveling merchants who bring canoe-loads of dried fish, clams, bread, cookies, sugar, and candy as well as smuggled Colombian cloth and clothing, up from the coast.

Hunting is a very important activity, and most Cayapa men spend one or two days a week tracking game. The main animals are large rodents called guanta /walámbu/, a smaller rodent called guatin /kúyu/, peccary /netúšu/, jaguar /kéla/, puma /lʸukéla/, monkey /wášu/, squirrel /yámbu/, and the armadillo /čilʸámbu/. Large birds are shot whenever possible and include toucans /čandútu/, the wild turkey /éle/, and a hawk /huyálʸu/. At the present time, hunting is done almost entirely with muzzle-loading shotguns. Hunting is generally a small operation involving no more than three

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

except in one instance. The Cayapa of the Río Camerones have decided that no Indian may sell land to a Negro in the upper reaches of the river. Rumors are constantly reported that Negroes are moving in and there is definite concern that community strength is not sufficient to maintain the boundaries. The meager historical data indicate that in the early nineteenth century the Cayapa were largely self sufficient and were not producing much for cash. By the 1900's their wants and needs had increased and they were now engaged in the small scale production and sale of rubber and Tagua nuts. By the end of the first world war rubber and Tagua were major cash crops in the region. During the second world war rubber boomed and Tagua declined almost to the vanishing point. After the war the rubber market similarly declined. By now the Cayapa were well used to money and the things that money could buy, sewing machines, rifles, shotguns, shot, powder, cloth, watches, rubber boots, ready-made clothing, cosmetics, patent medicines, pressure lamps, rice, sugar, soft drinks, and many other products of our tinsel civilization. After the Second World War, Ecuador became a center of a banana boom and the Cayapa were affected greatly. Like the Negroes,

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harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several canoes in Esmeraldas. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is now undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

the Río Verde. In fact, she said that she planned to go there with her late husband's brother. Her complaint was that the Rosenda household was "sad, bad, much crying and beating." She wanted to leave her husband permanently. According to my informants, this would be a valid divorce, considering the polygynous circumstances, and she could then remarry. She had left Rosenda without her children, because "the father did not send them along," and therefore within a few days she returned home to Rosenda. It was being said at the time that Rosenda was looking for a third wife.

The area around Cojimíes is a bustling center of the banana trade, and the Cayapa who live there are very well off financially. The people of the San Miguel section are the furthest removed from the banana trade and from time to time go to the coastal areas to work. Sometimes they work for Whites and sometimes for Negroes, but mostly they seek work on Cayapa-owned land. For the first time non-related Cayapa may live and work together and opportunities for liasons are greatly increased. In some instances, as in the following case, they end in a polygynous marriage.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CHAPTER V

LAND, PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Land is the basis of the Cayapa economy. The region, undefined and unsurveyed, has been deeded to the Cayapa as a tribe. Negroes and Whites who desire land must purchase it from an Indian in order to have a clear title. The title is for the land itself and not just for usufruct. The Cayapa may obtain land by cutting it out of the virgin forest (monte jivaro), he may buy it or he may inherit it. More land is available for subsistence farming than for other purposes. For the cash crop of bananas the land must be of good quality, well drained, and within easy access of a navigable stream that flows into the main river body traveled by La Propaganda, the banana buyers. In addition, the grower must be able to meet the banana boat on schedule. A stand of rubber trees will also increase the value of the land. Rubber is sold in Colombia where, traditionally, the price is higher than in Ecuador and retail prices on consumer items wanted by the Cayapa are cheaper. Once a year, as a rule,

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Once a year, as a rule,

groups of Cayapa will band together for protection against the cutthroats and brigands that infest the coastal regions, load their canoes with as much rubber as they have been able to collect, and set off in small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colombian goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to poaching.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be good for raising pigs. (Remoteness lessens the possibility of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and sapotes. Large sections are planted to the tagua palm that, at one time, was as important economically as the banana is today. The tagua nut is only a minor item in the

off with the latex. Buru claimed that the land was his, as he was the eldest son, and Segundo agreed to leave the untapped trees for Buru. But they are three brothers, and the *[illegible]*, to avoid further fighting, divided the land three ways among them.

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The rubber poacher keeps most of the profits. Espíritu Santo had a piece of land on which was a stand of about fifteen rubber trees. Chapiro tapped them without permission and collected about fifty pounds of rubber. He turned the rubber over to his brother, Bertram, who went to Colombia with Pablo Ñapa and two Negroes, Estupinian and Manuel Caisero. Bertram sold the rubber for Chapiro. Buru Cimarrón had noticed that the trees were tapped and told people that Ciro had done the poaching. But Santiqueño, Ciro's brother, had seen Chapiro skulking in the vicinity and told people that the trees had, in truth, been tapped by Chapiro. Buru's wife, who is Espíritu's sister, became very angry with Chapiro and said that if she were a man, she would beat him up. Some time later at a party in Encanto, Espíritu approached Chapiro and asked how much he had gained by the sale. Chapiro did not argue, and

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returned, he found that his pigs were gone. He suspected Perdomo of having taken them, and for one year he questioned residents of the area for evidence. At last he found the Negro who had bought the pigs and he identified Perdomo as the man from whom he had bought them. Lorenzo took this evidence to the late /únʸi/, Arcilio, who returned with him and held a hearing. Perdomo was present, but said very little in his own defense as Ramón, a Negro employee of the man who had purchased the pigs, identified Perdomo as the seller. The pigs had been sold for five hundred sucres, and the /únʸi/ ordered Perdomo to pay four hundred sucres to Lorenzo, fifty sucres to the witness, Ramón, and fifty sucres as a fine to the /únʸi/, who had lost two days work to attend to this matter.

Perdomo was not permitted to keep any of his ill-gotten gains nor, aside from the shame of being uncovered as a thief, was he penalized in any manner. As a rule, irregularities involving pigs are settled quickly. If a pig eats the produce from someone else's garden, for instance, payment is made for the produce without question. Occasionally, however, a quarrel involving pigs may become quite serious as is seen in the following

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relationship of greatest importance is that between the compadres and not between the /kumbatápa/ and /kumbatána/, that is 'god-father' and 'god-mother,' and the god-child or /ihádu/. The compadres refer to each other as /kupáre/ or /kumáre/. The relationship thus set up is utterly without sanction from the Church, and in point of fact, the parties, if they are Negro and Indian, do not feel that they are actually tied to each other ritually.

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Quite often the Negro who asks to be permitted to cut the child's nails is a travelling merchant who, from time to time, visits the area. It is to his advantage to have an Indian compadre as this assures him of a place to eat and to sleep in his travels. Similarly, if the Negro lives near a town, the Cayapa compadre will visit him occasionally. Indians going to Esmeraldas, for example, may stay for several days in the home of a Negro compadre. Very often the Negro asks to cut the nails of a Cayapa child for pecuniary reasons so that, for example, the banana merchants seek to extend their compadre ties to as many banana growers as they can. Sometimes the Negro attempts to establish previously

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pigs who find them especially delectable. The Cayapa seldom plant commonts, but the Negroes do so whenever possible. Important palms are the Tagua and the Chontaduro. The tagua nut was formerly an extremely important economic product: its hard seed was in constant demand on the world market for the manufacture of shirt buttons. With the rapid development of the plastics industry some thirty years ago, the market for tagua seeds completely collapsed. The Cayapa still talk nostalgically of the days when money did apparently grow on trees. Though its export value has declined, the tagua palm, nevertheless, is still important to the internal economy: the leaves are used extensively for roof thatching, the nut is a minor item in the diet, and when the tree dies, the /wáŋu/, a delectable and very oily grub can be dug out of the trunk. Both men and women may work in the gardens. Generally speaking, however, the men clear the garden and the women plant the seeds or roots. Men and women may harvest the crops.

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to maintain a precarious balance. Children from about the ages of nine to thirteen may have small canoes /kakúle/ made for them, which may be seven to eight feet in length, and scarcely a foot in width. At these ages boys begin to accompany their fathers into the monte where the canoes are roughed out by axe and adze. They learn to select the proper trees as only those that are tightly cross-grained will not split easily. Occasionally canoes are roughed out at some height above the creek or rivulet that feeds into the main channel and in the process of carefully snubbing them down the boys learn to rig lines. A large canoe, about thirty-five feet long, may require almost a dozen men to bring it into the water from the monte, whereas a small canoe can be brought in by two or three men. Despite the fact that by the time the boys have reached their late teens they have acquired a large measure of skill in handling canoes, their canoes are nevertheless not considered finely finished until they have had several more years of experience.

Paddles: /yámpa/. The oar is roughed out with a machete, and the finer lines are cut with a knife.

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ripe, but most often it is boiled green and then pounded on a mortar. Bits of meat and/or fish may be added to the pulp. In this form it is called bala by both Negroes and Cayapa. In the ripe form, it may be boiled and treated as bala, or it may be eaten raw. Children eat enormous amounts of ripe plantain, and they never seem to become satiated. Important adjuncts to the subsistence pattern are the traveling merchants who bring canoe-loads of dried fish, clams, bread, cookies, sugar, and candy as well as smuggled Colombian cloth and clothing, up from the coast.

Hunting is a very important activity, and most Cayapa men spend one or two days a week tracking game. The main animals are large rodents called guanta /walámbu/, a smaller rodent called guatin /kúyu/, peccary /netúšu/, jaguar /kéla/, puma /l^{y}ukéla/, monkey /wášu/, squirrel /yámbu/, and the armadillo /čil^{y}ámbu/. Large birds are shot whenever possible and include toucans /čandútu/, the wild turkey /éle/, and a hawk /huyál^{y}u/. At the present time, hunting is done almost entirely with muzzle-loading shotguns. Hunting is generally a small operation involving no more than three

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by snakes and also by design. Women frequently die in childbirth; tuberculosis runs rampant, and periodically whooping cough and measles decimate the population. People die from spirit possession, soul loss, witchcraft, illness, and accidents; however, very old people "just die." People are afraid of death although it is maintained that no one dies because of his sins. Punishment takes place after death, and everyone must be purified of his sins by punishment after his demise. It is believed that when the Whites die their souls go to the white clouds while those of the Negroes go to the black clouds. Only the Cayapa may enter heaven.

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When death strikes, all relatives within a few hours' travel are notified. The immediate family clean the body, if necessary, and place it on a mat. Water is boiled and then poured over the area where the body lay last. Two or three men of the neighborhood are asked to prepare a coffin; this coffin which is made of bamboo is said to be the "canoe of the soul" and is called /úhkuŋgúle/. Its construction involves four or five hours' work, and when it is completed, the parent or spouse of the deceased offers

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the coffinmakers a gift of two or three liters of rum which is consumed on the spot. If the deceased is a woman, her husband goes through her belongings and sets aside items that are especially attractive and/or expensive, and these are later auctioned off at the funeral. The money received in this manner is used to pay for special masses for the dead. Finally when all is in readiness, the body is placed in the coffin. The funeral is held at a house that is on the main river to facilitate the final removal of the body to the ceremonial center for burial. The coffin is placed in a canoe which is piloted by a close male relative: father, husband, brother, etcetera. The pilot sets out alone with the corpse for the funeral site.

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One day I received word that the wife of Aurelio Añapa had just died from the bite of a venomous snake. She had been attended by a brujo for a period of four days to no avail. The following morning at about two o'clock, we heard faintly the mourning chant of the Cayapa. Slowly the sound came closer, and far up the river a light was moving steadily. Finally, after what appeared to us to be an interminably long time, Aurelio

437 They have sold the new small canoes, tree bark mats
501 (damajaguas), palm-leaf fans, rubber and rolls of liana (these are
285 used in the construction of bamboo huts to tie up the palm-leaves
283] on the [284] roofs and for some other purposes in lieu of string),
which they have brought from the villages and with the cash they
have earned they now make their small purchases. They have
few wants and do not need much: a few feet of cotton cloth, a
chopping knife, some salt, a small mirror, glass beads, fish hooks,
[411] powder and small shot for the old muzzle-loader which a few of
them may own. This would be all their heart desires. It is little,
even very little, and yet it takes long, even very long, until they
have made their choice and finally decided to buy. First they
talk it over among themselves in their guttural and sonorous lan-
guage and then they start bargaining, and then they count out their
money slowly and cautiously; finally having managed to get the
● [462] desired goods, they packed them into the nearly full basket car-
ried by the wife. The women and girls timidly hide behind their
576 menfolk. When spoken to, they do not answer, although they
571 understand sufficient Spanish. Their jealous menfolk have strictly
[191] forbidden them to enter into conversation with men of other races
or tribes. They draw back bashfully. But if the husband is not
present, only the mother or brother, the women become very
loquacious, especially when their tongue has been untied by a
small present—a mirror, necklace or something of the kind. And
they are happy beyond words if you caress their little child, who
looks like a Japanese baby painted brown, and has a friendly smile
even for a stranger. It is amusing to watch the women meeting a
fashionably dressed lady in one of the shops; then they surround
her laughing, amazed and admiring, but they do not appear to be
jealous of the lace dresses worn by European women. The men,
on the other hand, do not honor even the most beautiful and most
elegant white lady with so much as a glance.

142 The Cayapa girls are pretty from the age of 12 to 16 years,
302 their bodies somewhat plump, but still with a beautiful shape.
584 Sometimes young men and women can be seen with red and black
streaks and dots on their faces, chest, arms and legs; this is a
sign that they are engaged.

505 Once their business in town is finished they prepare for the re-
turn journey to their villages. "Adios compadre, adios compadres,"
and chattering and laughing, happy and content, they hurry to
the shore where their canoes are moored. On their way they

291 Children wear no clothes at all until they are 6 or 8.

301 The hair is worn loose, long, and flowing by the women but is clipped
302 above the ears by the men. Both sexes wear necklaces and wristbands of glass and porcelain beads, coins, seeds, and beetle wings. Only women wear earrings.

302 The traditional *Chibcha* custom of frequently painting body and face is found among the *Cayapa*. Red, yellow, and black are used, and the designs are very numerous. Barrett reproduces many of the motifs and insists that there is no special significance attached to any of them, nor is there any age, sex, or property correlation.

TRANSPORTATION

501 **Watercraft.**—A large part of every *Cayapa's* life is spent on the water fishing and traveling. Canoes are built with great skill and care. They
[439] can withstand not only fluvial but also maritime travel and are routinely sold in the "civilized" coast towns. They are dugouts, usually 10 to 12 yards long but sometimes much larger. Balsa-wood logs are sometimes used as outriggers.

MANUFACTURES

000 Details of *Cayapa* manufactures are contained in Barrett's work, which describes and illustrates finished products and minutely discusses the techniques of preparation.

322 **Woodworking.**—Woodworking includes house building, making deadfall traps, and carving seats and children's dolls.

285 **Weaving and basketry.**—The women weave cotton cloth on a narrow
286 native loom, and the men do the sewing. The men also weave the fishing
462 nets and hammocks. Barrett's discussion of *Cayapa* basketry is outstanding. The *Cayapa* make many kinds of baskets, mats, and fans of bark and of various roots.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery is crude and undecorated. It is used particularly for
177 storage. Tradition claims that in their old Highland habitat the *Cayapa* made better pottery but that calabashes have since largely replaced ceramics.

324 **Stonework and metalwork.**—Stonework is limited to the metates
325 used in grinding corn and plantains. Although in aboriginal times Lowland Ecuador was a famous area of metallurgy, there is no evidence that the contemporary *Cayapa* practiced it.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapon most widely used today is the muzzle-loading
177 shotgun. The blowgun was important in the past, but today its use is restricted to boys, who shoot poison darts while playing at hunting. Hardwood lances are being given up, and the bow and arrow is said not to be mentioned in *Cayapa* tradition. The steel machete is ubiquitous.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

neighbor, though occasionally two or three houses may be within sight of one another along the river. In no case, however, is there an approach to communal life, each family forming an individual unit with family property-rights. There is, to be sure, a central government, the head of which is an hereditary chief, or *gobernador*, as he is at present called after the Spanish fashion. The purposes of this central government are strictly those of preserving law and order, settling controversies between individuals, and punishing infringements upon recognized social customs. In no case is there any interference by the central government with property or other recognized family rights and privileges.

A family, as the term is here used, consists of husband, wife, children, and dependents. By dependent is meant not necessarily one who is supported by the others, but one not having a house and a family of his own and who may choose to reside with some family, usually a closely related one. These dependents are usually newly-married sons or daughters, or are parents, grandparents, or other relatives of the head of the house or of his wife.

The daily life of the Cayapa is a busy routine for all members of the household, especially the women. In addition to the cooking, keeping the house in order, and attending to the wants of the smaller children, the mother of the household is kept busy spinning, weaving cloth, and making baskets, mats, fans, and pots, to say nothing of the work she does in the care of the crops and the gathering of the wild foods.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

At an early age the girls are instructed in household duties of all kinds, and often begin to spin and weave, as well as to make pottery, basketry, and other articles, at the age of five or six years. They also take a hand in agriculture when very small. As they grow older and become more proficient in these various arts, they enter more and more into the regular daily work of the home, until they finally marry, which they usually do at an early age, often at about seventeen or eighteen years.

The daily life of the men is also a busy one. They do their share of the work in the fields, besides being industrious hunters and fishermen. They are expert woodworkers, making very excellent canoes, paddles, benches, images used as toys by children, musical instruments, certain cooking utensils, and various other objects of wood. They make and tend the fish corrals as well as set the seines when the water is in a favorable condition to divert fish to certain places. In addition to trapping and netting fish, they also do much fishing with hook and line. They hunt a great deal and procure a very important part of the food supply in that way, for the jungle abounds in many kinds of game. When about the house, they are, like the women, almost always busy at something, as adzing a canoe, weaving a net, or doing some one of the many kinds of work which fall to the man's lot in the Cayapa division of labor. Since the introduction of needles and thread among the Cayapa, the men have taken up sewing and have become very efficient tailors for their simple needs.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

462 The women do all the spinning and weaving of cloth,
512 but the men sew all garments, not only for themselves
294 but also for the small boys who have not yet learned to
[291] sew. This is due largely no doubt to the fact that the single garment worn by the women requires no sewing whatever, while the two garments worn by the men must be sewn.

868 At a very early age boys begin to learn the arts practised by their elders, hence they are instructed in hunting, fishing, woodworking, and similar useful accomplishments of the men.

512 It is customary among the Cayapa to arise at dawn, usually between five and five-thirty o'clock, and to retire as soon as darkness comes, or between six-thirty and seven o'clock. These hours vary little throughout the year, owing to the proximity of the equator.

[527] The daily routine is usually about the same throughout the year, varying in event of a fiesta, or boda, which brings the people together at a particular village, from which, after some days of festivities, they return home.

[484] Another diversion is going down the river to the settlements. Sometimes this trip is made almost purely for
[439] pleasure and to obtain oysters and other sea foods, but more often these pleasure trips are combined with the selling of tagua, cacao, rubber, or plantains, and occasionally logs for lumber.

593 One of the most characteristic features of the daily life of the Cayapa is the devotion of the members of a family toward one another, especially that of parents toward their children. Few restrictions are placed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

291 294 [462] and containing a sufficient amount of cloth to make two clouts. Each clout consists of two pieces sewed along a seam running up the front and back. The cloth itself is woven by the women, as is the woman's dress or manta; but the sewing of the clout is done by the men, for the women almost never do any sewing for themselves or for others. The fact that the woman's dress requires no sewing may account for her lack of 291 knowledge in this direction. The clouts are made to fit very tightly, so tightly in fact that they make deep impressions in the muscles of the legs. On account of this tightness no gathering-string or other method of fastening is ordinarily required. Occasionally a man is found who makes his clout a trifle looser than customarily, and provides it, on the right-hand side, with a button [177] to hold it in place. This is said by the Indians to have been formerly the universal custom. In recent times, however, the very tight clout has almost entirely supplanted the other form.

291 177 The influence on the life of the Cayapa exerted at the present time by modern commerce and its manufactured articles is here again shown by the use of white muslin in the making of the clouts. In fact, at present the muslin clout is almost, if not quite, as common as is that made of the native cloth.

291 It is said that formerly, when the Cayapa were mountaineers, they used the poncho which at present is so common among the Indians of the interior Andean region. On migrating into the warmer and more humid coastal region, however, the poncho was found un-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the ripening of the fruit, and also to facilitate harvesting the heavy racime of fruit, which is usually from ten to fifteen feet from the ground. The fruit having been removed, the trunk is chopped up and rolled away from the newly growing shoots. Owing to its succulent character and to climatic conditions, the trunk decays rapidly. 245

Being the chief food of the Cayapa, plantains are grown in considerable quantities, often a single family having a field covering several acres. It appears, however, to thrive better in some places than in others. For instance, in the region about Punta Venado the land is comparatively low and wet, and complaint is made that the plantain does not do well. Along the Rio Onzole, on the other hand, better conditions are said to prevail, the land being somewhat higher and having better drainage.

The fields of plantain are in large measure tended by the women, though the men frequently assist in clearing the fields. The harvesting is done almost entirely by the women, who cut down the stalks as above mentioned. They strip off a wide band of the bark from the midrib of one of the large leaves, which they use as a head-band in carrying the racimes of fruit from the field to the canoe, thence to the house. As before stated, the plantain is always gathered while green. Even if ripe plantain is desired, it is usually gathered green and allowed to ripen indoors. The gathering of the plantain while green is, first of all, a matter of necessity, since if it were left in the field to ripen it would be devoured by parrots, [462] [482]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

501 be called the grip. In a woman's paddle this end may be truly called the grip, and it is usually notched in more or less of a fish-tail form, shown in pl. LXXVI, 9 to 11. This notch is quite smooth, and is actually gripped by the hand. In the case of the man's paddle, however, a purely ornamental tip is put on the end, which is almost never touched in paddling. A few of the typical forms of these ornamental ends are shown in figs. 1 to 4 and 6 to 8 of the same plate.

[531] Occasionally various simple figures are carved either in relief or in intaglio near the upper ends of the paddles. An illustration of such carving relief is shown in pl. LXXVI, 9. Such ornamentation is seen frequently on women's paddles, but only occasionally on those of the men.

[824] As a finishing touch to paddles and in order to make them perfectly smooth, especially along their handles, they are rubbed down with the under-surface of a dry leaf called lya'pic haki, which is covered with minute but very hard spines that serve the purpose of sand-paper. A bunch of these palmate leaves is shown in pl. LXXVII.

502 [141-2] Although on a long journey a woman may act as pilot of the canoe, a man sometimes serves in this capacity while the woman sits forward and paddles, as shown in pl. LXXX. Again, it is customary for the woman to use the short paddle on all occasions, but now and then she may be seen using the man's long paddle. Such an instance is shown in pl. LXXIX, where the pilot of the canoe in the foreground is a woman using one of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

since such weaving is done in large measure only at odd times.

The trunks or mocho (pl. CXVI) worn by the men is made of cloth woven by the women, a special narrow fabric being produced for this purpose. One of these pieces of cloth contains enough for two mochos. It is always cut and sewed by the men themselves, some of them being adept with the needle. The women know almost nothing about sewing. It ordinarily even falls to the men to make the small mochos for the boys until they are old enough to sew for themselves.

The subject of manta designs is treated under Decorative Art.

CORDAGE AND NETTING

In most cases cordage and nets are made of the fine, long, white fibers obtained from the leaf of the plant called in Spanish pita and in Cayapa sa′nō, and to a much more limited extent the fibers from the bark of a tree called in Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa señgī′lya are used.

The preparation and manipulation of pita, to which reference has been made hitherto, are quite elaborate. The long, slender, full-grown leaves of the plant are cut off close to the ground and brought to the house in bundles, such as those shown leaning against the house in pl. LXVI. While the leaf is still green the fibers are extracted by first scraping off the succulent portion of the concave side of the leaf and then stripping out the fibers from the remainder. For this scraping there are required a semi-cylindrical log of palm-wood, called sañwi cī′nō,

brown. A few of them are tatooed on the arms and the blue of the ink stands out very clearly. Mongoloid characteristics such as the epicanthric fold, the Mongoloid spot, and high cheekbones are very common, but in contrast to the Mongoloid nose, the Cayapa nose is often bridged. Occasionally one finds individuals with very high-bridged noses of aquiline shape. Their eyes are uniformly dark brown, and the whites are seldom clear but have a brownish tinge that would seem to indicate a high incidence of liver disorders. Most Cayapa, especially the women, seem to be somewhat round-faced. The men, while short, are very well-proportioned and have tremendous strength in their arms and shoulders which probably stems from their technique of canoe handling. As a rule, the women are thick-waisted, the result, perhaps partly at least, of their characteristic canoe handling. They generally paddle in a seated position, using a very short paddle, which requires many rapid short strokes for effective maneuvering, and they necessarily have to lean forward to make efficient use of the short paddle.

Clothing and Adornment. Many men are quite

adept at tailoring, and make their own clothing. Children learn from their fathers. A few men own sewing machines which they sometimes rent out; some take tailoring orders from their less skillful neighbors. Some men may even make their wives' shirts /pihtahal^{y}i/. The men wears western-style trousers with pegged cuffs that are shaped to permit easier gathering of the trouser leg at the calf, if wading should be necessary. The trousers are held up by leather belts that are purchased. The colors of the trousers are usually dark tones of blue, grey, khaki, or black. The Cayapa are restricted in color choice simply because the available trouser cloth that is purchased in the coastal towns tends to come in these shades. On the other hand, shirt material is available in a wide variety of colors and every conceivable color combination is used, very often in harlequin fashion.

The shirt /huwél^{y}i/ is cut in a rectangular fashion with a short slit neck which forms a 'vee' when worn. Tight short sleeves run down about three inches from the shoulders. The front and rear panels are joined together at the sides by colored strips of varying widths. The panels may be of the same bright color,

Other wooden articles

still made by the Cayapa include the /tátí wimáen/ "bark cloth beater," /mečúka/ "plantain masher," and food stirrers of various types. A full listing and description can be had by consulting Barrett (Barrett 1925: 159-161). Elliptical wooden bowls called bates in Spanish, are cut from a single piece of wood, and they serve as trays for the preparation of some foods.

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Musical instruments, which are played by the men, include the marimba or /mánka/, a large drum called by the Spanish word bombo, and a small free-standing drum that tapers at the base called conuno. The Negroes use the same instruments, but they also use various gourd rattles and bamboo shakers. Guitars are occasionally found among the Negroes but only seldom among the Cayapa.

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Pottery. This art is scarcely practiced anymore. In fact I was completely unaware that earthenware pots were in the household inventory at all until I was asked one day if I wished to purchase a small Cayapa-made one for five sucres (.30 U.S.). This was the only pot I ever saw, except for the large canteras made by the people of the San Miguel section, for the storage of /wápa/, the fermented sugar-cane juice called guarapo in Spanish.

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pigs who find them especially delectable. The Cayapa seldom plant coconuts, but the Negroes do so whenever possible. Important palms are the Tagua and the Chontaduro. The tagua nut was formerly an extremely important economic product; its hard seed was in constant demand on the world market for the manufacture of shirt buttons. With the rapid development of the plastics industry some thirty years ago, the market for tagua seeds completely collapsed. The Cayapa still talk nostalgically of the days when money did apparently grow on trees. Though its export value has declined, the tagua palm, nevertheless, is still important to the internal economy: the leaves are used extensively for roof thatching, the nut is a minor item in the diet, and when the tree dies, the /[illegible]/, a delectable and very oily grub can be dug out of the trunk. Both men and women may work in the gardens. Generally speaking, however, the men clear the garden and the women plant the seeds or roots. Men and women may harvest the crops.

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The staff of life for the inhabitants of the Pacific Lowland Culture Area is the plantain which is found in many varieties. It may be eaten green or

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

about twelve years earlier. Off to one side in a small cubicle, a minor commotion was in progress. I walked over and saw a group of women standing around a woman who was seated with her back to me. When I asked what was happening, I was met with a burst of laughter and giggles. Men who were approached grinned and said that it "was an affair of the women." Perhaps an hour later, I returned to the cubicle and watched the seated woman grasp and twist a piece of cloth that had been suspended from one of the rafters. An old crone was serving as the mid-wife. The actual birth took place during one of my periodic absences to watch the festivities which were going on unabated. A few curious children and some women were the only by-standers.

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Elderly women are generally the mid-wives, but there are a few men who ply the trade on occasion. The mid-wife knows enough to manipulate the unborn child to a good birth position, which is done by massaging and kneading on the abdomen. Most births are normal and fairly easy. It is said that if the child is born with its arms akimbo, then the mother will die.

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position. She generally controls the finances and is consulted before any major purchase is made. If a large sale is made--for example, that of a canoe--she is on hand to count the money. During fiestas she doles out the money to her husband for rum purchases. It is not at all unusual to see a man, already quite drunk, whine, wheedle, threaten, curse, and coax his wife for a few coins. He usually gets it, but ever so begrudgingly. A man and his wife work the fields together and she is adept in the use of a machete. They seem to be in agreement on most things that involve the house and their children. When a child is punished he never seeks aid and comfort from the other parent. Children were never seen playing one parent off against the other. It is doubtful whether this would ever occur to a child. Similarly, parents do not use their children as foils for their own individual advantages.

If grandparents are residing in the home, they are treated with respect by their children and grandchildren. The grandchildren often call them 'father' and 'mother.' Unless they are bedridden, the grandparents do a full share of work, and they continue working until

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

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Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

But the soul is believed to linger after death, and the methods used to encourage its departure are strictly aboriginal. A young couple's marriage may not be consummated until solemnized by the visiting padre, but the admonitions of the village chief to both bride and groom reinforce the authority of native jurisdiction. The annual Easter whipping of the whole community is also native.

Barrett could find no clear-cut creation story. The universe is believed to be made up of three superimposed worlds, with human life centered on the middle one. Men share this middle world with many spirits, some malevolent and other benevolent, all of whom are busy affecting human happiness and goals.

Sometimes the spirits must be exorcised, as when they cause illness. For this a shaman is called, and, with the cooperation of neighbors, he drives out the spirits amid much singing, smoking, and sprinkling. The shaman also may suck out the cause of illness.

Almost anyone can become a shaman by undergoing intensive training and acquiring a set of spirit helpers. There seems to be no "predestination" for this career, though Barrett was apparently unable to get enough information on this point. Like the chief, the shaman is not a full-time professional.

Because of his magic control of spirit powers, the shaman can be a force for evil as well as for good. It is he who causes illness and eventually death. There is a great deal of similarity between the behavior and the paraphernalia of the *Cayapa* shaman and that of the Highland medicine man.

THE COLORADO

The *Colorado*, or, as they prefer to call themselves, *Tsatchela* or *Tatchila* Indians, share with the *Cayapa* the distinction of being the last surviving aboriginal group in the Lowlands of western Ecuador. The two groups know about each other and even occasionally visit back and forth; but they speak mutually unintelligible languages, and their ways of life are quite distinct.

In contrast to the *Cayapa*, the *Colorado* are rapidly disappearing. Their territory and their numbers have been shrinking constantly, and one can easily foresee the time when the group will become extinct. They have not been able to withdraw before the pressure of "civilization," and they have been incorporated to a large degree into the Highland plantation system known as concertaje. The area they occupy on the upper reaches of several affluents of the Esmeraldas and Daule Rivers in the western part of Pichincha Province has been an area of heavy colonization in recent decades. During World War II an all-weather road was opened which increased the area's accessibility to colonization from the Highlands.

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the Río Verde. In fact, she said that she planned to go there with her late husband's brother. Her complaint was that the Rosenda household was "sad, bad, much crying and beating." She wanted to leave her husband permanently. According to my informants, this would be a valid divorce, considering the polygynous circumstances, and she could then remarry. She had left Rosenda without her children, because "the father did not send them along," and therefore within a few days she returned home to Rosenda. It was being said at the time that Rosenda was looking for a third wife.

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The area around Cojimíes is a bustling center of the banana trade, and the Cayapa who live there are very well off financially. The people of the San Miguel section are the furthest removed from the banana trade and from time to time go to the coastal areas to work. Sometimes they work for Whites and sometimes for Negroes, but mostly they seek work on Cayapa-owned land. For the first time non-related Cayapa may live and work together and opportunities for liasons are greatly increased. In some instances, as in the following case, they end in a polygynous marriage.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

622 village. The successor of an official is definitely known
624 long before the death of the latter, but an official vacancy is not actually filled until the coming of the priest. Then, in the presence of all the other officials and anyone else who may wish to be present, the priest delivers an address in which he names the new official, announces his duties and privileges, commends him to the respect of the people, and charges him with the duties and responsibilities which he is about to assume. On the death of the chief, for instance, his duties are relegated to some other official, usually one of the "alcaldes," until such time as the priest shall arrive and inaugurate a successor.

465 None of these officials are supposed to receive com-
622 pensation other than the honor and respect in which they
681 are held. The chief, however, usually levies fines upon offenders, of which he takes personal possession and could, if he so desired, use a portion of them for his private needs, since no special account of such matters is kept by anyone. As a matter of fact such a thing rarely or never happens; on the contrary the chief uses the fines for paying the services of officers of the law whom he may send on missions of various kinds, such as bringing culprits to justice, settling disputes among his people,
[756 and the like. A portion of the money he uses also for the
776 payment of shamans whom he employs now and then
789] to expel dangerous spirits from his village, from deep pools in the river, or from other places where these mysterious beings are supposed to endanger the lives of
[436] the people at large. At the present time, when coins of Ecuador and Colombia are comparatively easy to obtain, fines are paid in money, but in earlier times they were always paid in commodities.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the skin the stone or other object which, by traveling through the body, together with the spirit which resides in it, causes the illness. 755

Shamans or doctors form, to a certain extent at least, a special class by themselves, but, so far as could be ascertained, they have no secret or special organization. They are not, on the other hand, "predestined" or specially selected by natural temperament. Any one may become a shaman if he so wishes by simply training under the guidance and instruction of one or more old shamans of recognized ability. For this training he pays a stipulated sum, and is instructed every night until he has learned thoroughly the songs and incantations and the various rituals of his instructor, and also has become more or less familiar with the special spirits which his instructor invokes. He does not, however, rely solely on the spirits of his instructor, but sooner or later acquires others of his own. Likewise, he may devise new songs and incantations. 756 [465]

Not only has the shaman to cure by expelling the spirits from the body of a patient, but he has the more important function of expelling spirits from a locality or from a particular house infested with those which cause illness. This expulsion of spirits from a locality or a house is usually accomplished by several persons under the direction of a head shaman. A decoction of rum and bejuco is almost always used by the shaman himself in this exorcism; the other participants are provided with a kind of decoction made by soaking a species of native mint in water. A large number of cigars are also provided, and it is the blowing of the tobacco smoke, 789

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by snakes and also by design. Women frequently die in childbirth; tuberculosis runs rampant, and periodically whooping cough and measles decimate the population. People die from spirit possession, soul loss, witchcraft, illness, and accidents; however, very old people "just die." People are afraid of death although it is maintained that no one dies because of his sins. Punishment takes place after death, and everyone must be purified of his sins by punishment after his demise. It is believed that when the Whites die their souls go to the white clouds while those of the Negroes go to the black clouds. Only the Cayapa may enter heaven.

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When death strikes, all relatives within a few hours' travel are notified. The immediate family clean the body, if necessary, and place it on a mat. Water is boiled and then poured over the area where the body lay last. Two or three men of the neighborhood are asked to prepare a coffin; this coffin which is made of bamboo is said to be the "canoe of the soul" and is called /ũhkuŋgúle/. Its construction involves four or five hours' work, and when it is completed, the parent or spouse of the deceased offers

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the coffinmakers a gift of two or three liters of rum which is consumed on the spot. If the deceased is a woman, her husband goes through her belongings and sets aside items that are especially attractive and/or expensive, and these are later auctioned off at the funeral. The money received in this manner is used to pay for special masses for the dead. Finally when all is in readiness, the body is placed in the coffin. The funeral is held at a house that is on the main river to facilitate the final removal of the body to the ceremonial center for burial. The coffin is placed in a canoe which is piloted by a close male relative: father, husband, brother, etcetera. The pilot sets out alone with the corpse for the funeral site.

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One day I received word that the wife of Aurelio Añapa had just died from the bite of a venomous snake. She had been attended by a brujo for a period of four days to no avail. The following morning at about two o'clock, we heard faintly the mourning chant of the Cayapa. Slowly the sound came closer, and far up the river a light was moving steadily. Finally, after what appeared to us to be an interminably long time, Aurelio

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who will be most annoyed and an argument most certainly will follow. If the prospective bridegroom is doubtful, the men talk to him earnestly of the pleasures of married life while the woman, very wisely, says nothing, but sits very still with downcast eyes--"very still and very quiet." Most often she is accepted.

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Many times a man has a definite woman in mind for marriage but is not at all sure that he can get her by means of any of the techniques so far discussed. Then, too, it may be that another person has a particular woman in mind for a certain man, and, similarly, is not too sure that he can bring off the marriage. In either case a commission is formed, consisting of two Indians who are usually related to the man under consideration and two Negroes. The Indian members of the commission are not paid except with a few drinks. The Negroes receive some money and two or three gallons of home-distilled rum which, as Barrett once correctly remarked, "is clear in color and vile in taste."

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The Indians on the commission are first to enter the house of the prospective bride. They present

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

ECONOMICS

The *Cayapa* economic unit is the virtually self-sufficient, one-family household. Land is owned and worked familially, and there is as much land to be had as the family can clear. If any special rules govern distribution and inheritance, they are not reported by our sources. Also, there seem to be very few provisions for interhousehold cooperation: men will help a neighbor bring down a tree trunk from the hills, but all other activities are evidently left to individual enterprise.

This self-sufficiency does not apply to all spheres of activity. Machetes and rifles are essential in jungle life, and most families make at least one trip a year to the coast for trading and social purposes. In the small Ecuadorean and Colombian towns they find a ready market for rubber, tagua nuts, and other forest products. Cocoa is grown specifically for this trade. There is also a limited market for some of their manufactures: canoes, mats, fans, and other basketry. In exchange, the *Cayapa* want metal goods: axes, machetes, shotguns, fishhooks, fish spears, and copper tubing for their distilleries. But they also like beads and mirrors, pearls, vests, and old derby hats. In recent years machine-made muslins and calicoes have been edging out native-made cloth.

The *Cayapa* are not yet incorporated in Ecuadorean economy. Their need for metal goods and trinkets has not yet forced them to work on plantations or in placer gold mines. Their own supply of rum has helped them avoid debts contracted for alcohol, and they have usually retreated into the forest when their self-sufficiency has been menaced. It is improbable that this selective acculturation can last very long.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The basic *Cayapa* social unit is the household. Though there is no definite indication as to size and composition, it appears to be an extended family including normally no more than 10 to 12 people. Chief Antonio Napa's house at Punta Venado could seat some 40-odd people at a feast, but it was unique in size, and the Napa household according to Basurco (1894) had only 8 to 10 members.

Barrett (1925) presents a detailed chart of kinship terms used by the *Cayapa*. We unfortunately know nothing about the behavior that goes with the terms or about marriage rules. On the face of it the system is a "lineal" one—collateral relatives are separated from lineal ones but are not differentiated among themselves. Thus, the term for uncle applies to both paternal and maternal ones. All terms are highly descriptive. There is no evidence of reciprocal use of terms, but Barrett's chart is not really complete. The system is quite unique and interesting.

The lineal and descriptive nature of the kinship system emphasizes the bilateral character of the *Cayapa* family. There is no clan organization. The extended family household is the truly basic social unit. There is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

It is then roughly hollowed out with the ax, the sides and bottom being left considerably thicker than is desired in the finished canoe. Frequently it is necessary to do this part of the work at a considerable distance from the river, and even at a considerable elevation above one of the small creeks or esteros tributary to the river. Such was the case with the large canoe shown in pls. LXX, LXXI, which was made at a distance of nearly three miles from the river and two and a half miles from the navigable waters of the nearest estero. Furthermore, the tree from which the canoe was fashioned grew near the top of a ridge about three hundred and fifty feet above the floor of the narrow valley of the estero, and the sides of this ridge were so steep that it was necessary to snub the canoe down to the estero by means of a couple of stout cables. Having worked out such a canoe to approximately its final form, it is turned up on one side and bound to one or two vertical stakes, as shown in pl. LXX. At the same time it is raised a few inches off the ground by means of blocks in order to prevent rotting. It is then allowed to dry and cure in the shade for several weeks.

Finally the owner invites a number of friends to join in hauling the canoe to a point where it may be floated. This task may be a comparatively simple one if the canoe is practically on a level with the river, but if it is at a considerable elevation, much care is needed. Also, the size of the canoe is an important factor. A small canoe may be hauled by one or two persons; but a large one, say one twenty-five or thirty feet in

case the leaves are brought to the site by hand. Many times the leaves have to be freighted on the river; for these occasions two canoes are joined by heavy bamboo poles, thus forming a raft, and the leaves are piled on top to a height of four to five feet. Two men then pilot the raft, one from the rear and one from the front. When the site is reached, the raft is tied to a paddle which is thrust into the bank, and the leaves are handed up a human chain composed of five to ten people extending from the raft to the actual house site.

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In contrast to the Negro houses Cayapa houses mostly lack walls. Because of this, Cayapa home life is much more open to Negro inspection than is the reverse. In regard to construction, the Cayapa never use wood planking. Negroes, on the other hand, regard wooden planking for the floors and walls as a sign of wealth and try to have at least some planking. The underside of the house for both Negroes and Indians serves as a storage area for the canoes.

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When they are off in the bush for several days hunting, or when roughing out a canoe, the Cayapa build

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time this passes. The daughter-in-law is expected to help her mother-in-law when needed, but as both women have to work with and cook for their respective husbands, no onerous burdens are placed on the daughter-in-law. The household has no direction as such. Each nuclear family attends to its own tasks. If asked, they aid in the planting and weeding of the gardens of other co-residents but only if this does not detract from their own work. In temporary work-visits a man works for his in-laws in the following way. A man works with the man who married his sister but not with brothers of his brother-in-law. On the other hand, a man is expected on request, to work for any of the brothers and/or parents of his wife.

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Distant kin who may be referred to just as "family" may be resident in the household for varying periods of time, sometimes for years. No special disabilities are entailed and behavior is as described for close kin.

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Compadrazgo. The indisputable mark of Iberian contact in the New World is in the social institutions

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Once a year, as a rule,

groups of Cayapa will band together for protection against the cutthroats and brigands that infest the coastal regions, load their canoes with as much rubber as they have been able to collect, and set off in small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colombian goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to poaching.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be good for raising pigs. (Remoteness lessens the possibility of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and zapotes. Large sections are planted to the ñame palm that, at one time, was as important economically as the banana is today. The ñame nut is only a minor item in the

301 The women's clothes are much simpler and scantier than the
291 men's. They simply consist of a piece of cotton cloth dyed blue, black or red, about two yards long, which is tightly wrapped around the lower part of the body and is tied at the waist with flax cord. The upper part of the body, up to the waist, and legs, from the feet to the knees, remain totally uncovered. By way of ornaments they wear long strings of tiny colored beads around the wrists and long, colored bead necklaces around the neck, as well as self-made mother-of-pearl amulets and some of the more well-to-do women even wear strings of silver coins. Bead necklaces are also
[589] worn in large numbers by young men during the period of their betrothal. In other words the women's wardrobes are not a serious worry to the husbands. Up to their sixth year, children run about completely naked apart from some bead or button ornaments likewise hung on them.

• 491 The men walk ahead of their wives, a long leaf-shaped paddle
562 in one hand and a small net-like basket containing as little as
482 possible in the other, while the heavily laden women trot behind them with short, swaying steps, along with the children. Even from their visits to town one can observe that the woman has been given the role of the load and work-horse.

482 On her back the woman carries a heavily laden basket which is strapped around her forehead, while the youngest child sits thrust out in riding position on her hip, with the mother's arm holding him tightly. In her other hand she usually carries a bundle and a cooking pot.

579 One of their first visits in town is at the local priest's. The
797 latter claims that the Cayapa are Catholics. But this is not true.
301 Probably they only go to the priest because he seeks to prove the blessings of the Catholic Church by means of small presents and holy coins, which, one must admit, do look very pretty worn around the neck. At home they have their own cult.

481 Their happiness is apparent when they leave the vicarage, be-
198 cause they have again received presents. They amble down the business streets, curious, amazed and admiring as they go from one shop to the other. "Chindo, Kachindo, compadre?" the gutter-snipes call after them. (The first two words are in the Cayapa language, the third is Spanish; the sentence means: "Where'ye going, fellow?") "Caminando, viendo, comprando, compadre"
[91] ("going for a walk, seeing, buying, brother") the men answer politely, but in very poor Spanish.

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had never been teased in this manner before, and his eyes flashed pure hatred for the woman as he leaned forward, glaring at her. All laughter ceased; everyone gazed fascinatedly at the child. Shortly, the woman offered the candy again, and as it was taken, she jerked her arm back violently as if it had been burned. Clearly, a Cayapa child would never react in this manner; he would have remained passive. The group broke up shortly after this; the event doubtlessly became the subject of much conversation. Frank remained extremely popular with both Indians and Negroes, and passersby on the river before our house would call out his name. When the writer visited, I was asked to bring him along, and, he was never teased again.

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By the age of three years, children are clothed in miniature replicas of their parents' clothing. Genital shame is marked by the age of five or six years. Bathing men and boys convulsively grasp their genitals as they enter the water; on the other hand, women and girls merely wade into the water and remove their skirts when they are waist deep in the river. Bathing is frequent, and swimming is considered to be a great sport by the children.

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[91] ("going for a walk, seeing, buying, brother") the men answer politely, but in very poor Spanish.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

226 The Cayapa make frequent journeys to the ocean, chiefly for the purpose of securing shellfish and crabs, which are abundant along the beaches about the mouth of the river. There are several species of clams and mussels, as well as oysters in large numbers. Also crabs of several species are very abundant, and are captured usually by digging out their burrows. Both the shellfish and the crabs are brought alive up the river, the crabs being confined in coarse baskets. Oysters are usually heated over coals sufficiently to cause the shells to open, and are eaten directly from the shells with a bit of salt or lemon; but clams and mussels are generally boiled. Crabs also are almost always boiled, although sometimes they are roasted.

226 Inland, along the banks of the Rio Cayapas and its tributaries, are obtained three other foods of the same class. In the wet soil of the jungle live large numbers of a small, bright-red land crab, called nē'lû, or, more specifically, kaia'pa nēlû. This crab has one very large arm, which is the only part used as a food. The crabs are caught in great numbers, and the large arm is removed and roasted. In the waters of these streams are also large numbers of a small species of lobster or crayfish, called pi'cû, which is considered an excellent food. It is caught with a special dip-net, called cia, used almost exclusively for this purpose. The third food of this class is likewise obtained from the rivers. It is a very small bivalve, resembling a miniature mussel such as is found in the ocean, and is gathered at certain points along the streams where the rock walls of the banks or where bedrock affords convenient lodgment.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the ripening of the fruit, and also to facilitate harvesting the heavy racime of fruit, which is usually from ten to fifteen feet from the ground. The fruit having been removed, the trunk is chopped up and rolled away from the newly growing shoots. Owing to its succulent character and to climatic conditions, the trunk decays rapidly. 245

Being the chief food of the Cayapa, plantains are grown in considerable quantities, often a single family having a field covering several acres. It appears, however, to thrive better in some places than in others. For instance, in the region about Punta Venado the land is comparatively low and wet, and complaint is made that the plantain does not do well. Along the Rio Onzole, on the other hand, better conditions are said to prevail, the land being somewhat higher and having better drainage.

The fields of plantain are in large measure tended by the women, though the men frequently assist in clearing the fields. The harvesting is done almost entirely by the women, who cut down the stalks as above mentioned. They strip off a wide band of the bark from the midrib of one of the large leaves, which they use as a head-band in carrying the racimes of fruit from the field to the canoe, thence to the house. As before stated, the plantain is always gathered while green. Even if ripe plantain is desired, it is usually gathered green and allowed to ripen indoors. The gathering of the plantain while green is, first of all, a matter of necessity, since if it were left in the field to ripen it would be devoured by parrots, [462] [462]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

supply of rum. When it is deemed best to replenish the rum supply, the whole family goes to the cane-field, and each with a machete and a hooked stick about three feet long, clears the field of all weeds and vines, and cuts as much of the matured cane as is needed. The stalks of cane are always cut close to the ground, and all the leaves are stripped off. The butt end of the stalk is then cut diagonally so as to leave a markedly beveled point, which facilitates its insertion between the rollers in grinding. This beveled cut is well illustrated at the lower end of the stalk of cane shown in pl. xv. This is a picture of Antonio Napa, or Pi'tcū apa according to his Cayapa name, chief of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa, at work in his cane-field, and exhibits a field of cane in process of harvesting. All the cane leaves which are stripped from the stalks, together with the vines and undergrowth, are carried to the side of the field and thrown into the brush, since if they were left on the ground, the vines especially would soon take root and grow as rapidly as before. As the mill is ordinarily immediately adjacent to the field, the cane is carried to it usually upon the shoulders of the harvesters. If, however, it is situated at a distance of several hundred yards, the cane is generally carried to the bank of the river and thence transported by canoe to the mill. The stalks, cut usually into lengths of from four to six feet, are piled in a large rick in front of the rollers used for grinding. As shown in pl. LXIV, the cane may first be corded up on the ground in front of the mill, and later put on the floor in front of the rollers.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The crisp, pure white, young leaves from the center of the crown of this palm are much esteemed as a food by the Cayapa. To secure these, however, it is necessary to cut down the whole plant, which is done with a machete or preferably an ax. The large, mature leaves of the crown are cut and pried away until the inner part of the trunk is reached. These outer, old leaves of the crown are even more fibrous and resistant than the trunk itself, and as it is almost impossible to cut them away with a machete, an ax is usually necessary. Owing to their great weight, and especially to the interlacing of the hard and very strong fibers at the bases of the leaves, a couple of chisel-pointed sticks, six feet or so in length, are needed to pry away the outer leaves after the mid-ribs have once been cut through with the ax. This inner trunk and those inner leaves which have already begun to unfold are next cut away, until the very young, succulent leaves, which as yet have not commenced to unfold and which appear in the form of a solid, slender cone of pure white, are reached. This cone often measures at its base as much as ten to fifteen inches in diameter, and may be even ten or twelve feet in length. It is a solid mass of crisp white matter, finer in texture than the innermost part of a head of cabbage and with a flavor resembling that of almonds. It is ordinarily eaten raw, either with or without salt, although a very good dish is also prepared by boiling it.

The palma real yields another useful product. The tough fibers, called niñtcū'a, which grow along the sides of the base of the mid-rib of the mature leaf, and which,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

as above mentioned, interlace with the fibers of adjoining leaves in such manner as to make it necessary to pry the leaves apart with wooden bars, are strong and pliable, and are woven into burden-bands by which heavy loads are carried. These fibers often attain a length of about four feet and are possessed of tensile strength sufficient to enable their use as strings on the wooden harp which is now made to a very limited extent by the Cayapa. This instrument was borrowed by them from the Indians of the interior, who in turn copied it from the Spanish conquerors.

Another palm, found to a limited extent along the river, is the coconut, called after the Spanish, kō'kō-tcī. It does not, however, thrive at any considerable distance from the ocean, consequently few palms are found even at so short a distance up the Rio Cayapas as the mouth of the Onzole. Pl. CXXXI presents a view looking up-stream at the confluence of the Rio Onzole with the Rio Cayapas, and, upon the projection of land between them, the hacienda of one of the more prosperous of the negroes of the region. Several coconut palms appear in front of the house. Coconuts grow well along the immediate coast, and there are here large groves, the nuts being shipped to nearby villages and to points even as far away as Esmeraldas. They are purchased to a certain extent by the Indians, by whom they are used in very limited quantities as food, more especially for the so-called coconut-milk which is made from the ripe nuts.

In addition to the foregoing food-producing plants,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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BASKETS OF PITIGUA AND CHAPIL

[P. 186(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 386 achote, the plant which produces the red face-paint used by the Cayapa. This coloring matter is rubbed on the stem after it has been scraped down to the hard white layer of the bark and before the bark is stripped from the stem. The colored strips are used occasionally as a means of producing the geometric designs used in small hamper-shape baskets and in fans.

285 824 Three other plants with a habit of growth similar to that of the hoja blanca occasionally furnish materials for the hamper-shape baskets. They are the chocolatilla, called by the Cayapa tcōkōla'te, which yields a brown material; the hoja negra, called e'lūñ hakī; and the crinande, called viñga'tci. The material in each of these plants comes from the petioles of the leaves. They are obtained and manipulated in the same manner as is that derived from the hoja blanca. None of the three, however, is ever colored.

285 482 [222] As above mentioned, the leaf of a large species of palm, called in Spanish chapil, is used on rare occasions for basket-making. Should a person be out hunting, or for any other reason be at a considerable distance from his house and unexpectedly find some fruit or other commodity which he cares to take home, he may, by securing a couple of the large leaves of the chapil, quickly fashion a temporary burden-basket, such as either of those shown in pl. XCII, 2, 5, in which to carry them. Such a basket is never kept for further use, for as soon as the leaves become dry they are very brittle and entirely worthless.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

work is still more apparent than in the one here referred to, because these composite, wide elements are made to pass under and over one another several times instead of only once. This process is never employed except at the starting point of this form of basket.

In detail the technics employed by the Cayapa in their basketry are as described below. Further, in addition to its use in basketry, twilling is employed in making mats and fans, and wicker is used in certain burden-bands and in fan-handles.

WICKERWORK

Wickerwork, the simplest of the two-element technics, consists of the passing of a single active or woof element over and under successive passive or warp elements. The Cayapa employ this technic almost solely in connection with the material derived from the aerial root called pitigua and for the making of five forms of basketry: a burden-basket, a shallow rectangular basket, a bottle-shape bait basket, a more or less globose basket used in carrying fruits and as a general household utensil, and a long tubular basket used especially as a receptacle for spindles. Examples of burden-baskets are shown in pl. XCII, 4, 7, while the other forms are illustrated respectively in pl. XCIII, 1, 3, 4, 12.

Ordinarily the Cayapa wickerwork is comparatively tightly woven, as is shown in illustrations referred to. There are, however, two special types of wicker basket which are open in their technic. Both are made for the purpose of allowing water to pass readily through them, being used especially as cages for live crayfish which are

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

downward, then outward to a position in front of the next pair of warp elements, and finally inward and behind the next pair of these elements. Along the outer surface and directly opposite the above-mentioned horizontal splint, another is passed, and these two are secured by two splints passing spirally and in the same direction along the entire border in such manner as to fasten firmly the pairs of turned-down warp elements. 285

As above mentioned, the wicker technic finds slight use outside of basketry. It is employed in weaving the broad head-bands of the burden-straps which are made of pitigua or of the fibers from the leaf of the palma real, and occasionally in weaving the outer surface of the handle of a fan. In the use first mentioned the elements employed are fairly broad strips of pitigua, as shown in pl. CIII, 1. In the second, the warp elements are made by placing from four to six of the small cylindrical palma-real fibers side by side to form a broad and fairly rigid element. The woof element consists sometimes of but a single palma-real fiber, but usually of two placed side by side as shown in pl. CIII, 3. Occasionally more than two of these fibers are used in such a woof element. The surfaces of fan handles are almost always made, like the blades, in twilled technic, but occasionally one is found which is in wicker, as in the example shown in pl. CIII, 5. 285 293 [482]

TWILLING

The second technic consisting of two elements is twilling. This is employed in the making of hamper-shape baskets (pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 6, 10, 11): long, tubular 285 415

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 cordage. By this process of passing these leaflets from first one side and then the other round this core of leaf-ends, a corner of the basket is built up to its topmost point, where the ends of the last two or three leaflets are tied in such manner as to prevent the corner from loosening. In the same manner all four corners are built up and the basket is then complete.

Forms and Uses

285 415 According to form and use, Cayapa basketry may be classed as follows:

Burden-basket, flaring,	kū′bī (pl. xcii, 4, 7).
[482] Burden-basket with vertical sides and carried usually by means of two shoulder-straps.	fe′ pickalyī, fe hi′nū pickalyī e′ pickalyī (pl. xcii, 8).
Square-sided, temporary burden-basket of hoja de chapil,	kūla′ pickalyī, kūla′pō pickalyī, (pl. xcii, 5).
Common cylindrical basket,	picka′lyī (pl. xcii, 1, 3).
Hamper-shape basket,	pū′le (pl. xciii, 2, 5, 6, 10, 11).
Bottle-shape bait basket,	tū′ñūtcītcī, dyūñūtcī′tcī, (pl. xciii, 3).
Tubular basket used for spindles,	tcūrūkū′kū, tīwōtcī′tcī (pl. xciii, 8, 12).

In addition to this classification, in which baskets used for certain purposes are of special forms, there are other terms indicating use which are applicable to a basket of any form, material, or technic. For instance, the name pū-pickalyī, from pū′ka, "fruit," and picka′lyī, "basket," may be used in speaking of any basket in which fruit is carried or stored.

As indicated in most instances by the names in the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

above tabulation, these several distinct forms of baskets have special uses. The four types of burden-basket are used almost exclusively for carrying heavy loads upon the back. The two types made of hoja de chapil are, as above stated, only for temporary use and are worthless except while the leaves are green. They are also sometimes used, even after they are dry and brittle, by the shamans in their medicine practices. The other two types, which are made of the very durable pitigua, are sometimes used as storage receptacles about the house when not needed for carrying burdens, which is their primary use.

The flaring basket, kū'bī (pl. XCII, 7), is carried by means of a single band provided with a special, wide head-band that passes across the top of the head as the bearer bends forward. This is primarily a woman's burden-basket and is used in the daily home life of the people for bringing fruits and other products from the fields and in a multitude of other ways. It is, however, rarely used in carrying wood, which is so often one of the most important functions of burden-baskets among aboriginal peoples. Wood is usually brought by the canoe-load from some point near the river where a suitable dead tree can be found.

The straight-walled basket, fe' pickalyī (pl. XCII, 6, 8), is made especially for carrying burdens considerable distances, as on long trail journeys into the interior. Within their own territory these baskets are rarely needed by the Cayapa, since practically all travel is by canoe. Such a basket is provided with two burden-bands attached near the top and the bottom respectively,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 482 and so placed that the broad bearing surface of each band stands vertically. These bands pass across in front of the shoulders after the manner of the straps of a knapsack. In the case of a large basket, such as that shown in pl. XCII, 8, the cords of the burden-bands pass round the basket to give the load greater security. Further, to add strength, and especially rigidity, to such a basket, two palm-wood rods are placed vertically on the inner surface of the basket, each being so placed as to be directly at the line along which one of the burden-bands is attached. The band is made to take a turn round this rod at each point at which it is attached to the basket. These rods are also of particular service in preventing the cords of the burden-bands from tearing out the relatively slender elements with which the weaving is done, when the basket is used in carrying such a load.

285 415 What is here termed the common cylindrical basket (pl. XCII, 1, 3, and pl. XCIII, 4) has no special use other than as a general storage receptacle for foods, etc. Such baskets are frequently kept in the loft or hung under the eaves of the house when containing articles only occasionally needed.

285 415 485 Perhaps the most useful basket of all those made by the Cayapa is the hamper-shape basket, pū'te (pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 6). This basket serves a variety of uses, chief among which are the storage of clothing and other valuable articles, and as a traveling case. No Cayapa enters on a journey of more than a day without one of these hampers, in which are his mosquito canopy, clothing, face-paint, any jewelry he does not wish to wear, and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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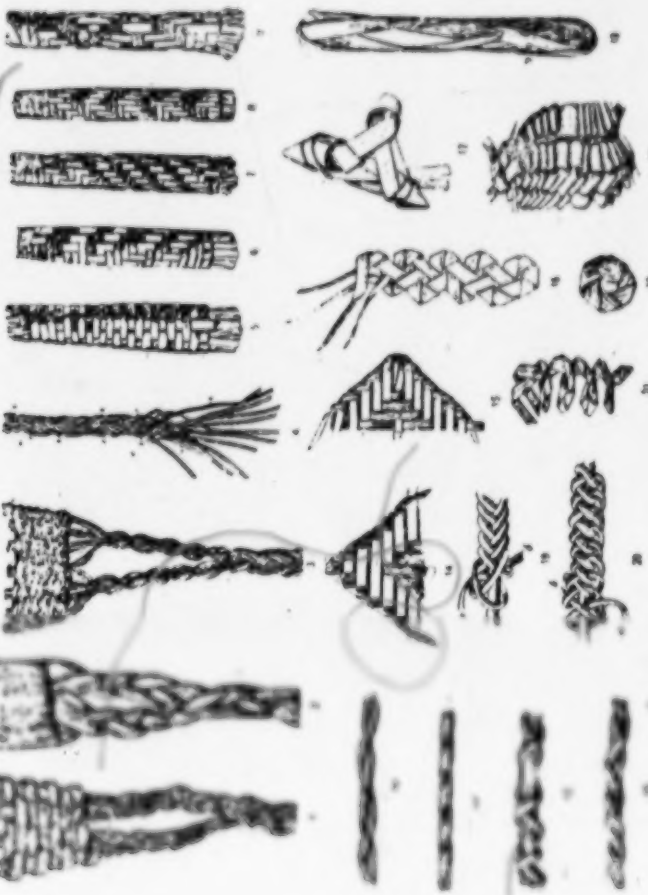

PL. CIII

HANDLES OF BASKETS AND FANS, AND BURDEN-BANDS

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 236 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

BURDEN-BANDS

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482 The burden-bands made by the Cayapa are used almost if not quite exclusively in carrying the two types of burden-basket above described. These bands, called in general ta'ñla, consist in every case of two parts: the broad "head-band," called in Cayapa pickai ka'ñnû, and the two long cords which pass round the basket, called picka'lyi nô tetsûî pañnû. These burden-band cords are made in two technics: a plain braiding (pl. CIII, 1–3), called wa'tse'ta, and an elaborate technic which produces a cord, square in cross-section (pl. CIII, 4), called pi'Xta kalara, or bi'ñda kalara.

The Cayapa recognize four kinds of burden-bands. The simplest of these (pl. CIII, 2) is made of kuna-kuna bark and is called wa'tcî kika tañla. A strip of this tough fibrous bark, from two to three inches in width and of a length equal to the total length of the burden-band, is selected and its ends are shredded so as to leave an unshredded section of the natural bark about twelve or fifteen inches in length in the middle. This forms the head-band, and at its two ends it is sewed across with a piece of pita string to prevent splitting. The shredded bark immediately adjacent to this section is then divided into two parts, each of which is braided separately for a few inches, after which the two are merged into a single braid which continues on to the end of the cord. These details are all given in the section shown in pl. CIII, 2. The outer surface of this bark is rough, but the inner surface, which is quite smooth and soft, is used as the bearing surface of the band. This particular type of burden-band is sometimes used

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

upon the forehead, but is more frequently employed as a shoulder burden-band. 285 482

A second type of burden-band is that shown in pl. CIII, 1, which is made of pitigua and is called by the Cayapa te'tsũ tañla. In this the head-band is made in wicker with fairly broad strips of pitigua used as warp and a broad strip of the same material passing back and forth as woof. These warp strips are then split and made in two small braids that later merge into one larger braid as is shown in the illustration last mentioned. This type of burden-band is used almost exclusively in connection with the flaring burden-basket, which is supported by the band passing across the forehead. The remaining two types are made of the slender but very strong fibers of the palma real and differ one from the other only in the technic of the cord. In one instance this cord is simply braided, as in the kuna-kuna bark and the pitigua bands just described. A section of one of these bands called in Cayapa nintcũ'a tañla, is shown in pl. CIII, 3. The other band, called lũ'ra balya tañla, has a cord which is square in cross-section and is produced by the intricate technic shown in fig. 4 of the same plate. The head-band in each case is made in the same wicker technic in which several palma-real cords are laid side by side to form a unit warp element, and a couple of these same palma-real fibers are placed side by side to form a unit woof element.

FANS

The Cayapa make extensively a special type of fan, called nyẽ've or nyiwẽ'wi, used for fanning the fire and 285 293 372

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

It is then roughly hollowed out with the ax, the sides and bottom being left considerably thicker than is desired in the finished canoe. Frequently it is necessary to do this part of the work at a considerable distance from the river, and even at a considerable elevation above one of the small creeks or esteros tributary to the river. Such was the case with the large canoe shown in pls. LXX, LXXI, which was made at a distance of nearly three miles from the river and two and a half miles from the navigable waters of the nearest estero. Furthermore, the tree from which the canoe was fashioned grew near the top of a ridge about three hundred and fifty feet above the floor of the narrow valley of the estero, and the sides of this ridge were so steep that it was necessary to snub the canoe down to the estero by means of a couple of stout cables. Having worked out such a canoe to approximately its final form, it is turned up on one side and bound to one or two vertical stakes, as shown in pl. LXX. At the same time it is raised a few inches off the ground by means of blocks in order to prevent rotting. It is then allowed to dry and cure in the shade for several weeks. 396

Finally the owner invites a number of friends to join in hauling the canoe to a point where it may be floated. This task may be a comparatively simple one if the canoe is practically on a level with the river, but if it is at a considerable elevation, much care is needed. Also, the size of the canoe is an important factor. A small canoe may be hauled by one or two persons; but a large one, say one twenty-five or thirty feet in 483 [476]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

483 length, requires the labor of ten or a dozen persons. In the case of the large canoe shown in the illustrations three pairs of small holes were cut into its gunwales—one pair near each end and one at the middle—and to these were fastened three green wooden bars about an inch in diameter and projecting six or eight inches on each side of the canoe, thus serving as grips or handles for the haulers. The process of cutting the holes for these cross-bars is shown in pl. LXXI. Such bars must not be bound tightly to the gunwales, but of such looseness that they may be slipped in and out of the lashings, as is often necessary in passing close to a tree. A trail is carefully cut through the jungle, the trunks of small trees being thrown across it at intervals of a foot to four or five feet, in order to keep the canoe above the ground, thus greatly reducing the friction as the craft is moved along.

If the site of the construction of the canoe is at a considerable elevation, it must be let down carefully to the lower level by way of an incline. To accomplish this there are first wedged in at the prow and stern of the canoe two short transverse bars just below the level of the gunwales. From a large tough vine or aerial root, said to come from a plant called in the local Spanish matamba, and in Cayapa bī'ta, are twisted two-ply cables, such as that shown in pl. XCI, 5, and often as much as sixty or seventy feet in length. One of these is tied with a simple knot to each of the transverse bars above mentioned. The forward cable is passed with a half-hitch about the prow of the canoe and is

PLACING OF CROSS-BARS FOR TRANSPORTING THE CANOE

[p 152(e)]

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

bound securely at the point at which the cable crosses itself in making the half-hitch in order to prevent this from slipping off the prow. The one at the stern passes directly over the notch which is always present at each end of the canoe, and is bound to the point of the stern in such manner as to prevent slipping to either side, thus keeping the stress of the cable directly upon the short cross-bar and avoiding the danger of wrenching the bar loose by a sidewise pull. By snubbing with these cables, a large canoe may be lowered with comparative ease down a very steep incline. To accomplish this, a single turn is taken with the rear cable about the trunk of a tree, and by slacking off the canoe is let slowly down until the end of the cable is nearly reached. Meanwhile the forward cable has been passed about a tree and snubbed in the same manner to prevent accident to the rear cable. Having finally neared the end of the rear cable, the forward cable is made fast and the canoe held in position while the rear cable is taken down-hill and passed about a tree near the canoe in the same manner as above described. Then the two cables are paid out again until the end of the forward cable is reached, when the canoe is again halted and the forward cable taken down the hill as was the rear one. Thus, by this process of snubbing with the two cables, the probability of losing control of the heavy craft is eliminated. All this time, of course, the haulers are at the sides of the canoe helping to steady and guide it. One person only is needed to pay out each of the cables. Care is taken in snubbing a canoe down in this manner to see that

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

it does not slide from its course and strike a tree. Finally, when the bottom of the incline is nearly reached, both cables are released and the canoe is allowed to take its course over the remaining short distance to the floor of the valley, its momentum usually carrying it for some yards out on the plain.

Having reached the level of the estero or river, the hauling is now done entirely by hand until the canoe is finally launched. If launched in a small creek, it is often necessary still to haul it by hand for a distance down the creek, since it must be passed over sand-bars and even lifted over large logs, but small ones are always cut away. At last a point is reached where there is sufficient water to float the canoe down to the river. Sometimes, however, it is deemed advisable to haul the canoe only as far as a point on the estero known to be reached by floods; it is then tied to a tree until such time as the back-water of the river extends far enough to allow the canoe to be paddled down to the main stream.

In either case the canoe is finally taken to the house. If it is small, it may be taken into the house, but if a large one, it is more frequently placed under the house or in a nearby grove of palms or trees. It must then be worked and smoothed by means of adz and planes until reduced to the required thickness, and the desired form and finish are obtained, when it is placed in a dry, shady place to season thoroughly before being calked and painted with brea. In adzing the canoe it is placed in a normal upright position and the inner surface

THE CAYAPA INDIANS*

by
Max Heimann

In the far north west of the Ecuadorian Republic there is a river named the Santiago. Near the village of Borbon it is joined by one of its tributaries, the Cayapa River. The Cayapa Indians, a harmless tribe consisting of no more than 2500 persons, live on the upper reaches of the Cayapa River and around its sources.

I have never been able to understand why they are called "uncivilized" and "savage." Would it be because they dress more simply, more comfortably, more suitably and cheaply than we European fashion slaves? Or would it be because they speak their own language, unknown to us, and because they do not know how to read and write and do not stuff their heads with the dead weight taught in schools and called "education"? Or even, would it be because they have other customs and manners as well as different moral concepts?

One thing is certain—the Cayapa are happy people, because they are more satisfied with their lot than we Europeans, who are so demanding and feel so superior with our conceit in our sham civilization, in the clothes prescribed for us by the tyrants of "fashion" and in the "wisdom" acquired in schools.

They frequently come to town in small groups of five to 20 persons. I have seen them many hundreds of times, but again and again I am delighted when I meet these small, but well-built and sturdy [282] figures. The men are not taller than 150-160 cm. (Translator--5 ft. to 5ft. 4 in.), while the women are barely 140 cm. (Translator--4 ft. 8 in.). Their skin is copper brown in color.

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* The author a business man, lived in Tumaco (southwest Colombia) for 35 years (1895-1930) and was German Vice-Consul for the Departamento Nariño from 1907 to 1920. Although he never actually visited Cayapa villages, he did have occasions to see and question groups of them "many hundreds of times," on their frequent visits to Tumaco. Apart from this, several of his employees have been in Cayapa villages and have given him reports. (K. Th. Preuss).

505 might hear a piano or phonograph music from somewhere. That they still must quickly take a look at. The entire crowd rushes busily into the house concerned and up the stairs. Their curiosity is soon satisfied and they come down again and now they must be off quickly so as to be able to make use of the tide current. Their
501 unpainted canoes are 8 to 10 meters (Translator--about 8 to 10 yds.) in length and from 70 to 90 centimeters (Translator--2 1/3 to 3 ft.) in width. They are slim and pleasing in shape and have
[531] black colored decorations around the edges. Each one of them accommodates from 5 to 8 persons, close together, with their meager belongings. They paddle along nimbly with their leaf-shaped oars and, while their canoes glide along silently and swiftly, the entire crowd has soon disappeared in the mouth of the
484 Mira River. It will take them two days to reach their hometowns.
648 During the journey they camp in the open over night, somewhere along the shore, in an empty pasture. But they have to be careful. Occasionally they are attacked and robbed there by Negroes, and if they resist, they are murdered in cold blood. Only recently a whole group of them, men, women and children, 14 persons altogether, were most cruelly murdered on the Mira River by some bestial Negroes.

101 [285] However, our friends will now have arrived home safe
342 and sound on the upper Cayapa River. They are greeted from afar
361 by the friendly smoke of their own hearths. Their villages con-
824 sist of a few, widely dispersed bamboo huts of a most primitive type. A few uncut tree trunks have simply been rammed into the earth in a rectangle. The floor is at a height of 3 to 4 meters (Translator--ca. 3 to 4 yds.) and is made of split bamboo. Above this, at an equal distance, is the roof made of coconut (?) palm (Steinnusspalme) leaves. That is the entire structure. Since these houses have no walls, it is obivous that doors and windows are not
417 required either. The trunk of the Ceiba trees, light as a cork,
824 *into which a few steps are hewn, serves as stairs.* (*The Ceiba tree*
512 produces the silk-like balsa wool, called "Kapok" on the European market.) These stairs are obliquely leaned on, without being fastened anywhere. A hen-roost can be climbed more easily than one of these Cayapa ladders. In order to be somewhat safe from surprises by unwanted visitors, the ladders are drawn up to the living quarters overnight, and when a family goes on a trip, the ladder is thrown into the river and left to float away. After
322 all it is so simple and easy to fetch another Ceiba trunk from the nearby forest on returning and quickly hack a few step-like cuts into it with a chopping knife.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

ECONOMICS

The *Cayapa* economic unit is the virtually self-sufficient, one-family household. Land is owned and worked familially, and there is as much land to be had as the family can clear. If any special rules govern distribution and inheritance, they are not reported by our sources. Also, there seem to be very few provisions for interhousehold cooperation: men will help a neighbor bring down a tree trunk from the hills, but all other activities are evidently left to individual enterprise.

This self-sufficiency does not apply to all spheres of activity. Machetes and rifles are essential in jungle life, and most families make at least one trip a year to the coast for trading and social purposes. In the small Ecuadorean and Colombian towns they find a ready market for rubber, tagua nuts, and other forest products. Cocoa is grown specifically for this trade. There is also a limited market for some of their manufactures: canoes, mats, fans, and other basketry. In exchange, the *Cayapa* want metal goods: axes, machetes, shotguns, fishhooks, fish spears, and copper tubing for their distilleries. But they also like beads and mirrors, pearls, vests, and old derby hats. In recent years machine-made muslins and calicoes have been edging out native-made cloth.

The *Cayapa* are not yet incorporated in Ecuadorean economy. Their need for metal goods and trinkets has not yet forced them to work on plantations or in placer gold mines. Their own supply of rum has helped them avoid debts contracted for alcohol, and they have usually retreated into the forest when their self-sufficiency has been menaced. It is improbable that this selective acculturation can last very long.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The basic *Cayapa* social unit is the household. Though there is no definite indication as to size and composition, it appears to be an extended family including normally no more than 10 to 12 people. Chief Antonio Napa's house at Punta Venado could seat some 40-odd people at a feast [422] but it was unique in size, and the Napa household according to Bassoco (1894) had only 8 to 10 members.

Barrett (1925) presents a detailed chart of kinship terms used by the *Cayapa*. We unfortunately know nothing about the behavior that goes with the terms or about marriage rules. On the face of it the system is a "lineal" one—collateral relatives are separated from lineal ones but are not differentiated among themselves. Thus, the term for uncle applies to both paternal and maternal ones. All terms are highly descriptive. There is no evidence of reciprocal use of terms, but Barrett's chart is not really complete. The system is quite unique and interesting.

The lineal and descriptive nature of the kinship system emphasizes the bilateral character of the *Cayapa* family. There is no clan organization. The extended family household is the truly basic social unit. There is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

THE CAYAPA INDIANS OF ECUADOR

By S. A. Barrett

TERRITORY

Geographical Situation

THE people known as the Cayapa Indians live at present almost wholly on the main and tributary streams of the Rio Cayapas, one of the large rivers of the northwestern part of the Province of Esmeraldas, Ecuador, and about ninety miles in a direct line north of the equator. Their territory is within comparatively easy reach of the ocean, which almost all visit at least once a year.

There are a few, perhaps an aggregate of one hundred individuals, who live in several other localities, namely, on the adjacent Rio Santiago, at Pueblo Viejo, and at points along the immediate coast from the Rio Dabele, a few miles south of the town of Esmeraldas, the capital of the province, northward to the Rio Rosario, about eight miles southeast of Tumaco, in the extreme southwestern part of Colombia. However, practically all the Cayapa, approximating fifteen hundred to two thousand individuals, now live on or in the immediate vicinity of the river which bears their name.

The Rio Cayapas heads in the western slope of the coast range of the Andes at a point not far from Mt Cotacachi, which attains an altitude of 16,290 feet (4,966 meters). The western slope of this sierra is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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Colorado SD7

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close linguistic affinity with the Cayapa were the Colorados.

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The dialect of the Colorados, however, is so different from that of the Cayapa as to be almost unintelligible to the latter. Their customs, dress, and general culture are also quite distinct, and their territory is of a very different character from that of the Cayapa, being decidedly mountainous, though not far enough inland to be at a great altitude. There is no political or social affinity between the two peoples; in fact, although belonging to the same linguistic stock, the only knowledge one has of the other is that gained from an occasional visit by two or three Cayapa to the Colorado country, or vice versa. It is told as one of the important events of recent times that in returning, several years ago, from a visit to Quito, the chief of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa came by way of the Colorado country and spent several days there, and that he finally brought home with him a member of that tribe who visited on the Rio Cayapas for some days before returning to his own people.

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That the Cayapa have wider linguistic affiliations has been recently shown by Drs Beuchat and Rivet,[12] who set forth the fact that there is considerable affinity between the Barbacoas, of which the Cayapa is a dialect, and the Coconuco and Paniquita groups, both of which are in Colombia. The interrelations of the latter two

[12] Affinités des Langues du Sud de la Colombie et du Nord de l'Équateur (Groupes Paniquita, Coconuco et Barbacoa), par H. Beuchat et P. Rivet, extrait du *Muséon*, Louvain, 1910.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6
Cholo

197 groups are much closer than are those of either with the Barbacoa, but there seem to be a sufficient number of features in common between these two Colombian stocks on the one hand, and the Cayapa and Colorado dialects on the other, to warrant the inclusion of all these in a larger group or linguistic family.

101 On the north the nearest Indian neighbors of the Cayapa are those commonly called by the ambiguous term "Cholos," and who live along the Rio Saija, a small stream which empties into the ocean at about 2° 50′ N., at a point nearly opposite the island of Gorgona. These people are entirely different from the Cayapa in language and culture; but there is a certain amount of intermingling between the two, and a marked [177] influence is exerted by the Cholos on some features of Cayapa culture, especially medicine practices.

The only other Indian neighbors of the Cayapa are the Quichua, or Kechua, descendants of the historic Inca peoples, who live in the interior valleys, the nearest [484] being those about Ibarra and Cotacachi. Although they are of an entirely different linguistic stock, there is here also a certain amount of intermingling, small parties of Quichua making occasional trips down to the coast, and small parties of Cayapa making occasional [487] trips into the mountains. At the present time, however, the trails are much neglected and are extremely difficult to travel, so that the intercourse is very slight.

177 The only other peoples with whom the Cayapa come into contact are the few European or North American whites, and the many negroes, descendants of former

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

462 The women do all the spinning and weaving of cloth,
512 but the men sew all garments, not only for themselves
294 but also for the small boys who have not yet learned to
[291] sew. This is due largely no doubt to the fact that the single garment worn by the women requires no sewing whatever, while the two garments worn by the men must be sewn.

868 At a very early age boys begin to learn the arts practised by their elders, hence they are instructed in hunting, fishing, woodworking, and similar useful accomplishments of the men.

512 It is customary among the Cayapa to arise at dawn, usually between five and five-thirty o'clock, and to retire as soon as darkness comes, or between six-thirty and seven o'clock. These hours vary little throughout the year, owing to the proximity of the equator.

[527] The daily routine is usually about the same throughout the year, varying in event of a fiesta, or boda, which brings the people together at a particular village, from which, after some days of festivities, they return home.

•[484] Another diversion is going down the river to the settlements. Sometimes this trip is made almost purely for
[439] pleasure and to obtain oysters and other sea foods, but more often these pleasure trips are combined with the selling of tagua, cacao, rubber, or plantains, and occasionally logs for lumber.

593 One of the most characteristic features of the daily life of the Cayapa is the devotion of the members of a family toward one another, especially that of parents toward their children. Few restrictions are placed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

old mountain home at Pueblo Viejo and wiped their enemies out of existence. 721

In the only instance of war which the Cayapa describe fully, it appears that they organized themselves into war-parties and systematically invaded the enemy's territory. Predatory raiding was never practised by them, perhaps on account of their isolated position as well as by reason of their non-militant character. 721 726

The lance was the chief weapon used in war, though the bow and arrow seem to have been used to a slight extent in more recent times. The blow-gun with its poisoned dart was also used in war to some extent. It is claimed that the pre-Cayapa inhabitants of this region used throwing-stones with good effect. The sling, however, appears to have been unknown, the stones being simply thrown with the hand. 411 726

MANUFACTURES

Canoe-making and Canoeing

The rivers of the Cayapa region provide practically the only means of travel until the limit of navigation by canoe is reached. In fact, the streams provide *almost the only means of travel* at all, owing to the density of the jungle and to the fact that practically all of the Cayapa live along the rivers below the limit of navigation. The few trails through the higher mountains are almost never used except when journeys to the interior are made. On the other hand, there are various short trails extending back into the hills 484 487

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

along these rivers—these are used for hunting or for short trips from the rivers. All the permanent habitations are situated along the banks of the rivers, and to pass from one to another of these, as well as for making trips of greater length, the dug-out canoe, called kā'le, is used. In fact, the canoe is one of the most prominent features of Cayapa life. Everyone begins in early childhood the training which makes him an expert canoeman, and is perfectly at home in a dug-out, whether it be along the smooth sluggish waters of the lower course of the river, in the rapids of the upper course, or out on the ocean coasting to some nearby point.

From the important place the canoe holds in the life of the people, it is natural that much care should be given to its construction and that the art of canoe-making should have reached a high state of perfection. Of the many species of trees in the jungle, only a few produce woods which are hard and tough enough to be suitable for canoe-making. These qualities are found in certain species which have what may be called a criss-cross grain, that is, an interlacing of the wood fiber which makes splitting almost impossible. Though a considerable degree of hardness is required, too great hardness is not desirable. Certain woods, therefore, such as the guayacan, are too hard and heavy to be suitable.

Having found a tree of the desired kind, it is felled with an ax and the canoe is roughly fashioned from a portion of its trunk, as is shown in pl. xxx, and finally this section is cut loose from the remainder of the tree.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the long paddles, and the woman sitting forward is paddling with one of them. From these illustrations may also be gained a good idea of the custom of loading a canoe. While in some regions the Indians and also others using canoes endeavor to place the load fairly well aft in order that the prow will point considerably upward, the Cayapa aim so to load their canoes that the ends will practically balance and the canoe will ride as nearly as possible level in the water. They claim that their canoes ride more easily and swiftly when laden in this manner, and also that if it is necessary to load the canoe in such manner that it is not well balanced, it is better to place the cargo forward rather than aft, since if the stern is too low in the water it impedes progress.

As above mentioned when speaking in general of the sizes and uses of canoes, the one used on long journeys and with a carrying capacity of several people is necessarily of considerable length, while on the other hand the man's special fishing canoe is often not more than ten feet in length and frequently does not exceed twelve or fifteen inches in width. All the canoes shown in [illegible] are of the large type, or what may be termed family canoes, which range from eighteen to thirty-five feet in length.

Some families go very rarely down to the coast; indeed on the extreme upper waters of the Rio Cayapas and the Rio San Miguel there are a few individuals past middle age who, it is said, have never seen the ocean. Most families, however, go at least once a year, while

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Most families, however, go at least once a year, while
505 those living on the main Rio Cayapas and its tributaries
484 to the limit of tidewater, which is just above the con-
[439] fluence of the Rio Camarones with the main river, usually go down to the coast several times a year, each time taking with them a load of various commodities such as plantains, tagua, rubber, and cacao, for sale. For such a journey from two to several days are required, and each member of the family must take along his mosquito canopy, his strip of bark cloth which serves as a bed, and other necessary personal articles, while the party must be provided by the women with cooking utensils and food for the journey. Each member is usually bedecked in his best clothing and necklaces, and it is customary also to paint elaborately the exposed parts of the body, as is done on the occasion of a fiesta.

For the protection of the small children, a mat, such as that shown in pl. CVI, 2, is placed with its two ends just inside the gunwales of the canoe so that it bows up in the form of a canopy. Such a protection is shown in pl. LXXX. The cargo of the canoe is always protected from rain with hoja-blanca leaves, or now and then with large plantain or banana leaves. In the Cayapa country, where it rains practically every day, a downpour never hinders one from making a journey. An ordinary rain is met without protection, but if it is very severe one may be well sheltered by holding up a large plantain or banana leaf on the windward side.

505 It is unnecessary to provide a camping outfit in this
484 region, since hospitality is a custom of the country;
574 consequently in making a journey it is necessary only

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

to reach some house for the night. It is immaterial whether the resident is an old acquaintance or a perfect stranger, for the traveler is assured of a welcome.

Under ordinary conditions a journey down-stream with the current is easier and more rapid than one up-stream. However, the effect of the tide retards down-stream travel to some extent, but this is compensated by the aid which it gives while one journeys up-stream. It is in all cases customary to travel with the tide, either up or down stream. When going with the current the middle of the stream is taken, as shown in pl. LXXIX, where a canoe is illustrated going down-stream in the middle of the river; but when necessary to travel against the current, the side of the stream is taken. In the illustration mentioned is shown a second canoe making its way along near the bank and against the current.

For ordinary propelling under all such circumstances the paddle is exclusively used, though a man's paddle with its long handle may be temporarily converted into a pole when shallow water is reached. When a strong current is encountered, as is the case along the upper courses of the streams or when going against a flood, regular poles, such as those already described, are needed to propel the canoe. Every person in the canoe, including the children, carries his own paddle and is expected to use it almost constantly throughout the journey. Ordinarily in the large canoes not more than two poles are carried, and for a moderate current the pole would be used only by the man in the extreme prow, who frequently stands out on its flat surface as shown in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

any other articles of value he does not deem it safe to leave at home. 285 415 484

These hampers, especially when used in traveling, are tied about the middle with a cord or a woven band, and can be tumbled about without danger to their contents. They are frequently kept filled with articles in storage in the loft of the house, and often are suspended by the above-mentioned cord or band from the rafters or from one of the timbers at the eaves. Sometimes these baskets are made for special purposes. This is the case with the long one shown in pl. XCIII, 2, which was made especially for the storage of spindles, though the usual spindle storage-basket is a long tubular one like those shown in figs. 8 and 12 of the same plate. Another special form is the very small hamper-shape basket, such as those shown in figs. 15-17; these are used as receptacles for trinkets. 285 415

The bottle-shape bait basket, tū'ñūtcītcī (pl. XCIII, 3), is a very specialized form and, as its name implies, is made for the particular purpose of carrying live insect bait in the canoe while fishing. Its narrow neck is provided with a balsa stopper or with some leaves made into a bundle which serves the same purpose. [227]

Tubular baskets, called tcūrūkū'kū (pl. XCIII, 8, 12), are made especially for the storage of spindles, either full or empty. These baskets are usually from thirty to forty centimeters in length by from seven to fifteen centimeters in diameter. Such a basket is hung by one edge of its opening, so that it hangs at more or less of a slant. It is usually suspended from a rafter or other part of the house-frame near the eaves, within easy 283 285 415

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

turned with proper ceremony to the church, and the ceremonies of the fiesta proper were ended.

The night was spent in dancing, although this was not an essential part of the ceremony. By evening of the following day (Monday) all the fiesteros had started toward their homes, and some even left the village during the afternoon of Sunday.

This fiesta is the most important of all the gatherings of the Cayapa and is one which almost all attend even though they may be so situated that the journey to their particular village is a difficult one, and may never attend the other gatherings of the year. Even those Cayapa who live on the Rio Verde and at other distant points endeavor to return to their old home village to celebrate this particular ceremony.

La Fiesta de Noche Buena

"La fiesta de Noche Buena," or the Christmas festival, is the less important of the two strictly religious ceremonies of the Cayapa, and, while the services are held by the sindico, or guardian of the church, and by others, these are not so elaborate as are those held at Semana Santa just described, and less interest is displayed. All these services and indeed the entire conduct of the fiesta are almost identical with those of Semana Santa, except that various of the ceremonies and processions, especially those concerned with enacting the resurrection of Christ, are absent, as is also the ceremonial drinking by the images of saints. There is much dancing both day and night, and there are frequent feasts, some being

[i.e., Easter. --- Analyst]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

An interesting example of the possible differences in skin color is shown, however, when any of the Indians journey to the coast, and especially if they voyage a considerable distance at sea, which they frequently do when some of them have occasion to visit Tumaco or Esmeraldas. On such occasions they take their canoes out to sea and paddle, skirting the shore-line for a considerable number of miles. The trip from Limones to Esmeraldas necessitates a journey of about fifty miles on the open sea, and ordinarily requires at least a week. For such trips the Cayapa usually dress specially, in that they put on extra necklaces, neckbands, and wristbands, and otherwise ornament themselves for the occasion. Their tight-fitting neckbands and wristbands are never taken off while they are away from home, consequently the portions of the skin covered by them are protected from the influence of the elements. When they return home, however, this finery is usually taken off. The contrast between the covered portions of skin and the exposed parts is striking, even though the intervals of sunshine along the coast are practically as infrequent as along the river. The sea breeze has a marked tanning effect, consequently the traveler returns home almost as brown as many of our North American Indians who are subjected to sun and wind during much of the year. The covered portions of the skin, however, remain the same color as when the Cayapa leaves home, and it is therefore possible to contrast the natural color with the tan. No color charts were available for purposes of comparison and exact record, but the differences between these two tints are considerable and show the natural color of the Cayapa, as previously mentioned, to be

of the population of the Río Cayapas up to Sapallo Grande was Negro. Isolated Negro enclaves are found today as far up as San Miguel. Negroes tend to live in village settlements, some of which are of political and/or economic importance, while the Cayapa live scattered along the river banks. The town of San José, which lies a few miles below the Río Cameronas, is the administrative center for the area. San Antonio, which is located a few miles above Punta Venado, is of considerable commercial importance as it is readily accessible to the small coastal vessels engaged in the banana trade.

The most characteristic feature of the area is its riverine quality, and settlement and movement centers on the rivers for both Indians and Negroes. The large, hilly land areas between the rivers are completely uninhabited, and the dense jungle growth makes foot travel exceedingly difficult. Except for short hunting trips or to secure trees for the making of canoes, the jungle or monte is avoided. The river, on the other hand, is open and free. The river scene is seldom a quiet one. People going down stream maneuver their canoes into mid-channel, taking full advantage

all lined up single file broadside to the altar. There were two bridal couples and the two sets of godparents, each couple clutching a lighted candle. The priest, an Italian, who had just arrived from missionary service in the Congo, told them that candles were not at all needed for the marriage service. The members of the wedding party looked somewhat discomfited, but they maintained their grips on the candles. The priest repeated his admonitions several times. There was no argument, but the Indians just stood there holding their candles in front of them. Finally, the priest, with a generous Italian shrug, said, "If you want to get married with candles, I'll marry you with candles, but you really don't need them." In a small way, Catholic flexibility had met Cayapa rigidity and the priest was beginning his accommodation.

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Easter is the most important holiday for the Cayapa. The day before Easter week, people begin arriving at the ceremonial center and set up housekeeping. The following day, most of the people have arrived. There were no special services, and most of the day was spent in clearing the plaza. The /ún^{y}i/ began the work of

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diet now, but the leaves are in demand for roofing material. Another cash crop is hardwood trees, but they are not often planted; enterprising individuals cut them out of the unclaimed forest.

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[484]

Land is seldom held in one large block. It is usually scattered about among other holdings so that, quite often, choice properties are separated by distances involving several day's travel. Many Cayapa have two houses, each built as close as possible to their main holdings. Inevitably, they must spend considerable time away from large sections of their property and, as a result, Negroes often illegally harvest standing crops or, perhaps, plant their own. Negroes may buy land from the Cayapa, but as the banana economy continues to boom, the Indians are more and more reluctant to sell. Sometimes usufruct is rented by the Negro, usually for a share of the profits, but arguments invariably develop. It is said that the Indian is always at a disadvantage in his dealings with the Negro because of the latter's readiness to engage in witchcraft and "spoil" the land for the Indian owner. If several members of an Indian's family sicken or die, after a recent quarrel with a Negro about land, it is assumed that witchcraft has been

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

285 482 and so placed that the broad bearing surface of each band stands vertically. These bands pass across in front of the shoulders after the manner of the straps of a knapsack. In the case of a large basket, such as that shown in pl. XCII, 8, the cords of the burden-bands pass round the basket to give the load greater security. Further, to add strength, and especially rigidity, to such a basket, two palm-wood rods are placed vertically on the inner surface of the basket, each being so placed as to be directly at the line along which one of the burden-bands is attached. The band is made to take a turn round this rod at each point at which it is attached to the basket. These rods are also of particular service in preventing the cords of the burden-bands from tearing out the relatively slender elements with which the weaving is done, when the basket is used in carrying such a load.

285 415 What is here termed the common cylindrical basket (pl. XCII, 1, 3, and pl. XCIII, 4) has no special use other than as a general storage receptacle for foods, etc. Such baskets are frequently kept in the loft or hung under the eaves of the house when containing articles only occasionally needed.

285 415 485 Perhaps the most useful basket of all those made by the Cayapa is the hamper-shape basket, *pū'te* (pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 6). This basket serves a variety of uses, chief among which are the storage of clothing and other valuable articles, and as a traveling case. No Cayapa enters on a journey of more than a day without one of these hampers, in which are his mosquito canopy, clothing, face-paint, any jewelry he does not wish to wear, and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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[p. xvi (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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INDIANS, PROVINCE OF ESMERALDAS, ECUADOR

[p xvi 2 B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

vations extending over a series of years were available, it would probably be found that the precipitation varies considerably from year to year. For instance, according to reports the winter months of 1909-10 were attended by an unprecedented rainfall. On the whole, therefore, it is safe to assume that the observations of the engineers referred to represent a fair average of the precipitation of this region. 132

In consequence of the great rainfall and the constant saturation of the ground, floods are frequent along all the rivers of this region. These freshets come, of course, only when there is a continuous and an unusually heavy fall of rain for several hours, or, as sometimes happens, for several days. In the latter event the Río Cayapas rises several feet at its mouth, which is itself upward of a mile wide, and where the lowness of the bordering lands permits the stream to spread over wide areas. Farther up-stream, where the hills confine its waters, the river rises much higher; and at some points, where for considerable distances there are no low flood-plains and where the banks are steep, it rises as high as fifty feet. 133 731

As a result of such conditions there has been developed a form of pile-dwelling, the floor of which is raised from six to twelve feet above the ground. The Cayapa always endeavor to build their houses as near the river as possible, on account of their dependence on it as a means of travel and for other purposes. The floods, however, must always be taken into account in selecting a site even for such a pile-dwelling, since at times of such 731 [342] 361 [497].

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6
Cholo

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

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J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The cotton ordinarily grown in this section is of a brownish color, and it is claimed by the Cayapa that this is indigenous. It must be said, however, that brown cotton rarely grows wild along the river or in the mountains, but is seen almost exclusively about inhabited places or the sites of recently abandoned habitations.

The second variety of cotton is pure white and is also grown by the Cayapa to a limited extent. It is maintained that this is not a native plant, but is a direct importation from the mountain region or from the Rio Esmeraldas territory. In fact, this white cotton is now sometimes purchased by the Cayapa in their trips to the Rio Esmeraldas, because so little of it is grown along their own river.

When the cotton bolls open and the seeds with their covering of fine fibers are almost ready to drop, they are gathered and, if necessary, dried. The contents of two of these fully opened bolls are shown in pl. cvm, 11. It is frequently desirable to store the cotton away in this form for some time, in which event a considerable number of the bolls are made up into a package which is wrapped with a leaf or two of hoja blanca. Such a bundle is usually tied with a piece of pitigua and in this form may be stored for an indefinite period. In the bundle shown in pl. cvm, 12, a section of the wrapping has been torn away in order to show the contents. When it is desired to prepare the cotton for use, the bolls are cleaned of the seeds and of any foreign matter that may have become mixed with the fibers, since the presence of any foreign substance interferes materially with spinning. In this

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

[redacted] PL. CVII

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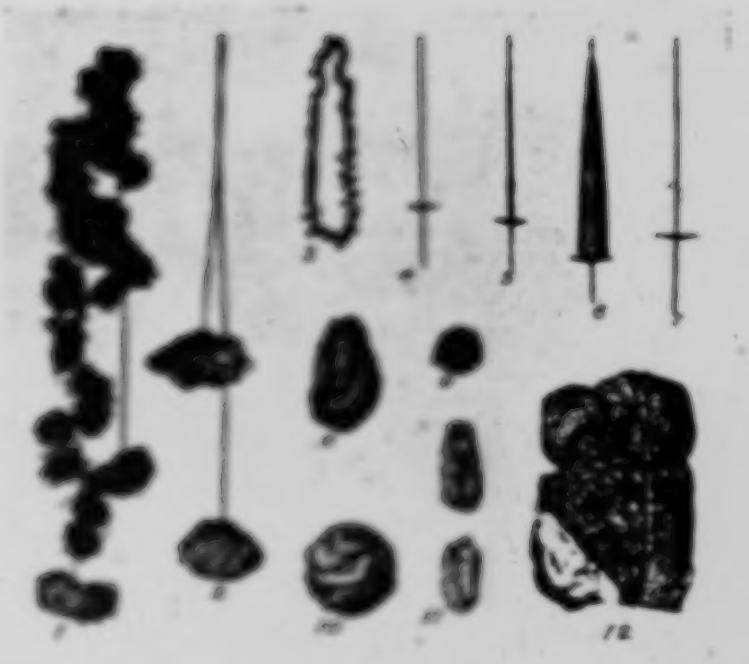

GIRDLES, FILLET, AND SPINNING MATERIALS

[p. 252(a)]

637 They have sold the new small canoes, tree bark mats
501 (damajaguas), palm-leaf fans, rubber and rolls of lianas (these are
285 used in the construction of bamboo huts to tie up the palm-leaves
284] on the [284] roofs and for some other purposes in lieu of string),
which they have bought from the villages and with the cash they
have earned they now make their small purchases. They have
few wants and do not need much: a few feet of cotton cloth, a
chopping knife, some salt, a small mirror, glass beads, fish hooks,
[311] powder and small shot for the old muzzle-loader which a few of
them may own. This would be all their heart desires. It is little,
even very little, and yet it takes long, even very long, until they
have made their choice and finally decided to buy. First they
talk it over among themselves in their guttural and sonorous lan-
guage and then they start bargaining, and then they count out their
money slowly and cautiously; finally having managed to get the
[442] desired goods, they packed them into the nearly full basket car-
ried by the wife. The women and girls timidly hide behind their
menfolk. When spoken to, they do not answer, although they
576 understand sufficient Spanish. Their jealous menfolk have strictly
571 forbidden them to enter into conversation with men of other races
[491] or tribes. They draw back bashfully. But if the husband is not
present, only the mother or brother, the women become very
loquacious, especially when their tongue has been untied by a
small present--a mirror, necklace or something of the kind. And
they are happy beyond words if you caress their little child, who
looks like a Japanese baby painted brown, and has a friendly smile
even for a stranger. It is amusing to watch the women meeting a
fashionably dressed lady in one of the shops; then they surround
her laughing, amazed and admiring, but they do not appear to be
jealous of the lace dresses worn by European women. The men,
on the other hand, do not honor even the most beautiful and most
elegant white lady with so much as a glance.

142 The Cayapa girls are pretty from the age of 12 to 16 years,
302 their bodies somewhat plump, but still with a beautiful shape.
589 Sometimes young men and women can be seen with red and black
streaks and dots on their faces, chest, arms and legs; this is a
sign that they are engaged.

505 Once their business in town is finished they prepare for the re-
turn journey to their villages. "Adios compadre, adios compadres,"
and chattering and laughing, happy and content, they hurry to
the shore where their canoes are moored. On their way they

505 might hear a piano or phonograph music from somewhere. That
they still must quickly take a look at. The entire crowd rushes
busily into the house concerned and up the stairs. Their curiosity
is soon satisfied and they come down again and now they must be
off quickly so as to be able to make use of the tide current. Their
•501 unpainted canoes are 8 to 10 meters (Translator--about 8 to 10
yds.) in length and from 70 to 90 centimeters (Translator--2 1/3
[327] to 3 ft.) in width. They are slim and pleasing in shape and have
black colored decorations around the edges. Each one of them
accommodates from 5 to 8 persons, close together, with their
meager belongings. They paddle along nimbly with their leaf-
shaped oars and, while their canoes glide along silently and
swiftly, the entire crowd has soon disappeared in the mouth of the
685 Mira River. It will take them two days to reach their hometowns.
197
648 During the journey they camp in the open over night, somewhere
along the shore, in an empty pasture. But they have to be careful.
Occasionally they are attacked and robbed there by Negroes, and
if they resist, they are murdered in cold blood. Only recently a
whole group of them, men, women and children, 14 persons al-
together, were most cruelly murdered on the Mira River by some
bestial Negroes.

101 [285] However, our friends will now have arrived home safe
392 and sound on the upper Cayapa River. They are greeted from afar
361 by the friendly smoke of their own hearths. Their villages con-
824 sist of a few, widely dispersed bamboo huts of a most primitive
type. A few uncut tree trunks have simply been rammed into the
earth in a rectangle. The floor is at a height of 3 to 4 meters
(Translator--ca. 3 to 4 yds.) and is made of split bamboo. Above
this, at an equal distance, is the roof made of coconut (?) palm
(Iriartea ventricosa) leaves. That is the entire structure. Since these
houses have no walls, it is obvious that doors and windows are not
417 required either. The trunk of the Ceiba trees, light as a cork,
824 into which a few steps are hewn, serves as stairs. (The Ceiba tree
512 produces the silk-like bombax wool, called "Kapok" on the Euro-
pean market.) These stairs are obliquely leaned on, without be-
ing fastened anywhere. A bare-foot can be climbed more easily
than one of these Cayapa ladders. In order to be somewhat safe
from surprises by unwanted visitors, the ladders are drawn up to
the living quarters overnight, and when a family goes on a trip,
the ladder is thrown into the river and left to float away. After
522 all it is so simple and easy to fetch another Ceiba trunk from the
nearby forest on returning and quickly hack a few step-like cuts
into it with a chopping knife.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

241 Children wear no clothes at all until they are 6 or 8.

301 The hair is worn loose, long, and flowing by the women but is clipped
302 above the ears by the men. Both sexes wear necklaces and wristbands of glass and porcelain beads, coins, seeds, and beetle wings. Only women wear earrings.

302 The traditional *Chibcha* custom of frequently painting body and face is found among the *Cayapa*. Red, yellow, and black are used, and the designs are very numerous. Barrett reproduces many of the motifs and insists that there is no special significance attached to any of them, nor is there any age, sex, or property correlation.

[illegible]

401 **Watercraft.**—A large part of every *Cayapa's* life is spent on the water
[illegible] fishing and traveling. Canoes are built with great skill and care. They can withstand not only fluvial but also maritime travel and are routinely sold in the "civilized" coast towns. They are dugouts, usually 10 to 12 yards long but sometimes much larger. Balsa-wood logs are sometimes used as outriggers.

[illegible]

[illegible] Details of *Cayapa* manufactures are contained in Barrett's work, which describes and illustrates finished products and minutely discusses the techniques of preparation.

322 **Woodworking.**—Woodworking includes house building, making dugout canoes, and carving masks and children's dolls.

285 **Weaving and basketry.**—The women weave cotton cloth on a narrow
286 native loom, and the men do the sewing. The men also weave the fishing
442 nets and hammocks. Barrett's discussion of *Cayapa* basketry is outstanding. The *Cayapa* make many kinds of baskets, mats, and bags of bark and of various roots.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery is crude and undecorated. It is used particularly for
177 storage. Tradition claims that in their old Highland habitat the *Cayapa* made better pottery but that subsistence have since largely replaced ceramics.

324 **Stonework and metalwork.**—Stonework is limited to the mortars
325 used in grinding corn and plantains. Although in aboriginal times Lowland Ecuador was a famous area of metallurgy, there is no evidence that the contemporary *Cayapa* practiced it.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapon most widely used today is the muzzle-loading
177 shotgun. The blowgun was important in the past, but today its use is restricted to boys, who shoot poison darts while playing at hunting. Hardwood bows are being given up, and the bow and arrow is said not to be mentioned in *Cayapa* tradition. The steel machete is ubiquitous.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

Death.—Death is not considered to be a natural phenomenon but is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body. A dead man's soul hovers around his house, which is usually abandoned, though it may be dismantled and sold. The corpse is buried in a coffin in a Catholic-style cemetery near the church. The dead man's possessions are usually given away, but it is not known who inherits his fields and clearings.

[illegible]

Art.—The great range of designs used by the *Cayapa* in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (*lajas*).

Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

Canoe paddles and wooden seats are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

Music and dancing.—Holidays, weddings, and other feasts are accompanied by much dancing and drinking. As elsewhere along the coast, the European marimba is widely used, as are panpipes, flutes, drums, and rattles. In recent years the Highland San Juan dance has been gaining in popularity. Also of immediate Highland provenience may be the small European wooden harp with palm-fiber strings.

Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. *Guarapo*, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

[illegible]

Native *Cayapa* religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are said for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

PLATE 60.—**Colorado and Cayapa Indians.** *Top (left): Colorado* man, early 20th century. *Top (right):* Tsátchela (*Colorado*) man wearing silver nose ornament. *Bottom (left):* Tsátchela (*Colorado*) men playing marimba. *Bottom (right): Cayapa* harvest of plantains. (After Rivet, 1905, opp. p. 178; after Von Hagen, 1939, pls. 7, 10; and after Barrett, 1925, pl. 60.)

[p. 284(D)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTEROS AND CHURCH AT PUNTA VENADO

[p.64(F)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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HARVEST OF PLANTAINS

[p. 74(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

time, and each is followed immediately by the beveled point of the next stalk. Below the rollers and between the uprights which support the whole mechanism is placed a large canoe-shape wooden trough such as that shown in pl. LXIII, or in pl. LXV, into which the cane-juice flows. In case there is no such special wooden trough at hand, or the regular trough is otherwise in use, a small canoe is carefully washed out and used instead. When necessary, leaves of the hoja blanca or of the plantain are placed at the sides of this receptacle in order to prevent the juice from falling or splashing outside. These leaves are especially necessary when, as occasionally happens, a large pot instead of a trough or a canoe is used as a receptacle for the juice; in such an event a funnel is usually built up with leaves above the mouth of the pot.

When the whole rick of cane-stalks has been ground in this manner, the motion of the rollers is reversed, wedges are driven into spaces above the bearings of the uppermost roller in order to bring the two rollers more closely together, and the cane is rolled a second time. During this part of the process, however, two or three of the previously crushed stalks are placed one upon another and almost as much juice is pressed from each as was obtained in the first rolling. As the stalks are received from the rollers the second time, they are quite devoid of juice and are thrown out on the ground. Thus in front of each mill is heaped a large mound of cane trash, such as that shown in front of the mill in pl. VI.

During the grinding of the cane a large copper kettle,

PLACING OF CROSS-BARS FOR TRANSPORTING THE CANOE

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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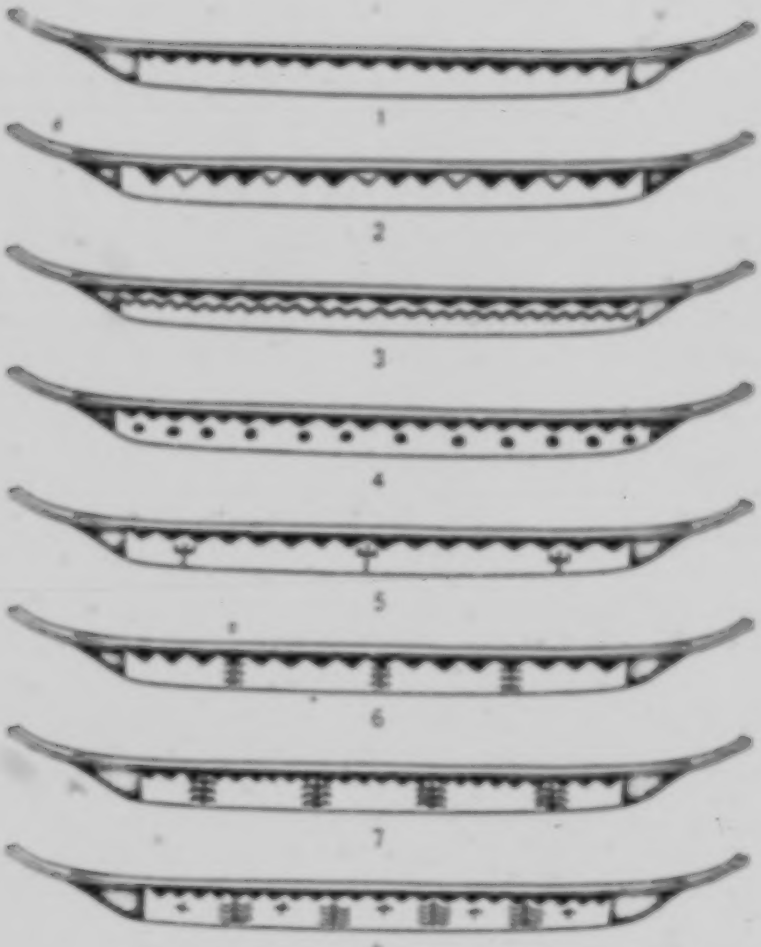
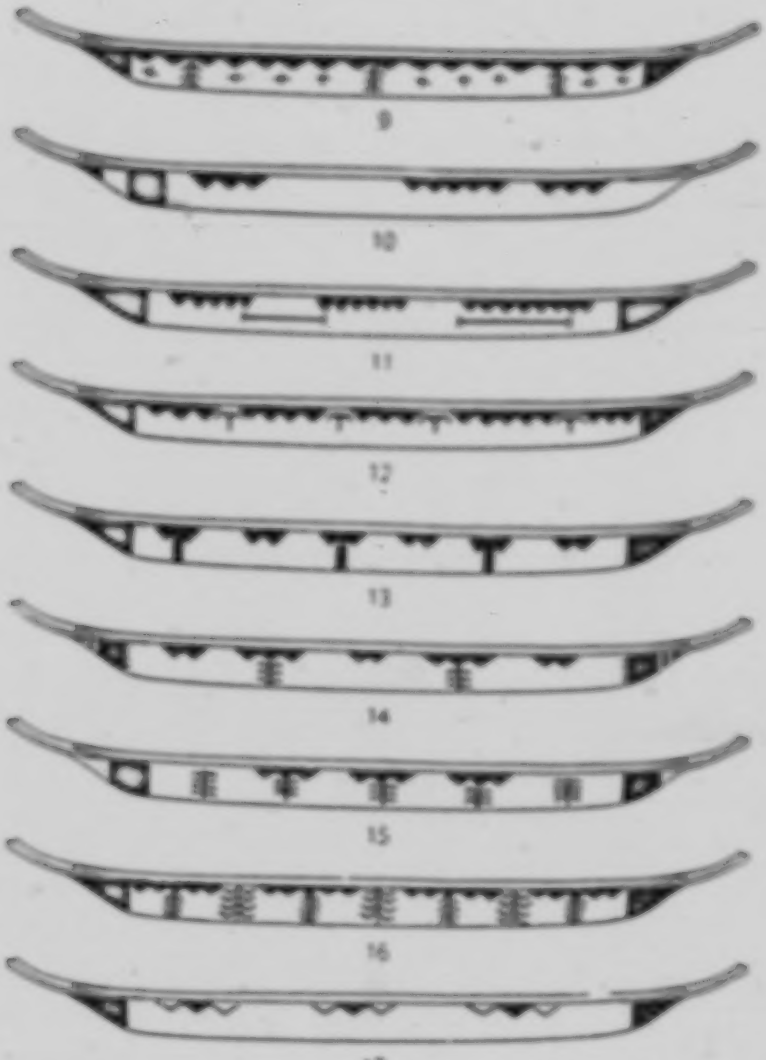


DECORATIVE PATTERNS PAINTED ON CANOES

[p. 136 (8)]

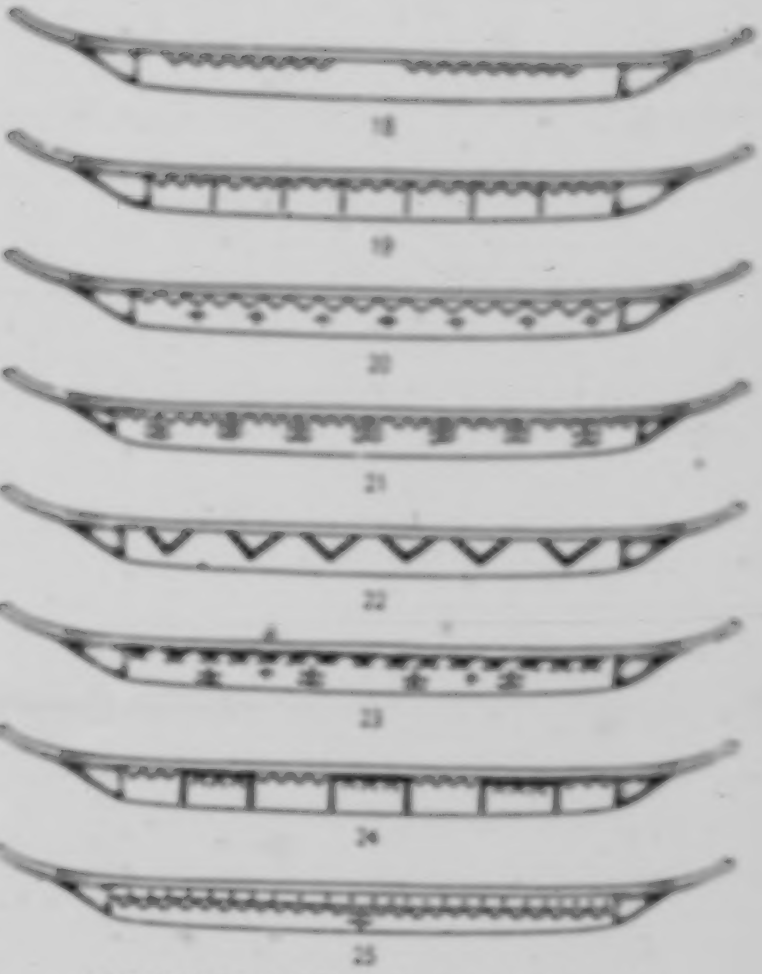
3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6



DECORATIVE PATTERNS PAINTED ON CANOES

[p. 134 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6



DECORATIVE PATTERNS PAINTED ON CANOES

[p. 138(8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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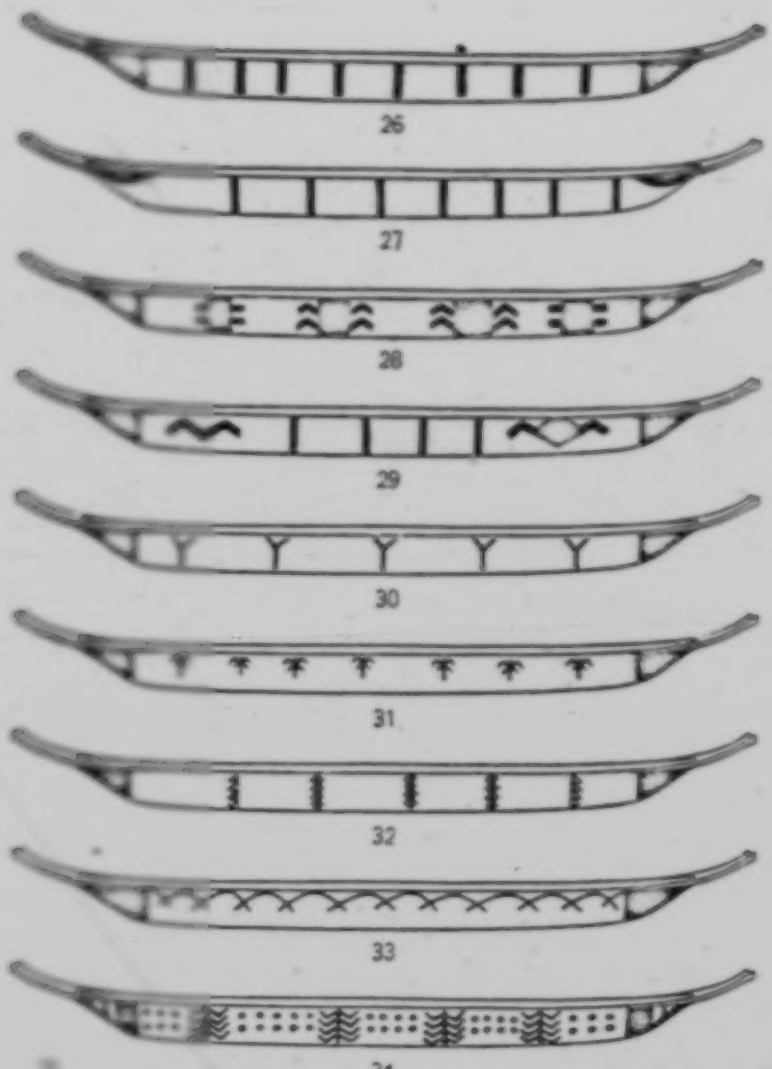

DECORATIVE PATTERNS PAINTED ON CANOES

[p. 140(A)]

Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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PADDLE HANDLES AND BLADES

[p. 140(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

these points. The form of the prow and stern are characteristic, being very narrow and always very concave on the upper surface of the extreme point, as compared with the negro and the Cholo canoes of this region, thus giving this part somewhat the appearance of a pair of ears. These features are clearly illustrated in the canoes shown in pl. LX. At a distance of from five to seven inches from the extreme point of the prow, there is left a slightly raised line on the upper surface, while on the under surface, at a distance of about three inches from the point, appears a decidedly convex line. The Indians say that the former has no special use, but that the latter serves as a hand-hold in hauling the canoe when landings are made. These two features, together with the hole through which the small mooring cable passes, constitute the only differences between the prow and the stern of the Cayapa canoe.

In general the desired form of a canoe is exactly determined by sighting along it with the eye; but the prow and the stern are carefully measured in order that they may be perfectly symmetrical, and the height of the sides and the thickness of the bottom are similarly measured in order to give the vessel its proper balance.

Having completed the adzing and planing, the canoe is placed under the house and thoroughly dried before calking and painting. Treated in this manner it is of course less liable to check and is more durable. However, canoes are frequently used when green, and those made for sale in the settlements are in most cases only slightly seasoned.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

in his craftsmanship. The less particular artisan simply paints rude designs with a small coconut-bark brush.

The designs, called kû'm bîlya, used upon canoes are varied. They are largely geometric, consisting chiefly of dots, lines, and triangles, although sometimes animal figures are employed. These last, however, appear only on those canoes made by the Cayapa for sale. On pl. LXXII-LXXV are shown most of the designs used by the Cayapa on canoes made for their own use. They bear no special symbolic significance, none of them is typical of any special group of people, and no individual ownership is connected with any of them. In large measure they bear no names other than the generic kû'm bîlya, literally "canoe design."

As before mentioned, brea is the wax made by certain small bees common to the region. It is called amû'ya, and is of two kinds, black and yellow, the latter being much preferred. The particular bees which produce the brea are of four different species. A small black bee, which lives in hollow trees and is called paba ta'nda, makes the wax of the best quality and in greater quantities than any of the others. Another small black species, called ta'nda also, lives likewise in hollow trees and makes much more honey than wax, but a certain amount of its wax is used. A third species is called ciñemi'skî; it is also black, but builds its nest in the ground and its wax is used to a limited extent. The fourth species is a small yellow bee called amûî a'ma; its wax is black.

Brea is obtained by smoking out the bees and chopping

3: Barrett E-5 (1903-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

securing this end of the cable, since it is necessary to have one end small in order to pass it through the opening in the prow of the canoe or for whatever other purpose it may be used. Ordinarily the cables are not tied about the prow of the canoe, but are simply passed up through the hole in the prow above mentioned, the knot in the cable below the prow holding it securely.

For ordinary purposes of travel and for carrying regular loads the canoe above described is sufficient. If, however, an excessively heavy or bulky and unstable cargo is to be transported, it is necessary to increase the buoyancy or to steady the canoe by means of outriggers, called by the Spanish name balsas, Cayapa na'na. In this region the term *balsa* has four significations. It is primarily a raft or float of any kind, and is the term naturally applied to the rafts of logs or bamboo which the Indians float down the river for sale at the settlements. The same term is applied to the outriggers used on canoes, as also to the tree and its wood from which these are made. This wood is very light, even when green or water-soaked, and when dry it is as light and soft as cork, qualities which make it very useful in numerous ways. The chief uses of balsa wood, however, are due to its buoyancy: it will carry in water much more than its own weight, and it is therefore used in rafting such heavy timber as guayacan. In this process, as many logs of balsa are procured as are necessary to sustain the weight of the guayacan, and these are lashed together into a float, the guayacan timbers being lashed on top of them. The guayacan timbers

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

are rafted down-stream for use as house-posts, but the balsa logs are also readily sold in the settlements for making outriggers, since they are much used on the imbaburas, or very large canoes, employed to lighter cargoes to and from sea-going vessels.

Among the Cayapa such outriggers are sometimes used, but ordinarily the Indians travel with a cargo so light that the outrigger is not needed. When, however, it is necessary to increase the carrying capacity of a canoe in this manner, logs of balsa from four to eight inches in diameter are cut the proper length, and their forward ends are brought to a form more or less like that of the prow of the canoe. At the middle of the canoe is bound, by means of the two small holes in the gunwales (mentioned as being used in the hauling of the canoe from the woods to the river), a cross-bar of sufficient length to project far enough on each side of the canoe to permit the binding of these logs to it. In binding the logs to this middle transverse bar a block of wood, three or four inches in thickness, is inserted between the upper surface of the log and the bar, thus forcing the log farther into the water at this point. The forward and after ends of the log are each lashed to a similar small hole in the gunwale near the prow, and the stern respectively, these ends being brought up nearly to a level with the gunwale itself and thus three or four inches higher than the middle of the log. In the case of very large canoes, and especially of the imbaburas above mentioned, sometimes as many as three of these logs, as much as a foot or more in diameter, are lashed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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LEAVES USED TO RUB DOWN PADDLES

[p. 148(a)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

side by side to each gunwale, thus really converting the canoe into a raft. With canoes of ordinary size, however, one log on each side is sufficient. If more than one log is used on each side, it is necessary, instead of binding the forward and after ends directly to the gunwale of the canoe, to bind them also to transverse bars which pass across the prow and stern in the same manner as above described in lashing them at their middle points.

In pl. LXXVI, 5, is shown a typical new blade of a man's paddle just after completion. A comparatively short time only is required to wear down the sharp point until it has more the appearance of the point of the blade shown in 13 of the same plate. The general contour of the blade shown in this illustration is one rarely seen among the Cayapa, but it is common among the negroes of the region. In fashioning a paddle of either type a pronounced ridge is left down the middle of each surface. Along this line the blade reaches a thickness of about three-quarters of an inch. At each side of these medial lines the blade is hollowed out very much after the fashion of a hollow-ground razor; otherwise its thickness is fairly uniform. The thickness of the blade decreases slightly toward the edge, so that the edge itself at the greatest width of the blade rarely exceeds three-sixteenths of an inch in thickness, and it may be as thin as an eighth of an inch.

The handles or poles of the paddles are ordinarily from an inch to an inch and three-quarters in diameter and are almost perfectly cylindrical. They taper slightly from the blade to the upper end, or what may

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

501 be called the grip. In a woman's paddle this end may be truly called the grip, and it is usually notched in more or less of a fish-tail form, shown in pl. LXXVI, 9 to 11. This notch is quite smooth, and is actually gripped by the hand. In the case of the man's paddle, however, a purely ornamental tip is put on the end, which is almost never touched in paddling. A few of the typical forms of these ornamental ends are shown in figs. 1 to 4 and 6 to 8 of the same plate.

[531] Occasionally various simple figures are carved either in relief or in intaglio near the upper ends of the paddles. An illustration of such carving relief is shown in pl. LXXVI, 9. Such ornamentation is seen frequently on women's paddles, but only occasionally on those of the men.

[824] As a finishing touch to paddles and in order to make them perfectly smooth, especially along their handles, they are rubbed down with the under-surface of a dry leaf called lya'pic hakī, which is covered with minute but very hard spines that serve the purpose of sandpaper. A bunch of these palmate leaves is shown in pl. LXXVII.

502 [462] Although on a long journey a woman may act as pilot of the canoe, a man sometimes serves in this capacity while the woman sits forward and paddles, as shown in pl. LXXX. Again, it is customary for the woman to use the short paddle on all occasions, but now and then she may be seen using the man's long paddle. Such an instance is shown in pl. LXXIX, where the pilot of the canoe in the foreground is a woman using one of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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CANOEING ON THE RIO CAYAPAS

[p. 150(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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CANOE PILOTED BY A WOMAN

[p.150(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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CANOE PILOTED BY A MAN
[p. 150(c)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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CANOEING ON THE RIO CAYAPAS

[P. 150 (1)]

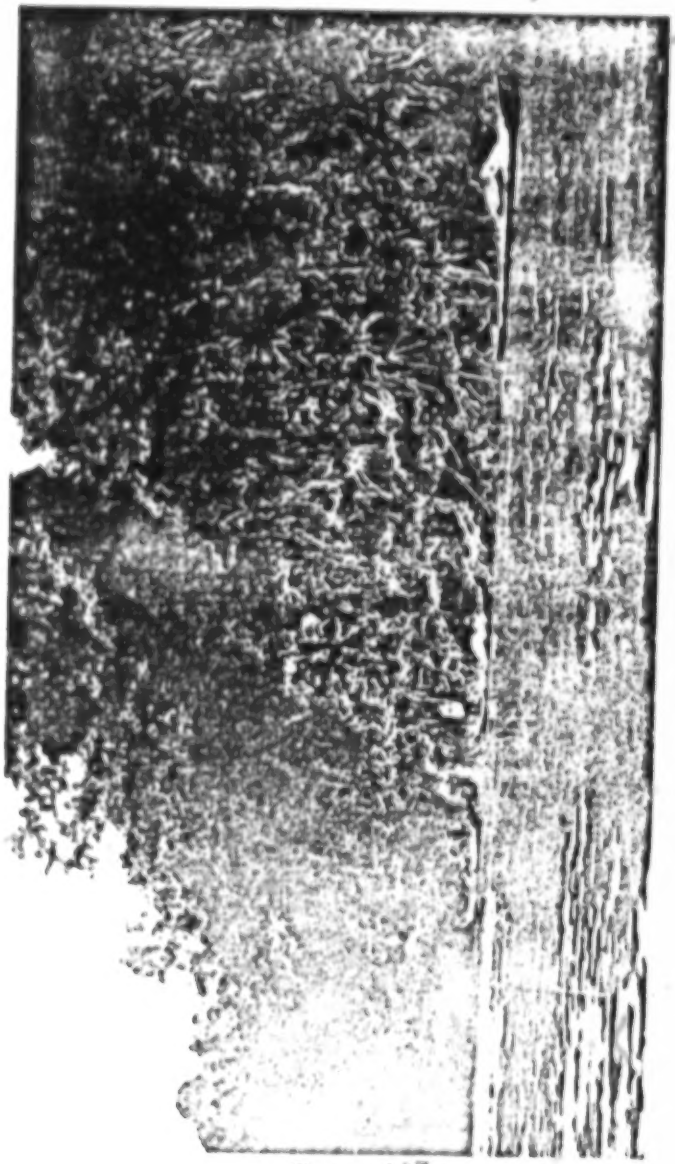
3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the long paddles, and the woman sitting forward is paddling with one of them. From these illustrations may also be gained a good idea of the custom of loading a canoe. While in some regions the Indians and also others using canoes endeavor to place the load fairly well aft in order that the prow will point considerably upward, the Cayapa aim so to load their canoes that the ends will practically balance and the canoe will ride as nearly as possible level in the water. They claim that their canoes ride more easily and swiftly when laden in this manner, and also that if it is necessary to load the canoe in such manner that it is not well balanced, it is better to place the cargo forward rather than aft, since if the stern is too low in the water it impedes progress.

As above mentioned when speaking in general of the sizes and uses of canoes, the one used on long journeys and with a carrying capacity of several people is necessarily of considerable length, while on the other hand the man's special fishing canoe is often not more than ten feet in length and frequently does not exceed twelve or fifteen inches in width. All the canoes shown in pls. LXXVIII-LXXXII are of the large type, or what may be termed family canoes, which range from eighteen to thirty-five feet in length.

Some families go very rarely down to the coast; indeed on the extreme upper waters of the Rio Cayapas and the Rio San Miguel there are a few individuals past middle age who, it is said, have never seen the ocean. Most families, however, go at least once a year, while

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6



CANOEING ON THE RIO CAYAPAS

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BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p.154-(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

bash absorbs the moisture, causing it to soften and ultimately to decay; but if kept in a dry place when not in use, it may be of service indefinitely. Although the walls of one of these calabashes are not more than a sixteenth to an eighth of an inch in thickness, they bear a considerable strain, as when used in bailing canoes. Inasmuch as canoes are always left over night in the river, they often become more or less filled by rain during the night, consequently the need of calabash bailers is very great. On arising in the morning it is the duty of some member of the family, if the day is fair, to go to the river with a mate and bail out all of the canoes, both those of the members of the household and those of visitors.

The advantages of a mate over a pottery or other heavy vessel are apparent: it is easily made, fairly durable, and very light. Its lightness and portability are of special advantage in traveling by canoe, when every pound saved is important; moreover, it will not sink should it be dropped overboard. In fact, advantage is taken of the lightness of the mate in the following interesting manner: Some canoes are very long, and when fully loaded in their center it is impossible for a person in the prow to pass anything, such as food, to one in the stern. Therefore, in event of such need, it is necessary only to place the article in a mate, set the mate in the water, and as the stern of the canoe passes it, it is picked up. To pass any small object, such as a knife, it is usually placed on the blade of one of the long paddles and passed over the cargo. Obviously this could not be done with a round-bottomed mate, especially if it contained liquid.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The mate[1] has still another special use—that of a woman's cap. With it is worn a piece of light-weight black cloth or a double bandana handkerchief, which passes over the head and shoulders and hangs down the back as a protection from the sun. Usually this cap is decorated with incised lines and figures, and occasionally it is used as a drinking-cup in traveling, but it is never put to any of the ordinary uses in which common mates are employed. On long canoe journeys the women usually carry special mates for use as urinals.

By means of two small perforations at each of two opposite points, a hemispherical mate is bound to a long handle to serve as a dipper, especially in the distillation of rum. Such dippers, called sūmbū and ūīkala pī cūīnūnt-sū′mī, are shown in pls. LXIII and LXV.

Further, the bottom of a mate may be perforated to adapt it as a sieve or strainer, called cī′culya, in making green-corn mush and ripe plantain gruel. Attached to a long handle, such a strainer is employed for skimming the froth which rises in boiling cane juice preparatory to fermentation.

The third form of calabash implement is the spoon, called ci′ñ kūtcada, from Spanish cuchara. This implement is always made by cutting narrow sections from the side of an ellipsoidal calabash with the saw-like machete above mentioned. One of these fruits ordinarily provides material for six to eight spoons, varying in length from three or four to as much as fifteen inches. The large spoons are commonly used for stirring food while cooking, and both the large and the small

[1] [i.e, A hemispherical gourd container.---Analyst]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The material of this class next in importance to the rampile is that obtained from the petiole of the hoja blanca, called by the Cayapa fī'ba hakī, signifying, as does the Spanish term, "white leaf." This plant has a long pinnate leaf somewhat similar to that of the banana, but with a long, round, slender, and fairly hard petiole. It derives its name from the fact that the under-surface of the leaf-blade has a thick coating of white bloom. The strips of this material used in basket-making are obtained from the petiole of the leaf in the same manner as are those of the rampile, except that before splitting off the bark it is scraped. This removes a thin, succulent outer coat of light-green, and leaves the inner creamy-white bark which is hard and tough, though very thin. This hoja blanca bark is used chiefly for making small hamper-shape baskets (figs. 15–17) used as receptacles for trinkets, though it is frequently employed in making fans, especially the finer ones. It is much less durable than is the rampile, and for that reason, as also on account of its thinness, it is not adapted to the manufacture of large hampers or of mats.

The blades of the leaves of hoja blanca find a variety of uses, chief among which is as a covering for cargoes of canoes to protect them against rain. The leaves are much tougher than are those of most plants of a similar kind in this region and shed water perfectly. They are used even for repairing leaks in house-thatch, though they are never employed for entirely thatching a permanent building.

Hoja blanca is the only basket material which is ever artificially colored. The strips are stained with red

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

ends of all the elements are cut off in the same manner as was done in making the end with which the mat was begun. 285

Mats of this kind are most frequently used by the Cayapa in the hammocks which serve as cradles. A small mat is placed crosswise in the hammock and holds its edges apart; the baby is then laid upon this mat and swung in the hammock as a cradle. Large mats are occasionally used as beds, but for this purpose bark cloth is preferred. An important use for mats also is as a drying surface upon which to spread cacao. In canoeing, a large mat serves as a canopy or sun covering for small children or for an invalid. If its ends are placed just inside the gunwales of the canoe, bow upward, a mat forms a convenient and very serviceable canopy by virtue of its natural stiffness. An instance of such a use is shown in pl. LXXX. 285 352 [854] [287] [257] 285 501

SPINNING

As was mentioned in speaking of agricultural products, the Cayapa raise considerable quantities of cotton, that is to say, all the cotton needed for weaving the cloth used for their mantas and clouts and for the belts used to hold the mantas in place. No one family raises any considerable number of plants, since a single plant produces almost continuously the year round and aggregates in the course of a year a considerable quantity of bolls. These plants are grown in any convenient place near the house or on the edge of a field of cane or of a grove of chocolate trees. 248

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

531 In the matter of the forms also, the designs fall practically into these general groups, though in certain instances the same design is found in more than one group. Taken as a whole Cayapa designs are largely geometric, the only exceptions being in the carved wooden dolls, in a few calabash designs, and in a considerable number [177] of the designs on soft textiles. Now and then a realistic modern design is found also upon a canoe and in rare instances in a painting upon the human body. This entire statement applies to the frequency of occurrence of the different types of design. If considered, however, from the standpoint of the number of various elemental designs of the realistic class as compared with elemental designs of the strictly geometric class, the former are fully equal to the latter, though the geometric designs are subject to greater variation.

[552] It is remarkable that few names are given designs except in the case of those on soft textiles. In the case of the face, arm, and leg paintings, for instance, no names were obtainable, and they have no symbolic significance. This fact is noteworthy when so large a series of designs is found (pl. XXXIX–LII) and when they are so universally and extensively used. The only exception to this rule is that of the trident-shape design shown in pl. LII, 11. This, however, is strictly modern and was copied directly from the fish-spear.

•501 531 [552] Also in the considerable series of canoe designs shown in pl. LXXII–LXXV, no specific names were given by informants. These are all old-type designs and much preferred by the Cayapa to the modern designs which some paint on canoes made for sale, but never upon those

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

designed for their own use. In every instance these old-type designs are geometric, but the newer ones are usually realistic, depicting mammals, human beings, and other realistic objects.

In carving, the dolls are entirely realistic, as is shown in pl. LXXXIV, and depicting, the dog, alligator, bird, and especially the human form. In the last instance care is usually taken to indicate the sex. In paddle handles, on the other hand, the forms are usually simple and are always geometric, as is shown in pl. LXXVI. They have no special names. Even in the case of the elaborately carved handle shown in fig. 9 of the plate, no name was given for any of the designs. The same holds true of the designs in the face-painting sticks depicted in pl. CXXI–CXXII.

Closely related to ornamental carving are the wooden seats shown in pl. LXXXIII, some of which receive ornamental treatment certainly not demanded by utilitarian considerations. From comparison with similar objects of South and Central America it seems probable that in these seats, especially the forms shown in figs. 2 and 3, there lies a striking connection of the Cayapa culture with that of a number of other tribes in these regions. As has been shown by Professor Saville,[18] the archeological range of these objects is extensive, the most elaborate among them being the large stone seats from Manabi, carved to represent jaguars.

On the surfaces of calabash utensils are found the only incised designs in use among the Cayapa. These are

[18] See page 156, note.

of the population of the Río Cayapas up to Sapallo Grande was Negro. Isolated Negro enclaves are found today as far up as San Miguel. Negroes tend to live in village settlements, some of which are of political and/or economic importance, while the Cayapa live scattered along the river banks. The town of San José, which lies a few miles below the Río Cameronas, is the administrative center for the area. San Antonio, which is located a few miles above Punta Venado, is of considerable commercial importance as it is readily accessible to the small coastal vessels engaged in the banana trade.

The most characteristic feature of the area is its riverine quality, and settlement and movement centers on the rivers for both Indians and Negroes. The large hilly land areas between the rivers are completely uninhabited, and the dense jungle growth makes foot travel exceedingly difficult. Except for short hunting trips or to secure trees for the making of canoes, the jungle or monte is avoided. The river, on the other hand, is open and free. The river scene is seldom a quiet one. People going down stream maneuver their canoes into mid-channel, taking full advantage

of the current. Those going up-stream hug the bank as the pilot digs the tip of his oar blade into the bank, or if the channel is shallow enough, into the bed, and then, placing both hands about ten feet up the oar handle, he shoves back, sending the canoe ahead.

Farm land lies at varying distances back from the river. Each house is backed by a clearing which is used for garden crops or sugar cane. The main farm lands extend back from the river from one to three miles. Flat land is at a premium, and the cultivators work up and down the many hills.

Cayapa Physical Appearance. Although no systematic measurements were made, it was apparent from gross observations that Barrett's (1925:408-445) measurements are still valid. He described the Cayapas as short:

> . . . the men averaging only 155 cm. and the women only 146 cm. The range of individual variation among the men, as also among the women, is 14 cm. Among the men there are at least a few individuals who appeared to be somewhat taller than the maximum here given, but as a tribe the Cayapa must be considered somewhat below average in stature (Barrett 1925:409).

They appear to be mostly brachycephalic. The hair is thick, coarse, black and straight; their skin, light

brown. A few of them are tatooed on the arms and the blue of the ink stands out very clearly. Mongoloid characteristics such as the epicanthric fold, the Mongoloid spot, and high cheekbones are very common, but in contrast to the Mongoloid nose, the Cayapa nose is often bridged. Occasionally one finds individuals with very high-bridged noses of aquiline shape. Their eyes are uniformly dark brown, and the whites are seldom clear but have a brownish tinge that would seem to indicate a high incidence of liver disorders. Most Cayapa, especially the women, seem to be somewhat round-faced. The men, while short, are very well-proportioned and have tremendous strength in their arms and shoulders which probably stems from their technique of canoe handling. As a rule, the women are thick-waisted, the result, perhaps partly at least, of their characteristic canoe handling. They generally paddle in a seated position, using a very short paddle, which requires many rapid short strokes for effective maneuvering, and they necessarily have to lean forward to make efficient use of the short paddle.

Clothing and Adornment. Many men are quite

to maintain a precarious balance. Children from about the ages of nine to thirteen may have small canoes /kabile/ made for them, which may be seven to eight feet in length, and scarcely a foot in width. At these ages boys begin to accompany their fathers into the monte where the canoes are roughed out by axe and adze. They learn to select the proper trees as only those that are tightly cross-grained will not split easily. Occasionally canoes are roughed out at some height above the creek or rivulet that feeds into the main channel and in the process of carefully snubbing them down the boys learn to rig lines. A large canoe, about thirty-five feet long, may require almost a dozen men to bring it into the water from the monte, whereas a small canoe can be brought in by two or three men. Despite the fact that by the time the boys have reached their late teens they have acquired a large measure of skill in handling canoes, their canoes are nevertheless not considered finely finished until they have had several more years of experience.

Paddles: /yámpa/. The oar is roughed out with a machete, and the finer lines are cut with a knife.

The paddle is rubbed down with abrasive leaves called /lʸápis bàki/. In working the blade of the paddle, a longitudinal ridge is left on both surfaces: 322 501 [824]

> Along this line the blade reaches a thickness of about three-quarters of an inch. At each side of these medial lines the blade is hollowed out very much after the fashion of a hollow-ground razor; otherwise its thickness is fairly uniform. The thickness of the blade decreases slightly toward the edge, so that the edge itself at the greatest width of the blade rarely exceeds three-sixteenths of an inch in thickness, and it may be as thin as an eighth of an inch.
>
> The handles or poles of the paddles are ordinarily from an inch to an inch and three quarters in diameter and are almost perfectly cylindrical. They taper slightly from the blade to the upper end, or what may be called the grip. In a woman's paddle this end may be truly called the grip, and it is usually notched in more or less of a fish tail form. . . . In the case of a man's paddle, however, a purely ornamental tip is put on the end, which is almost never touched in paddling (Barrett 1925:149-150).

Benches: /rʷmbúlʸa/. These are small seats measuring from four to eight inches in height and from four to nine inches in width. They are always cut from one piece of wood and often have two supporting surfaces. Barrett reports eight types of which I have seen but three. Most commonly these benches are composed of three flat surfaces, less commonly the seating surface is concave. Barrett should be referred to for details of style and construction (Barrett 1925: 154-157). 322 352

case the leaves are brought to the site by hand. Many times the leaves have to be freighted on the river; for these occasions two canoes are joined by heavy bamboo poles, thus forming a raft, and the leaves are piled on top to a height of four to five feet. Two men then pilot the raft, one from the rear and one from the front. When the site is reached, the raft is tied to a paddle which is thrust into the bank, and the leaves are handed up a human chain composed of five to ten people extending from the raft to the actual house site.

In contrast to the Negro houses Cayapa houses mostly lack walls. Because of this, Cayapa home life is much more open to Negro inspection than is the reverse. In regard to construction, the Cayapa never use wood planking. Negroes, on the other hand, regard wooden planking for the floors and walls as a sign of wealth and try to have at least some planking. The underside of the house for both Negroes and Indians serves as a storage area for the canoes.

When they are off in the bush for several days hunting, or when roughing out a canoe, the Cayapa build

about five or six o'clock. Prior to the velorio, or wake, the people who are not in mourning /pemúla/ bathe and don their make-up and fancy clothing. During this procedure the children race about noisily. While waiting for the proper time to make their entrance, people like to remain in large groups "because the spirit of the deceased is wandering about and may kill anyone who is alone."

In the meantime at the funeral site, a raft has been built to transport the remains to the ceremonial center, and musical instruments have been placed together off at one side of the house. The coffin has been placed near one of the sides of the house, and candles are placed at the head and foot. If the deceased was a man, his oar is broken and placed in the coffin with him. The mouth of the corpse is carefully covered with a piece of colored cloth, and the eyes are closed. Members of the family mourn at the head of the coffin, either singly or in pairs. They mourn in a stereotyped manner, chanting in Cayapa appropriate phrases like "Who will support the family now?" "Who will bring home the food?" "I am all alone

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[515]
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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Few restrictions are placed upon the children, and punishment is very rarely necessary. The children usually play together amicably, and the considerate care given by elder children to their young brothers and sisters is especially noticeable. The agriculture practised by the Cayapa requires a great deal of labor in connection with the various crops, especially plantains, sugar-cane, and cacao. In this cultivation the whole family joins, the children, even when very small, cheerfully doing their share in clearing away the weeds and brush that grow so rapidly in the tropics, and in harvesting the crops.

The children have various amusements, though no games in the ordinary sense of the term. They have several kinds of toys. Musical tops, such as those shown in pl. LXXXV, 2–5, made of gourds and certain large nuts, are much used. Wooden dolls of various mammal, bird, and human forms, such as those shown in pl. LXXXIV, are also much used. They have toy canoes varying from a few inches to several feet in length, and toy paddles for use with them. These canoes and paddles they use a great deal, especially when swimming, which is a very common and healthful amusement among both sexes.

The children are trained to this canoe life from infancy, and one of the first toys of a child is a paddle. At a very early age children are instructed in its use, so that even at the age of five or six years a child can take a small canoe and paddle along the river for short distances.

The children also play with small baskets, fans, mats,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[487] along these rivers—these are used for hunting or for
484 short trips from the rivers. All the permanent habitations are situated along the banks of the rivers, and to pass from one to another of these, as well as for making trips of greater length, the dug-out canoe, called kū'le,
● 502 is used. In fact, the canoe is one of the most prominent features of Cayapa life. Everyone begins in early childhood the training which makes him an expert canoeman, and is perfectly at home in a dug-out, whether it be along the smooth sluggish waters of the lower course of the river, in the rapids of the upper course, or out on the ocean coasting to some nearby point.

396 From the important place the canoe holds in the life
824 of the people, it is natural that much care should be given to its construction and that the art of canoe-making should have reached a high state of perfection. Of the many species of trees in the jungle, only a few produce woods which are hard and tough enough to be suitable for canoe-making. These qualities are found in certain species which have what may be called a criss-cross grain, that is, an interlacing of the wood fibers which makes splitting almost impossible. Though a considerable degree of hardness is required, too great hardness is not desirable. Certain woods, therefore, such as the guayacan, are too hard and heavy to be suitable.

396 Having found a tree of the desired kind, it is felled
[313] with an ax and the canoe is roughly fashioned from a portion of its trunk, as is shown in pl. LXX, and finally this section is cut loose from the remainder of the tree.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

501 be called the grip. In a woman's paddle this end may be truly called the grip, and it is usually notched in more or less of a fish-tail form, shown in pl. LXXVI, 9 to 11. This notch is quite smooth, and is actually gripped by the hand. In the case of the man's paddle, however, a purely ornamental tip is put on the end, which is almost never touched in paddling. A few of the typical forms of these ornamental ends are shown in figs. 1 to 4 and 6 to 8 of the same plate.

[531] Occasionally various simple figures are carved either in relief or in intaglio near the upper ends of the paddles. An illustration of such carving relief is shown in pl. LXXVI, 9. Such ornamentation is seen frequently on women's paddles, but only occasionally on those of the men.

[824] As a finishing touch to paddles and in order to make them perfectly smooth, especially along their handles, they are rubbed down with the under-surface of a dry leaf called lya'pic hakī, which is covered with minute but very hard spines that serve the purpose of sandpaper. A bunch of these palmate leaves is shown in pl. LXXVII.

502 [462] Although on a long journey a woman may act as pilot of the canoe, a man sometimes serves in this capacity while the woman sits forward and paddles, as shown in pl. LXXX. Again, it is customary for the woman to use the short paddle on all occasions, but now and then she may be seen using the man's long paddle. Such an instance is shown in pl. LXXIX, where the pilot of the canoe in the foreground is a woman using one of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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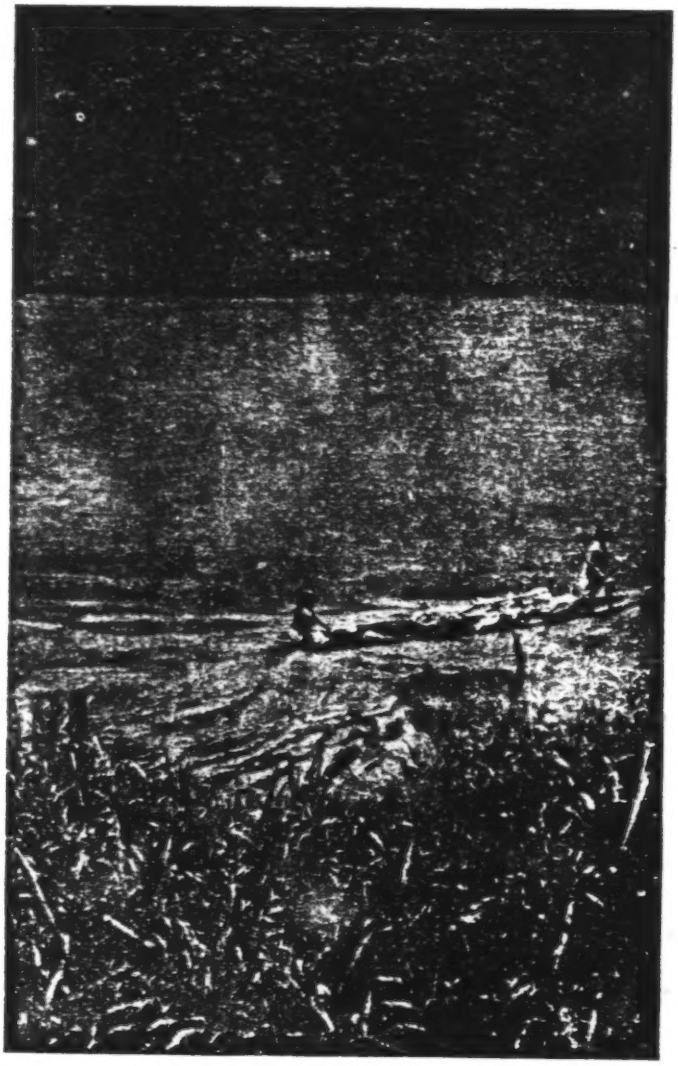

CANOEING ON THE RIO CAYAPAS

[p. 150(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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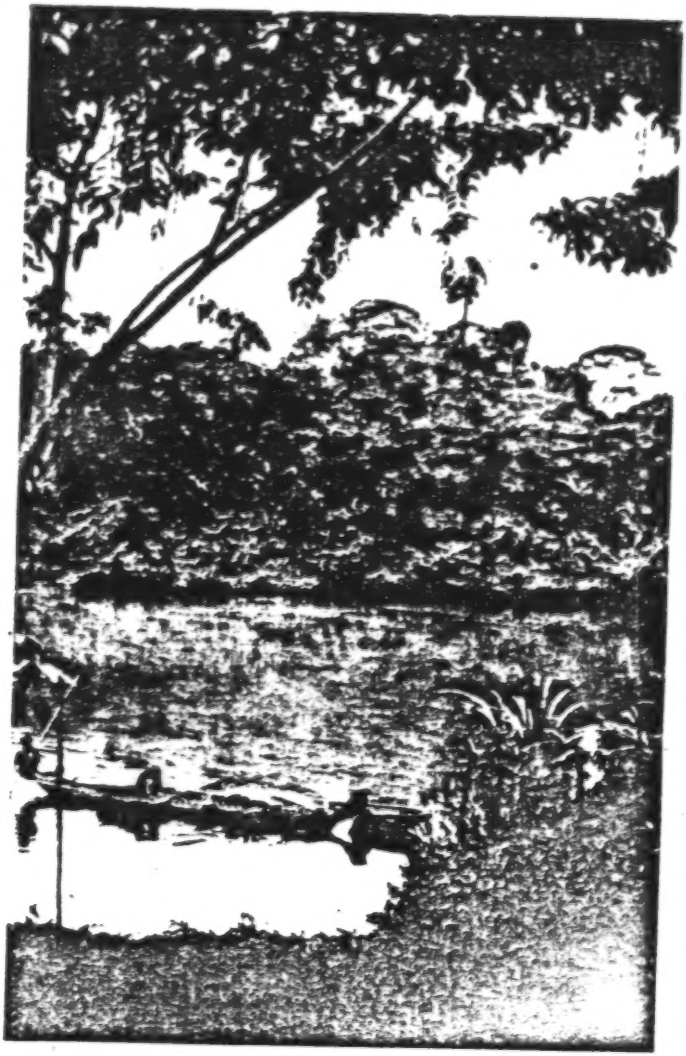
CANOE PILOTED BY A WOMAN
[p.150(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6



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CANOE PILOTED BY A MAN
[p. 150(c)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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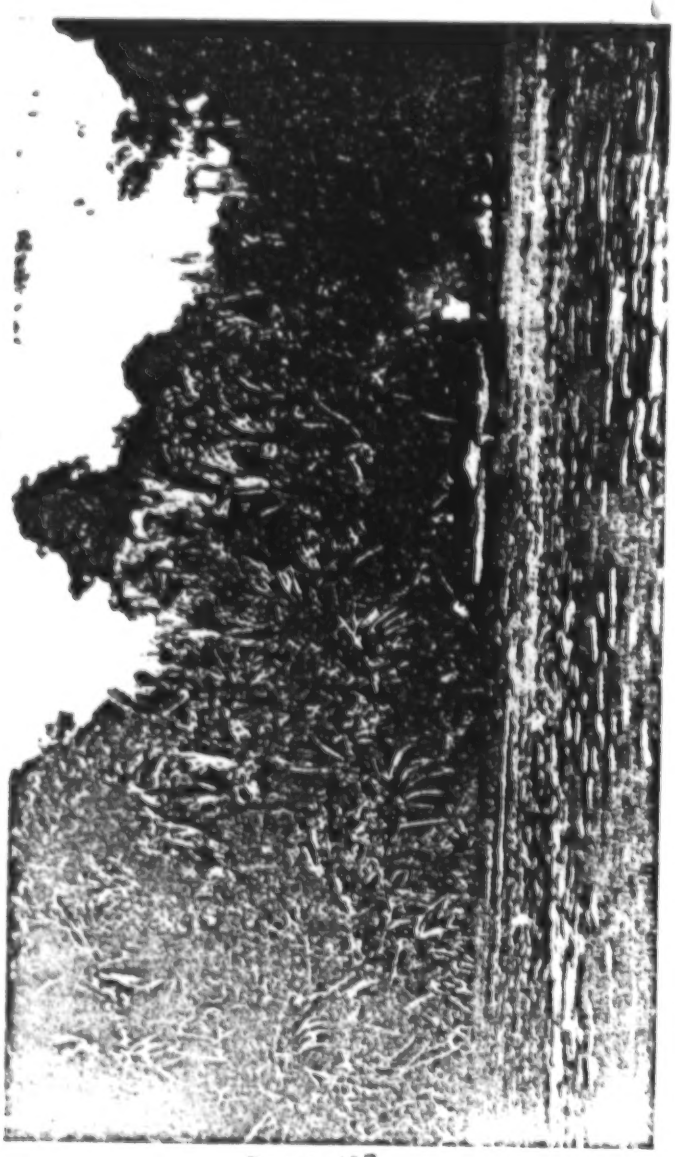
PL. LXXXI



CANOEING ON THE RIO CAYAPAS

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 150 (0)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the long paddles, and the woman sitting forward is paddling with one of them. From these illustrations may also be gained a good idea of the custom of loading a canoe. While in some regions the Indians and also others using canoes endeavor to place the load fairly well aft in order that the prow will point considerably upward, the Cayapa aim so to load their canoes that the ends will practically balance and the canoe will ride as nearly as possible level in the water. They claim that their canoes ride more easily and swiftly when laden in this manner, and also that if it is necessary to load the canoe in such manner that it is not well balanced, it is better to place the cargo forward rather than aft, since if the stern is too low in the water it impedes progress.

As above mentioned when speaking in general of the sizes and uses of canoes, the one used on long journeys and with a carrying capacity of several people is necessarily of considerable length, while on the other hand the man's special fishing canoe is often not more than ten feet in length and frequently does not exceed twelve or fifteen inches in width. All the canoes shown in pls. LXXVIII-LXXXII are of the large type, or what may be termed family canoes, which range from eighteen to thirty-five feet in length.

Some families go very rarely down to the coast; indeed on the extreme upper waters of the Rio Cayapas and the Rio San Miguel there are a few individuals past middle age who, it is said, have never seen the ocean. Most families, however, go at least once a year, while

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

to reach some house for the night. It is immaterial whether the resident is an old acquaintance or a perfect stranger, for the traveler is assured of a welcome.

Under ordinary conditions a journey down-stream with the current is easier and more rapid than one up-stream. However, the effect of the tide retards down-stream travel to some extent, but this is compensated by the aid which it gives while one journeys up-stream. It is in all cases customary to travel with the tide, either up or down stream. When going with the current the middle of the stream is taken, as shown in pl. LXXIX, where a canoe is illustrated going down-stream in the middle of the river; but when necessary to travel against the current, the side of the stream is taken. In the illustration mentioned is shown a second canoe making its way along near the bank and against the current.

For ordinary propelling under all such circumstances the paddle is exclusively used, though a man's paddle with its long handle may be temporarily converted into a pole when shallow water is reached. When a strong current is encountered, as is the case along the upper courses of the streams or when going against a flood, regular poles, such as those already described, are needed to propel the canoe. Every person in the canoe, including the children, carries his own paddle and is expected to use it almost constantly throughout the journey. Ordinarily in the large canoes not more than two poles are carried, and for a moderate current the pole would be used only by the man in the extreme prow, who frequently stands out on its flat surface as shown in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

502 pl. LXXIX, instead of down in the canoe itself. A paddler standing down in the canoe ordinarily bears his whole weight upon one foot, the other foot being placed upon the gunwale and thus serving both to steady him and to counterbalance the tendency of the canoe to list toward the side on which he is paddling. The stroke of the man's paddle is, by virtue of its length, a long, slow sweep, the blade only being immersed. On reaching the end of a stroke, the paddle is swung in an arc out from the canoe over the surface of the water and again dipped gently and without splashing. The stroke of the woman's paddle, on the other hand, is, by virtue of the shortness of its handle, a short and rather jerky stroke, and she ordinarily takes three or four such strokes and then rests for a moment before taking the next three or four. A man, even when sitting and consequently using only a short length of the handle of his paddle, takes regularly timed strokes, and his whole act of paddling is even and rhythmic.

WOODEN IMPLEMENTS

322 Implements and various other objects of wood are made to a considerable extent by the Cayapa. These will be treated here as a class, although it will be necessary to include under this head objects devoted to many different uses.

322 352 Perhaps the most interesting of the various wooden objects used by the Cayapa are the seats or benches called tcūmbū'lya. These are of several different types, as shown in pl. LXXXIII, 2–6, 8. They are usually

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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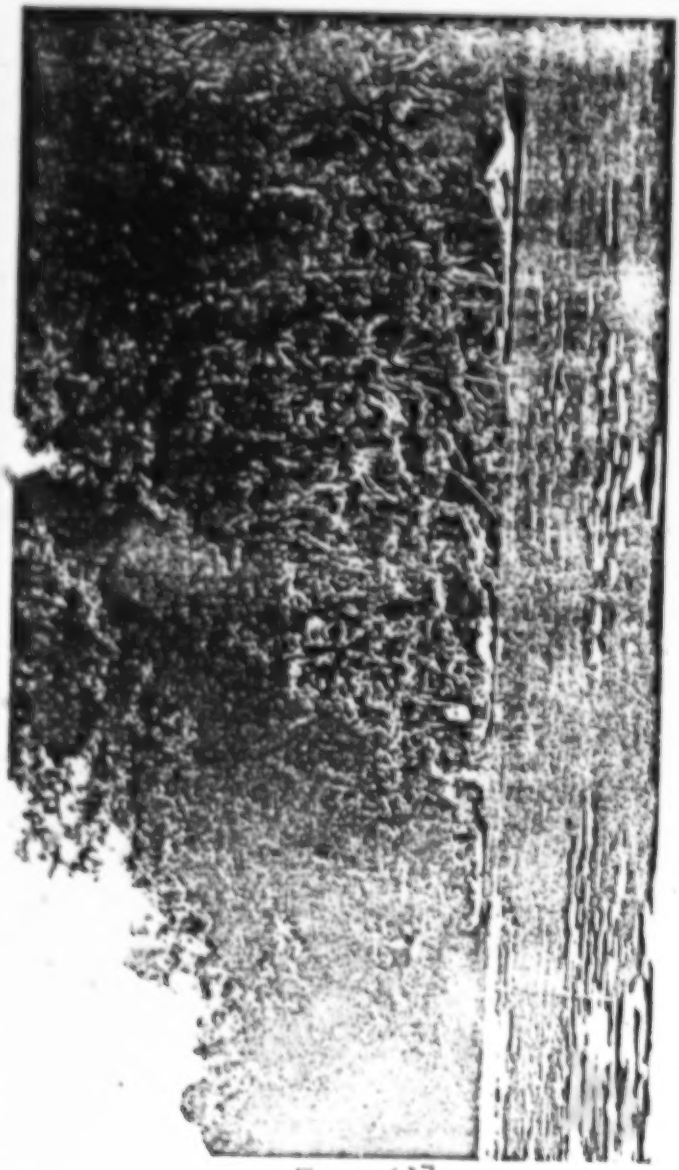

CANOEING ON THE RIO CAYAPAS

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p.154-(A)]

of the population of the Río Cayapas up to Sapallo Grande was Negro. Isolated Negro enclaves are found today as far up as San Miguel. Negroes tend to live in village settlements, some of which are of political and/or economic importance, while the Cayapa live scattered along the river banks. The town of San José, which lies a few miles below the Río Cameronas, is the administrative center for the area. San Antonio, which is located a few miles above Punta Venado, is of considerable commercial importance as it is readily accessible to the small coastal vessels engaged in the banana trade.

The most characteristic feature of the area is its riverine quality, and settlement and movement centers on the rivers for both Indians and Negroes. The large hilly land areas between the rivers are completely uninhabited, and the dense jungle growth makes foot travel exceedingly difficult. Except for short hunting trips or to secure trees for the making of canoes, the jungle or monte is avoided. The river, on the other hand, is open and free. The river scene is seldom a quiet one. People going down stream maneuver their canoes into mid-channel, taking full advantage

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

of the current. Those going up-stream hug the bank as the pilot digs the tip of his oar blade into the bank, or if the channel is shallow enough, into the bed, and then, placing both hands about ten feet up the oar handle, he shoves back, sending the canoe ahead.

Farm land lies at varying distances back from the river. Each house is backed by a clearing which is used for garden crops or sugar cane. The main farm lands extend back from the river from one to three miles. Flat land is at a premium, and the cultivators work up and down the many hills.

Cayapa Physical Appearance. Although no systematic measurements were made, it was apparent from gross observations that Barrett's (1925:408-445) measurements are still valid. He described the Cayapas as short:

> . . . the men averaging only 155 cm. and the women only 146 cm. The range of individual variation among the men, as also among the women, is 14 cm. Among the men there are at least a few individuals who appeared to be somewhat taller than the maximum here given, but as a tribe the Cayapa must be considered somewhat below average in stature (Barrett 1925:409).

They appear to be mostly brachycephalic. The hair is thick, coarse, black and straight; their skin, light

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

bush absorbs the moisture, causing it to soften and ultimately to decay; but if kept in a dry place when not in use, it may be of service indefinitely. Although the walls of one of these calabashes are not more than a sixteenth to an eighth of an inch in thickness, they bear a considerable strain, as when used in bailing canoes. Inasmuch as canoes are always left over night in the river, they often become more or less filled by rain during the night, consequently the need of calabash bailers is very great. On arising in the morning it is the duty of some member of the family, if the day is fair, to go to the river with a mate and bail out all of the canoes, both those of the members of the household and those of visitors.

The advantages of a mate over a pottery or other heavy vessel are apparent: it is easily made, fairly durable, and very light. Its lightness and portability are of special advantage in traveling by canoe, when every pound saved is important; moreover, it will not sink should it be dropped overboard. In fact, advantage is taken of the lightness of the mate in the following interesting manner: Some canoes are very long, and when fully loaded in their center it is impossible for a person in the prow to pass anything, such as food, to one in the stern. Therefore, in event of such need, it is necessary only to place the article in a mate, set the mate in the water, and as the stern of the canoe passes it, it is picked up. To pass any small object, such as a knife, it is usually placed on the blade of one of the long paddles and passed over the cargo. Obviously this could not be done with a round-bottomed mate, especially if it contained liquid.

case the leaves are brought to the site by hand. Many times the leaves have to be freighted on the river; for these occasions two canoes are joined by heavy bamboo poles, thus forming a raft, and the leaves are piled on top to a height of four to five feet. Two men then pilot the raft, one from the rear and one from the front. When the site is reached, the raft is tied to a paddle which is thrust into the bank, and the leaves are handed up a human chain composed of five to ten people extending from the raft to the actual house site.

In contrast to the Negro houses Cayapa houses mostly lack walls. Because of this, Cayapa home life is much more open to Negro inspection than is the reverse. In regard to construction, the Cayapa never use wood planking. Negroes, on the other hand, regard wooden planking for the floors and walls as a sign of wealth and try to have at least some planking. The underside of the house for both Negroes and Indians serves as a storage area for the canoes.

When they are off in the bush for several days hunting, or when roughing out a canoe, the Cayapa build

437 They have sold the new small canoes, tree bark mats
[501 (damajaguas), palm-leaf fans, rubber and rolls of liana (these are
285 used in the construction of bamboo huts to tie up the palm-leaves
283] on the [284] roofs and for some other purposes in lieu of string),
which they have brought from the villages and with the cash they
have earned they now make their small purchases. They have
few wants and do not need much: a few feet of cotton cloth, a
chopping knife, some salt, a small mirror, glass beads, fish hooks,
[411] powder and small shot for the old muzzle-loader which a few of
them may own. This would be all their heart desires. It is little,
even very little, and yet it takes long, even very long, until they
have made their choice and finally decided to buy. First they
talk it over among themselves in their guttural and sonorous lan-
guage and then they start bargaining, and then they count out their
money slowly and cautiously; finally having managed to get the
[462] desired goods, they packed them into the nearly full basket car-
ried by the wife. The women and girls timidly hide behind their
576 menfolk. When spoken to, they do not answer, although they
571 understand sufficient Spanish. Their jealous menfolk have strictly
[191] forbidden them to enter into conversation with men of other races
or tribes. They draw back bashfully. But if the husband is not
present, only the mother or brother, the women become very
loquacious, especially when their tongue has been untied by a
small present - a mirror, necklace or something of the kind. And
they are happy beyond words if you caress their little child, who
looks like a Japanese baby painted brown, and has a friendly smile
even for a stranger. It is amusing to watch the women meeting a
fashionably dressed lady in one of the shops; then they surround
her laughing, amazed and admiring, but they do not appear to be
jealous of the lace dresses worn by European women. The men,
on the other hand, do not honor even the most beautiful and most
elegant white lady with so much as a glance.

142 The Cayapa girls are pretty from the age of 12 to 16 years,
302 their bodies somewhat plump, but still with a beautiful shape.
584 Sometimes young men and women can be seen with red and black
streaks and dots on their faces, chest, arms and legs; this is a
sign that they are engaged.

505 Once their business in town is finished they prepare for the re-
turn journey to their villages. "Adios compadre, adios compadres,"
and chattering and laughing, happy and content, they hurry to
the shore where their canoes are moored. On their way they

505 might hear a piano or phonograph music from somewhere. That they still must quickly take a look at. The entire crowd rushes busily into the house concerned and up the stairs. Their curiosity is soon satisfied and they come down again and now they must be off quickly so as to be able to make use of the tide current. Their
501 unpainted canoes are 8 to 10 meters (Translator--about 8 to 10 yds.) in length and from 70 to 90 centimeters (Translator--2 1/3 to 3 ft.) in width. They are slim and pleasing in shape and have
[531] black colored decorations around the edges. Each one of them accommodates from 5 to 8 persons, close together, with their meager belongings. They paddle along nimbly with their leaf-shaped oars and, while their canoes glide along silently and swiftly, the entire crowd has soon disappeared in the mouth of the
484 Mira River. It will take them two days to reach their hometowns.
648 During the journey they camp in the open over night, somewhere along the shore, in an empty pasture. But they have to be careful. Occasionally they are attacked and robbed there by Negroes, and if they resist, they are murdered in cold blood. Only recently a whole group of them, men, women and children, 14 persons altogether, were most cruelly murdered on the Mira River by some bestial Negroes.

101 [285] However, our friends will now have arrived home safe
342 and sound on the upper Cayapa River. They are greeted from afar
361 by the friendly smoke of their own hearths. Their villages con-
824 sist of a few, widely dispersed bamboo huts of a most primitive type. A few uncut tree trunks have simply been rammed into the earth in a rectangle. The floor is at a height of 3 to 4 meters (Translator--ca. 3 to 4 yds.) and is made of split bamboo. Above this, at an equal distance, is the roof made of coconut (?) palm (Steinnusspalme) leaves. That is the entire structure. Since these houses have no walls, it is obivous that doors and windows are not
417 required either. The trunk of the Ceiba trees, light as a cork,
824 into which a few steps are hewn, serves as stairs. (The Ceiba tree
512 produces the silk-like balsa wool, called "Kapok" on the European market.) These stairs are obliquely leaned on, without being fastened anywhere. A hen-roost can be climbed more easily than one of these Cayapa ladders. In order to be somewhat safe from surprises by unwanted visitors, the ladders are drawn up to the living quarters overnight, and when a family goes on a trip, the ladder is thrown into the river and left to float away. After
322 all it is so simple and easy to fetch another Ceiba trunk from the nearby forest on returning and quickly hack a few step-like cuts into it with a chopping knife.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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HARVEST OF PLANTAINS

[p. 74(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1903-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

securing this end of the cable, since it is necessary to have one end small in order to pass it through the opening in the prow of the canoe or for whatever other purpose it may be used. Ordinarily the cables are not tied about the prow of the canoe, but are simply passed up through the hole in the prow above mentioned, the knot in the cable below the prow holding it securely.

For ordinary purposes of travel and for carrying regular loads the canoe above described is sufficient. If, however, an excessively heavy or bulky and unstable cargo is to be transported, it is necessary to increase the buoyancy or to steady the canoe by means of outriggers, called by the Spanish name balsas, Cayapa na'na. In this region the term *balsa* has four significations. It is primarily a raft or float of any kind, and is the term naturally applied to the rafts of logs or bamboo which the Indians float down the river for sale at the settlements. The same term is applied to the outriggers used on canoes, as also to the tree and its wood from which these are made. This wood is very light, even when green or water-soaked, and when dry it is as light and soft as cork, qualities which make it very useful in numerous ways. The chief uses of balsa wood, however, are due to its buoyancy: it will carry in water much more than its own weight, and it is therefore used in rafting such heavy timber as guayacan. In this process, as many logs of balsa are procured as are necessary to sustain the weight of the guayacan, and these are lashed together into a float, the guayacan timbers being lashed on top of them. The guayacan timbers

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

505 313 are rafted down-stream for use as house-posts, but the balsa logs are also readily sold in the settlements for making outriggers, since they are much used on the imbaburas, or very large canoes, employed to lighter cargoes to and from sea-going vessels.

501 505 Among the Cayapa such outriggers are sometimes used, but ordinarily the Indians travel with a cargo so light that the outrigger is not needed. When, however, it is necessary to increase the carrying capacity of a canoe in this manner, logs of balsa from four to eight inches in diameter are cut the proper length, and their forward ends are brought to a form more or less like that of the prow of the canoe. At the middle of the canoe is bound, by means of the two small holes in the gunwales (mentioned as being used in the hauling of the canoe from the woods to the river), a cross-bar of sufficient length to project far enough on each side of the canoe to permit the binding of these logs to it. In binding the logs to this middle transverse bar a block of wood, three or four inches in thickness, is inserted between the upper surface of the log and the bar, thus forcing the log farther into the water at this point. The forward and after ends of the log are each lashed to a similar small hole in the gunwale near the prow, and the stern respectively, these ends being brought up nearly to a level with the gunwale itself and thus three or four inches higher than the middle of the log. In the case of very large canoes, and especially of the imbaburas above mentioned, sometimes as many as three of these logs, as much as a foot or more in diameter, are lashed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

side by side to each gunwale, thus really converting the canoe into a raft. With canoes of ordinary size, however, one log on each side is sufficient. If more than one log is used on each side, it is necessary, instead of binding the forward and after ends directly to the gunwale of the canoe, to bind them also to transverse bars which pass across the prow and stern in the same manner as above described in lashing them at their middle points.

In pl. LXXVI, 5, is shown a typical new blade of a man's paddle just after completion. A comparatively short time only is required to wear down the sharp point until it has more the appearance of the point of the blade shown in 13 of the same plate. The general contour of the blade shown in this illustration is one rarely seen among the Cayapa, but it is common among the negroes of the region. In fashioning a paddle of either type a pronounced ridge is left down the middle of each surface. Along this line the blade reaches a thickness of about three-quarters of an inch. At each side of these medial lines the blade is hollowed out very much after the fashion of a hollow-ground razor; otherwise its thickness is fairly uniform. The thickness of the blade decreases slightly toward the edge, so that the edge itself at the greatest width of the blade rarely exceeds three-sixteenths of an inch in thickness, and it may be as thin as an eighth of an inch.

The handles or poles of the paddles are ordinarily from an inch to an inch and three-quarters in diameter and are almost perfectly cylindrical. They taper slightly from the blade to the upper end, or what may

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the long paddles, and the woman sitting forward is paddling with one of them. From these illustrations may also be gained a good idea of the custom of loading a canoe. While in some regions the Indians and also others using canoes endeavor to place the load fairly well aft in order that the prow will point considerably upward, the Cayapa aim so to load their canoes that the ends will practically balance and the canoe will ride as nearly as possible level in the water. They claim that their canoes ride more easily and swiftly when laden in this manner, and also that if it is necessary to load the canoe in such manner that it is not well balanced, it is better to place the cargo forward rather than aft, since if the stern is too low in the water it impedes progress.

As above mentioned when speaking in general of the sizes and uses of canoes, the one used on long journeys and with a carrying capacity of several people is necessarily of considerable length, while on the other hand the man's special fishing canoe is often not more than ten feet in length and frequently does not exceed twelve or fifteen inches in width. All the canoes shown in pls. LXXVIII-LXXXII are of the large type, or what may be termed family canoes, which range from eighteen to thirty-five feet in length.

Some families go very rarely down to the coast; indeed on the extreme upper waters of the Rio Cayapas and the Rio San Miguel there are a few individuals past middle age who, it is said, have never seen the ocean. Most families, however, go at least once a year, while

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Most families, however, go at least once a year, while
505 those living on the main Rio Cayapas and its tributaries
484 to the limit of tidewater, which is just above the con-
[439] fluence of the Rio Camarones with the main river, usually go down to the coast several times a year, each time taking with them a load of various commodities such as plantains, tagua, rubber, and cacao, for sale. For such a journey from two to several days are required, and each member of the family must take along his mosquito canopy, his strip of bark cloth which serves as a bed, and other necessary personal articles, while the party must be provided by the women with cooking utensils and food for the journey. Each member is usually bedecked in his best clothing and necklaces, and it is customary also to paint elaborately the exposed parts of the body, as is done on the occasion of a fiesta.

For the protection of the small children, a mat, such as that shown in pl. CVI, 2, is placed with its two ends just inside the gunwales of the canoe so that it bows up in the form of a canopy. Such a protection is shown in pl. LXXX. The cargo of the canoe is always protected from rain with hoja-blanca leaves, or now and then with large plantain or banana leaves. In the Cayapa country, where it rains practically every day, a downpour never hinders one from making a journey. An ordinary rain is met without protection, but if it is very severe one may be well sheltered by holding up a large plantain or banana leaf on the windward side.

505 It is unnecessary to provide a camping outfit in this
484 region, since hospitality is a custom of the country;
574 consequently in making a journey it is necessary only

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

to reach some house for the night. It is immaterial whether the resident is an old acquaintance or a perfect stranger, for the traveler is assured of a welcome.

Under ordinary conditions a journey down-stream with the current is easier and more rapid than one up-stream. However, the effect of the tide retards down-stream travel to some extent, but this is compensated by the aid which it gives while one journeys up-stream. It is in all cases customary to travel with the tide, either up or down stream. When going with the current the middle of the stream is taken, as shown in pl. LXXIX, where a canoe is illustrated going down-stream in the middle of the river; but when necessary to travel against the current, the side of the stream is taken. In the illustration mentioned is shown a second canoe making its way along near the bank and against the current.

For ordinary propelling under all such circumstances the paddle is exclusively used, though a man's paddle with its long handle may be temporarily converted into a pole when shallow water is reached. When a strong current is encountered, as is the case along the upper courses of the streams or when going against a flood, regular poles, such as those already described, are needed to propel the canoe. Every person in the canoe, including the children, carries his own paddle and is expected to use it almost constantly throughout the journey. Ordinarily in the large canoes not more than two poles are carried, and for a moderate current the pole would be used only by the man in the extreme prow, who frequently stands out on its flat surface as shown in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

142 An interesting example of the possible differences in
484 skin color is shown, however, when any of the Indians journey to the coast, and especially if they voyage a considerable distance at sea, which they frequently do when some of them have occasion to visit Tumaco or Esmeraldas. On such occasions they take their canoes
[505] out to sea and paddle, skirting the shore-line for a considerable number of miles. The trip from Limones to Esmeraldas necessitates a journey of about fifty miles on the open sea, and ordinarily requires at least a week.
[292] For such trips the Cayapa usually dress specially, in that they put on extra necklaces, neckbands, and wristbands, and otherwise ornament themselves for the occasion. Their tight-fitting neckbands and wristbands are never taken off while they are away from home, consequently the portions of the skin covered by them are protected from the influence of the elements. When they return home, however, this finery is usually taken off. The
142 contrast between the covered portions of skin and the exposed parts is striking, even though the intervals of sunshine along the coast are practically as infrequent as along the river. The sea breeze has a marked tanning effect, consequently the traveler returns home almost as brown as many of our North American Indians who are subjected to sun and wind during much of the year. The covered portions of the skin, however, remain the same color as when the Cayapa leaves home, and it is therefore possible to contrast the natural color with the tan. No color charts were available for purposes of comparison and exact record, but the differences between these two tints are considerable and show the natural color of the Cayapa, as previously mentioned, to be

505 might hear a piano or phonograph music from somewhere. That they still must quickly take a look at. The entire crowd rushes busily into the house concerned and up the stairs. Their curiosity is soon satisfied and they come down again and now they must be off quickly so as to be able to make use of the tide current. Their
501 unpainted canoes are 8 to 10 meters (Translator--about 8 to 10 yds.) in length and from 70 to 90 centimeters (Translator--2 1/3 to 3 ft.) in width. They are slim and pleasing in shape and have
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484 Mira River. It will take them two days to reach their hometowns.
648 During the journey they camp in the open over night, somewhere along the shore, in an empty pasture. But they have to be careful. Occasionally they are attacked and robbed there by Negroes, and if they resist, they are murdered in cold blood. Only recently a whole group of them, men, women and children, 14 persons altogether, were most cruelly murdered on the Mira River by some bestial Negroes.

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342 and sound on the upper Cayapa River. They are greeted from afar
361 by the friendly smoke of their own hearths. Their villages con-
824 sist of a few, widely dispersed bamboo huts of a most primitive type. A few uncut tree trunks have simply been rammed into the earth in a rectangle. The floor is at a height of 3 to 4 meters (Translator--ca. 3 to 4 yds.) and is made of split bamboo. Above this, at an equal distance, is the roof made of coconut (?) palm (Steinnusspalme) leaves. That is the entire structure. Since these houses have no walls, it is obivous that doors and windows are not
417 required either. The trunk of the Ceiba trees, light as a cork,
824 into which a few steps are hewn, serves as stairs. (The Ceiba tree
● 512 produces the silk-like balsa wool, called "Kapok" on the European market.) These stairs are obliquely leaned on, without being fastened anywhere. A hen-roost can be climbed more easily than one of these Cayapa ladders. In order to be somewhat safe from surprises by unwanted visitors, the ladders are drawn up to the living quarters overnight, and when a family goes on a trip, the ladder is thrown into the river and left to float away. After
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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

neighbor, though occasionally two or three houses may be within sight of one another along the river. In no case, however, is there an approach to communal life, each family forming an individual unit with family property-rights. There is, to be sure, a central government, the head of which is an hereditary chief, or *gobernador*, as he is at present called after the Spanish fashion. The purposes of this central government are strictly those of preserving law and order, settling controversies between individuals, and punishing infringements upon recognized social customs. In no case is there any interference by the central government with property or other recognized family rights and privileges.

A family, as the term is here used, consists of husband, wife, children, and dependents. By dependent is meant not necessarily one who is supported by the others, but one not having a house and a family of his own and who may choose to reside with some family, usually a closely related one. These dependents are usually newly-married sons or daughters, or are parents, grandparents, or other relatives of the head of the house or of his wife.

The daily life of the Cayapa is a busy routine for all members of the household, especially the women. In addition to the cooking, keeping the house in order, and attending to the wants of the smaller children, the mother of the household is kept busy spinning, weaving cloth, and making baskets, mats, fans, and pots, to say nothing of the work she does in the care of the crops and the gathering of the wild foods.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

At an early age the girls are instructed in household duties of all kinds, and often begin to spin and weave, as well as to make pottery, basketry, and other articles, at the age of five or six years. They also take a hand in agriculture when very small. As they grow older and become more proficient in these various arts, they enter more and more into the regular daily work of the home, until they finally marry, which they usually do at an early age, often at about seventeen or eighteen years.

The daily life of the men is also a busy one. They do their share of the work in the fields, besides being industrious hunters and fishermen. They are expert woodworkers, making very excellent canoes, paddles, benches, images used as toys by children, musical instruments, certain cooking utensils, and various other objects of wood. They make and tend the fish corrals as well as set the seines when the water is in a favorable condition to divert fish to certain places. In addition to trapping and netting fish, they also do much fishing with hook and line. They hunt a great deal and procure a very important part of the food supply in that way, for the jungle abounds in many kinds of game. When about the house, they are, like the women, almost always busy at something, as adzing a canoe, weaving a net, or doing some one of the many kinds of work which fall to the man's lot in the Cayapa division of labor. Since the introduction of needles and thread among the Cayapa, the men have taken up sewing and have become very efficient tailors for their simple needs.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

462 The women do all the spinning and weaving of cloth,
512 but the men sew all garments, not only for themselves
294 but also for the small boys who have not yet learned to
[291] sew. This is due largely no doubt to the fact that the single garment worn by the women requires no sewing whatever, while the two garments worn by the men must be sewn.

868 At a very early age boys begin to learn the arts practised by their elders, hence they are instructed in hunting, fishing, woodworking, and similar useful accomplishments of the men.

512 It is customary among the Cayapa to arise at dawn, usually between five and five-thirty o'clock, and to retire as soon as darkness comes, or between six-thirty and seven o'clock. These hours vary little throughout the year, owing to the proximity of the equator.

[527] The daily routine is usually about the same throughout the year, varying in event of a fiesta, or boda, which brings the people together at a particular village, from which, after some days of festivities, they return home.
[484] Another diversion is going down the river to the settlements. Sometimes this trip is made almost purely for
[439] pleasure and to obtain oysters and other sea foods, but more often these pleasure trips are combined with the selling of tagua, cacao, rubber, or plantains, and occasionally logs for lumber.

593 One of the most characteristic features of the daily life of the Cayapa is the devotion of the members of a family toward one another, especially that of parents toward their children. Few restrictions are placed

352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
412 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cook-
ing utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunt-
622 ing and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who
rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
796 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes
sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not
interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful
Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

584 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
583 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father
turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the
young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible,
consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They
will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price
for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from
what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted
with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
[411] family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows,
i.e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to
kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting
feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take
place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who
will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but
also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these.
It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to
undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique
will administer a hundred blows (well-counted on fingers and toes)
with the ship. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but
bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his
teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the
test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
[273] can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will
be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato
(corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
[415] ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

287 imprint of the maul (fig. 6) with which it was beaten as numerous sets of short parallel lines, all at an angle of about forty-five degrees with the perpendicular. Bark cloth is never decorated in any way and is strictly utilitarian. It serves almost exclusively as a sleeping [352 ●513] mat, and constitutes, together with a mosquito canopy and a thin cotton sheet used as a cover, all that is considered necessary for a bed. It is used occasionally for wrapping a dismantled loom or for some other special purpose.

The beating of the cloth must be done very carefully in order not to cut or tear apart the fibers, thus making holes in the cloth which render it practically worthless. The fibers naturally criss-cross and interlace in such a manner that when the beating is carefully done the result is a cloth which, while very thin, is at the same time very firm. If for any reason, however, a hole does appear in the cloth during the process of beating, it may be mended by simply placing over it a piece of bark of sufficient size to somewhat more than cover it and beating this in. The beating mixes the fibers of the patch with those of the main fabric in such manner as to make the patch almost as firm as the cloth itself.

415 At the present time some of the most characteristic utensils of the Cayapa are made from calabashes. They 177 claim that in their former life in the mountains these utensils were of pottery and that the calabash came into use among them only after their arrival on the Rio Cayapas. It is said also that there was originally a calabash tree native to this region, but that the two

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the last. The grandmother will often remain behind taking care of the young children while the parents are out working. She may punish the children either by admonition or by slapping them. Generally, there seems to be more roughhouse behavior among the children of the household when the grandparent(s) are present than when are just the parents.

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When the in-laws and/or other relatives are resident in the house the same atmosphere tends to prevail. Each nuclear family occupies a section of the house. Sometimes a cubicle is built for sleeping and storing purposes. Meals are prepared separately and consumed individually. No one eats together as a group. The men are served first. One may be in a hammock, another seated on a bench, yet another may be standing off by himself at the front of the house watching the river. They eat where they are. The women and children eat after the men have eaten. They tend to form more of a group because of the proximity of the cooking area and they converse more together while they are eating than the men do.

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Newcomers to the household group such as a new son or daughter-in-law, tend to be shy and quiet. In

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The mate[1] has still another special use—that of a woman's cap. With it is worn a piece of light-weight black cloth or a double bandana handkerchief, which passes over the head and shoulders and hangs down the back as a protection from the sun. Usually this cap is decorated with incised lines and figures, and occasionally it is used as a drinking-cup in traveling, but it is never put to any of the ordinary uses in which common mates are employed. On long canoe journeys the women usually carry special mates for use as urinals.

By means of two small perforations at each of two opposite points, a hemispherical mate is bound to a long handle to serve as a dipper, especially in the distillation of rum. Such dippers, called sūmbū and ūīkala pī cūīnūnt-sū′mī, are shown in pls. LXIII and LXV.

Further, the bottom of a mate may be perforated to adapt it as a sieve or strainer, called cī′culya, in making green-corn mush and ripe plantain gruel. Attached to a long handle, such a strainer is employed for skimming the froth which rises in boiling cane juice preparatory to fermentation.

The third form of calabash implement is the spoon, called ci′ñ kūtcada, from Spanish cuchara. This implement is always made by cutting narrow sections from the side of an ellipsoidal calabash with the saw-like machete above mentioned. One of these fruits ordinarily provides material for six to eight spoons, varying in length from three or four to as much as fifteen inches. The large spoons are commonly used for stirring food while cooking, and both the large and the small

[1] [i.e, A hemispherical gourd container.---Analyst]

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is favored. In these cases, it is always the rear of the house that is raised about four or five inches. The rear of the house is the cooking area, and it is here that the firebox is located. A common size for the firebox is four feet by five feet and it is packed with earth to a depth of four to six inches. Three rocks form a pot holder within which a fire is contained. There will generally be one such rock hearth for each related family resident in the house. Behind the kitchen area a bamboo ramp about three feet wide and twenty feet long serves the boys and men as a urinal; a hole about three feet out from the house serves the girls, women and infants.

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The gabled roof is pitched at about a forty-five degree angle and is framed by long single lengths of bamboo. The thatch consists of the long leaves of the Tagua palm which may reach a length of fourteen to sixteen feet. From the midrib of the leaf, a series of leaflets extend out for approximately three feet. Two or three months before roofing, the leaves are cut down and collected in the Tagua patch and placed on a low bamboo rack for drying. Sometimes the Tagua patch is a considerable distance behind the house, in which

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> had defecated while nursing and the mother reacted explosively. She shouted at the infant, forcibly removed it from the breast, held it at arms length and shook it back and forth, screaming that the child was bad. Not a sound escaped from the infant, as its head bobbed back and forth. As the mother regained her composure and began to clean the child, it began to howl. In a few minutes it was cleaned . . . she now gave the breast to the infant, which it seized with a frantic intensity . . . (Altschuler 1960: field notes).

Many Cayapa women are undoubtedly fairly matter-of-fact about their infants' excretions but, without being able to count cases, my impression is that the general attitude toward uncontrolled elimination is in the direction of the cited example; that is, the mother or surrogate, when required to clean the child, displays decidedly negative feelings (if only in postural stance) that are clearly communicated to the infant. Every Cayapa house has a causeway about five feet above the ground, which is about three feet wide and perhaps thirty to forty feet long, that runs from the cooking area in the rear out into the semicleared area behind. Adult males and boys walk out to edge of the causeway to urinate. A small hole, placed not very far from the house, is used by the women and girls. Adults and toilet-trained

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children, after about the age of six, defecate in the river or in the monte behind the house. As soon as an infant is able to sit, he is placed over the women's and girl's urination hole to defecate. He is not permitted to return to the comfort of the house until he has done so. The weather may be somewhat inclement, it may be dark, the child may howl and scream, he may decide to withhold his feces in defiance of parental command, but no leniency is shown. He must sit out on the causeway, alone, miserable, afraid or defiant, and only after he defecates, is he removed and brought into the house where he may be rewarded with the breast. By the time the child is two years old, he is trained, or perhaps, a better word, broken. Understandably, most Cayapa show an extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces. One day four young boys, ranging in age from about ten to fourteen, came to visit just as my infant son defecated. The boys stopped in their tracks and one, pointing to the mess on the floor, shouted, "/pe/" 'feces,' whereupon they fled.

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If no new sibling has arrived, the Cayapa infant is permitted to nurse at the breast for about three years.

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142 Their bodies are clean, and I have never seen a Cayapa who had a
[515] rash or boils, and only few who had scars. Their hair is thick, bristly
[300] and dull black in color; the beardless men wear it semi-long to the nape of the neck, while the women let it hang loose and open so that it not only covers their backs and ears, but in part even their fore-
291 heads and cheeks. Their clothes are extremely modest. The men wear a sleeveless, shirt-like, loose gown, which usually reaches to the hips only, but is sometimes longer, reaching to the knees, in which case it seems to be the holiday attire, and it looks richer having a border of differently colored cloth. These clothes are made of thin, very bright and cheap cotton materials. On special occasions
292 they even dress in gala clothes, which differ from their every-day
531 clothes in that they are decorated with straight lines or zig-zag de-
301 signs of shells. In addition they may deck themselves out in their
177 most precious ornaments consisting of two to ten long necklaces made of multi-colored glass beads as well as (at least from their point of view) especially beautiful neck and arm ornaments consisting of the cardboards 6 cm. wide so well known to all of us, with a whole gross of ordinary porcelain shirt-buttons on each just as they were delivered by the European manufacturers. But even among them there are
292 dandies and fashion hounds, who manage to pick up a useless old
177 black waistcoat somewhere, which they then decorate with a lot of white shells and buttons, wearing it as a sort of open vest over their red or blue shirts. But imagine the happiness of the young man who in addition to this splendor, has managed to acquire a stiff round felt hat. No matter how shabby, battered, greasy and much too small it may be on his fat pate with the thick mop of hair, he is proud of his elegance and would not change places even with the governor. The
622 Gobernador de los Cayapas (Governor of the Cayapas) is one of their
177 chiefs, of which each village or district has one—yes of course—he
292 is a great gentleman—he can afford it—he not only wears a shell
301 bedecked waistcoat over his red cotton shirt, but over it still another long, black morning-coat, which he has bought from or been given by Don So-and-so, because it had become too tight, unfashionable or shabby for the latter. And around his neck and wrists he wears especially wide cardboards with buttons in proportion to his dignity. Naturally it would be considered unseemly for a governor to come to town without suitable head-gear, even if it be only a self-made straw panama hat for lack of a black felt hat. But even he does not wear
[293] trousers or shoes, which are considered superfluous and burdensome; instead he carries in his right hand a wooden stick five feet long with a silver knob as a symbol of his position and power.

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[415] they are by bringing along "Mates" and "Calabazas," i.e. bowls and pitchers made of the rind of pumpkin-like fruit, into which they put the greatest part of the food and drink offered in order to carry them home. Only when everybody has eaten until he is ready to burst and the majority are rather drunk, the wedding draws to a close. The young couple is finally left alone and may go to their hut. But before the couple are allowed to enjoy their love to the full, they must pass through a long cruel (because it is continent) trial period. They live and sleep together under their
[286] common mosquito-net made of cotton with red flowers, but not as husband and wife, but as brother and sister, and they are not allowed to touch each other for an entire year. They must remain pious, chaste and abstemious, no matter how difficult it may be for them. The purpose is to steel the virtue of abstemiousness and the strength of will. Only when this period of fasting and trial is over, may they succumb to the ecstasies of love. Woe to those
684 who cannot withstand and secretely attempt to taste of the forbidden fruit before the end of the trial year—if discovered they pay for their crime with their lives or have to seek refuge immediately in another territory which cannot be reached by the punishing arm of their strict rulers. Only once I had occasion to watch how a fiancé, who was violently in love, gingerly and furtively with trembling hands touched the arm and naked breast of his betrothed.

302 During this year of betrothal they use red and black plant juices
584 to paint their faces, chests, arms and legs with streaks and dots. This custom corresponds to our engagement announcements and wedding rings.

846 Immediately after the birth of a baby, the young mother gets
● [515] up from her bed, goes to the river and bathes. Bathing in the river is one of the Cayapas' passions. Each and everyone of them take at least two or even three baths per day. The young mother has barely left her child when the grandmother cleans it up a bit, puts it down again; and then the father lies down with it, staying in bed with the child from three to five weeks, letting his wife nurse him, just as though he were the woman in child-bed, who had gone through the pains of childbirth and was in need of recuperating and nursing care. The young mother, on the other hand, does her usual work already an hour after delivery, attending to her daily chores as though nothing had happened. This strange custom is connected with their religious concepts and their fear of evil spirits

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had never been teased in this manner before, and his eyes flashed pure hatred for the woman as he leaned forward, glaring at her. All laughter ceased; everyone gazed fascinatedly at the child. Shortly, the woman offered the candy again, and as it was taken, she jerked her arm back violently as if it had been burned. Clearly, a Cayapa child would never react in this manner; he would have remained passive. The group broke up shortly after this; the event doubtlessly became the subject of much conversation. Frank remained extremely popular with both Indians and Negroes, and passersby on the river before our house would call out his name. When the writer visited, I was asked to bring him along, and, he was never teased again.

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By the age of three years, children are clothed in miniature replicas of their parents' clothing. Genital shame is marked by the age of five or six years. Bathing men and boys convulsively grasp their genitals as they enter the water; on the other hand, women and girls merely wade into the water and remove their skirts when they are waist deep in the river. Bathing is frequent, and swimming is considered to be a great sport by the children.

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about five or six o'clock. Prior to the velorio, or wake, the people who are not in mourning /pemúla/ bathe and don their make-up and fancy clothing. During this procedure the children race about noisily. While waiting for the proper time to make their entrance, people like to remain in large groups "because the spirit of the deceased is wandering about and may kill anyone who is alone."

In the meantime at the funeral site, a raft has been built to transport the remains to the ceremonial center, and musical instruments have been placed together off at one side of the house. The coffin has been placed near one of the sides of the house, and candles are placed at the head and foot. If the deceased was a man, his oar is broken and placed in the coffin with him. The mouth of the corpse is carefully covered with a piece of colored cloth, and the eyes are closed. Members of the family mourn at the head of the coffin, either singly or in pairs. They mourn in a stereotyped manner, chanting in Cayapa appropriate phrases like "Who will support the family now?" "Who will bring home the food?" "I am all alone

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The wooden seat shown in pl. LXXXIII, 3, is in all essentials the same as that shown in fig. 2 of the same plate, except that the broad support of the two narrow strips at the bottom is not present. The bottom of this seat, like those of the seats shown in figs. 4 and 5, is made by cutting out a transverse section from the middle of the block so that the two supporting surfaces are sections which run transversely to the grain of the wood. In the seat shown in fig. 2, on the other hand, the center is cut out in the opposite direction, that is, with the grain of the wood. Neither of these types of seat with the concave surface is very commonly used.

These wooden seats are found in almost every Cayapa house, although they are not used so frequently as might be expected. Ordinarily if a man wishes to sit down he uses the hammock, which serves primarily as a baby cradle. It is so swung that its ends are not more than ten to twelve feet apart, and he is able to sit almost erect and lean back against the end. Also the raised platforms at the sides of the house serve as seats. The women and children usually sit upon the floor, although occasionally a bench may be used by one of them, especially by a woman who wishes to spin. In large measure, however, such seats are used by visitors or by the men of the house when it is necessary to sit at some particular kind of work, such as sharpening machetes, adzing and planing paddles, and the like.

A wooden device similar in form to these seats is the base upon which the whetstone used for sharpening

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 would cause an unevenness at the edge of the textile, or, what would be worse, a series of these might cause a puckering or a gaping at some point in the textile body. The batten is then withdrawn and the warp elements are crossed above this new weft element, and are set in their proper positions by means of the devices *e*, *i*, *j*, and *f*, as above described, after which the batten is again inserted and brought down edgewise with its forceful blows to drive firmly the new crossing of the warp elements down upon the newly inserted weft.

From the above description it will be seen that the patterns of Cayapa soft textiles are formed entirely by the warp elements, the weft being almost entirely invisible in the properly made cloth.

There is but this one cloth technic among the Cayapa, the only approximation to a variation of this being in those designs where a diagonal line is desired, in which case there is an arrangement of the elements that approximates twilling.

As before stated, the loom is so arranged that its lowest part is not more than four or five inches above the floor, and it is upon the lower portion of the loom that the [516] weaving itself is done. The weaver sits, tailor fashion, upon a piece of bark cloth only, or sometimes upon a very low stool, and weaves a section of cloth eight or ten inches in height, after which the lashings of the rod *k* are loosened so that the work may be slipped around as would an ordinary band upon the two transverse bars *c* and *d*, thus bringing the last line of the work down almost to the bar *d* again. Keeping the work low in this manner has a double advantage: it is easier to

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house as he. The fact that they were closely related was not brought up at all, and the adulterous relationship seems to have been uppermost in mind. His wife was the woman who had beat the adulteress. No one seems to have brought forth a specific charge; rather, the state of affairs seemed to have been known to all, and in fact, the adulterous pair knew that they would be punished during the fiesta. The /ún^{y}i/ stated that they would both have to be punished, that the man should receive ten lashes and the woman fifty. The woman had obviously prepared for this as she was well wrapped in several layers of heavy ceremonial skirts. She was taken next door to the main dwelling where she assumed the position for receiving the blows by bending forward slightly at the waist. The blows were applied heavily by one of the officials in full view of all the interested by-standers. After her punishment the woman left and sat alone in one of the cubicles on the other side of the house, the area used for sleeping. She remained there alone all day long. Eventually the man was brought into the main dwelling. There was a good deal of joking and laughter among him and the other officials. He

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marriage, and she accepted. Lorenzo claimed that he never consulted the girl's mother [her father was dead], as he was ashamed and afraid of her. Because Lorenzo's parents were dead, he moved into his mother-in-law's house. After several years the young couple was married by the Catholic priest in Punta Venado.

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After the death of his first wife, Lorenzo lived in his mother-in-law's house for about five years. He stated that after his wife died, her mother told him that he was no longer her son-in-law. Thereafter, apparently she either did not prepare his food or did not do so properly. Lorenzo says that he did not argue with her but continued living there for five years, nevertheless!

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One night Lorenzo attended a party given at the home of Antonio Largo. He saw his present wife there for the first time and was immediately attracted to her. While the men and women are somewhat separated at fiestas, the women serve the men guarapo /wápu/, a fermented sugar cane drink, and at these times some conversation may be had. Lorenzo told her that he wanted her to come away with him "immediately."

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2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

Death.—Death is not considered to be a natural phenomenon but is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body. A dead man's soul hovers around his house, which is usually abandoned, though it may be dismantled and sold. The corpse is buried in a coffin in a Catholic-style cemetery near the church. The dead man's possessions are usually given away, but it is not known who inherits his fields and clearings.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The great range of designs used by the *Cayapa* in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (fajas).

Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

Canoe paddles and wooden seats are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

Music and dancing.—Holidays, weddings, and other feasts are accompanied by much dancing and drinking. As elsewhere along the coast, the European marimba is widely used, as are panpipes, flutes, drums, and rattles. In recent years the Highland San Juan dance has been gaining in popularity. Also of immediate Highland provenience may be the small European wooden harp with palm-fiber strings.

Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. Guarapo, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

RELIGION

Native *Cayapa* religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are told for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

few restrictions are placed
upon the children, and punishment is very rarely necessary. The children usually play together amicably, and the considerate care given by elder children to their young brothers and sisters is especially noticeable. The agriculture practised by the Cayapa requires a great deal of labor in connection with the various crops, especially plantains, sugar-cane, and cacao. In this cultivation the whole family joins, the children, even when very small, cheerfully doing their share in clearing away the weeds and brush that grow so rapidly in the tropics, and in harvesting the crops.

The children have various amusements, though no games in the ordinary sense of the term. They have several kinds of toys. Musical tops, such as those shown in pl. LXXXV, 2–5, made of gourds and certain large nuts, are much used. Wooden dolls of various mammal, bird, and human forms, such as those shown in pl. LXXXIV, are also much used. They have toy canoes varying from a few inches to several feet in length, and toy paddles for use with them. These canoes and paddles they use a great deal, especially when swimming, which is a very common and healthful amusement among both sexes.

The children are trained to this canoe life from infancy, and one of the first toys of a child is a paddle. At a very early age children are instructed in its use, so that even at the age of five or six years a child can take a small canoe and paddle along the river for short distances.

The children also play with small baskets, fans, mats,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

524 857 pots, and wooden and stone implements, made by themselves or by their elders especially for them. They construct play-houses after the fashion of dwellings, and often make small fish corrals like those used by their elders. The boys also make toy fish-nets and gigs, and still use the blow-gun as a plaything, although this old type of hunting weapon is now rarely used by the men.

The nearest approach to a game among the Cayapa, either among the children or among the older people, is that which the boys play with their musical tops, although this is not at all a game of chance. The floors of the Cayapa houses, being made of undressed palm-wood, are always too rough for the spinning of tops, and the ground is always too wet. Therefore, to provide a spinning surface, a large mat is spread upon the floor, or a manta or other piece of cloth is stretched tightly over the legs of a boy seated flat upon the floor. Then he, with usually another boy, spins the tops in opposition one to another, the point of the play being to see what top can knock the other from the spinning surface. There is no scoring in this amusement, and the whole pleasure of it is derived from the spinning of the tops and especially from watching them collide with one another. Often two boys are able to keep four or five tops spinning at the same time, so that their collisions create a lively scene and furnish much pleasure to the onlookers as well as to those engaged in the spinning. The spinning is usually done with the hands alone, although sometimes, if a very rapid

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

motion is desired, a string with a grip is used. Occasionally a girl may be seen spinning a top, but it is primarily an amusement of the boys.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Buildings

The buildings of the Cayapa may be divided into four classes: the dwelling or regular abode, the rancho or temporary structure, the cane-mill and distillery, and the church, this last, of course, being of modern introduction. All these buildings, except the church, which is at ground level, are pile structures and are constructed according to a single general plan.

In pls. I-IV are shown typical dwellings. They are always rectangular in ground-plan (pl. XI), and vary in size according to the number of occupants, some reaching large dimensions. The dwelling of which the above-mentioned ground-plan is presented is 87 feet in extreme length and 41 feet in width. Dwellings are almost invariably situated along the river bank, and each is flanked by fields of sugar-cane, plantains, bananas, cacao, pineapples, and other crops. The dwellings are raised four to twelve feet from the ground, and access is gained by means of ladders such as those illustrated in fig. 1, especially those of the types shown in *a* and *d*.

The houses are fairly simple in construction. The framework consists of a number of heavy squared posts of a hard black wood called by the local Spanish name

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the machete is mounted (pl. LXXXIII, 7). Practically the only difference between this object and a seat such as that shown in fig. 6 of the same plate, is in the presence of the handle at one end. Both the whetstone base and the wooden seat is called tcûmbûʼlya.

The whetstones, called tôlaʼha, are made of a fine-grained sandstone and are purchased from the settlements down the river. A stone of almost any size is used, but one six by eight or ten inches is most usually employed. It is not fastened to the base, but simply rests upon it in order to bring the stone a few inches from the floor and to make it possible to place the hands on either side lower than the stone when necessary. With this simple apparatus and a hemispherical calabash of water to wet the stone a man will sit and sharpen machetes for a couple of hours at a time, especially when the cane-field is being cleaned or a new area in the bush is being cleared.

In fig. 1 of the plate last referred to is shown another wooden object similar in form to the seats. This is the special wooden base used as a rest upon which to set an earthenware pot as it is being coiled and shaped. Ordinarily these bases consist merely of a flat board of rectangular form. The one here shown is much more elaborate, being circular in outline and having four legs which slant outward from its perimeter; it is also hewn from a single block of wood, as are all the objects represented in this plate.

Another interesting class of wooden objects is dolls, called nawaʼwa, made for the amusement of children.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

These are carved from single blocks of wood and represent a variety of animate objects. Chief among them are human figures, both male and female; next follow mammals and birds, and now and then alligators are represented. In pl. LXXXIV, 1 to 5, are shown typical dolls representing human figures. The simplest of these, shown in fig. 4, is a cylindrical block of wood with carved head and face. From such simple forms dolls range through various stages of detail to well-carved figures such as that shown in fig. 5, in which the parts of the body are carefully represented and an attempt is made to imitate the cropped hair of the men by carving a raised band about the head, although the doll is evidently intended to represent a woman. The fact that the hair is thus represented is perhaps due to the inability of the workman to carve the long flowing hair of a woman.

Animals and birds of various kinds are carved more or less perfectly. Examples of these are shown in pl. LXXXIV, figs. 6 and 8. Fig. 7 of this plate represents a well-made figure of an alligator. Some of the figures, as for instance this alligator, are made of very hard wood, dressed and smoothly rubbed.

Dolls are about the only playthings, other than small pots, baskets, and other utensils, that the children have, for, as already stated, the Cayapa have practically no games.

In pl. LXI are shown several implements of wood, all of which are used primarily in cooking. In figs. 1 to 5 are illustrated typical mashers, called matcō'ka,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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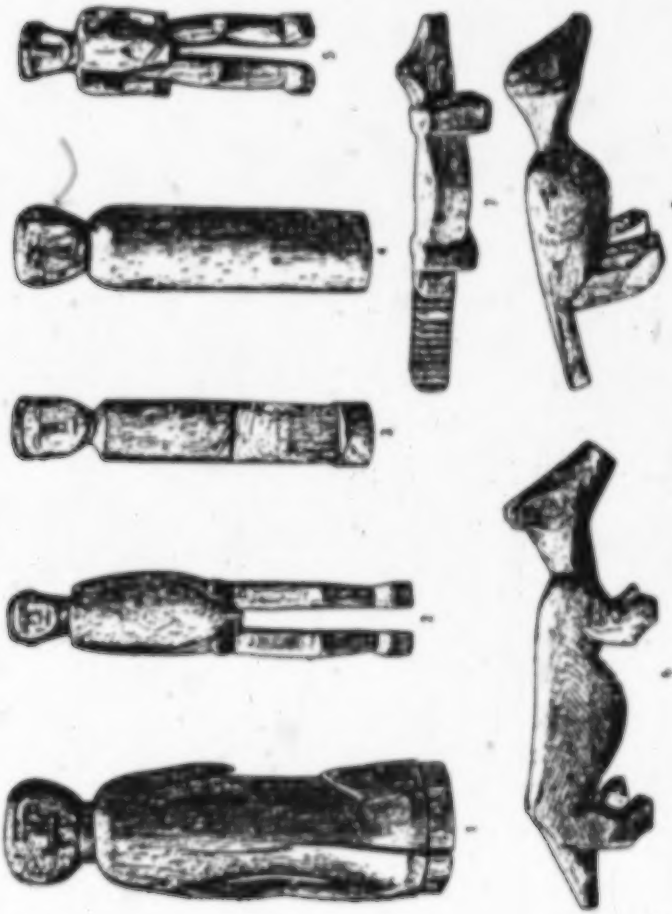

PL. LXXXIV

CARVED WOODEN TOYS

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 162(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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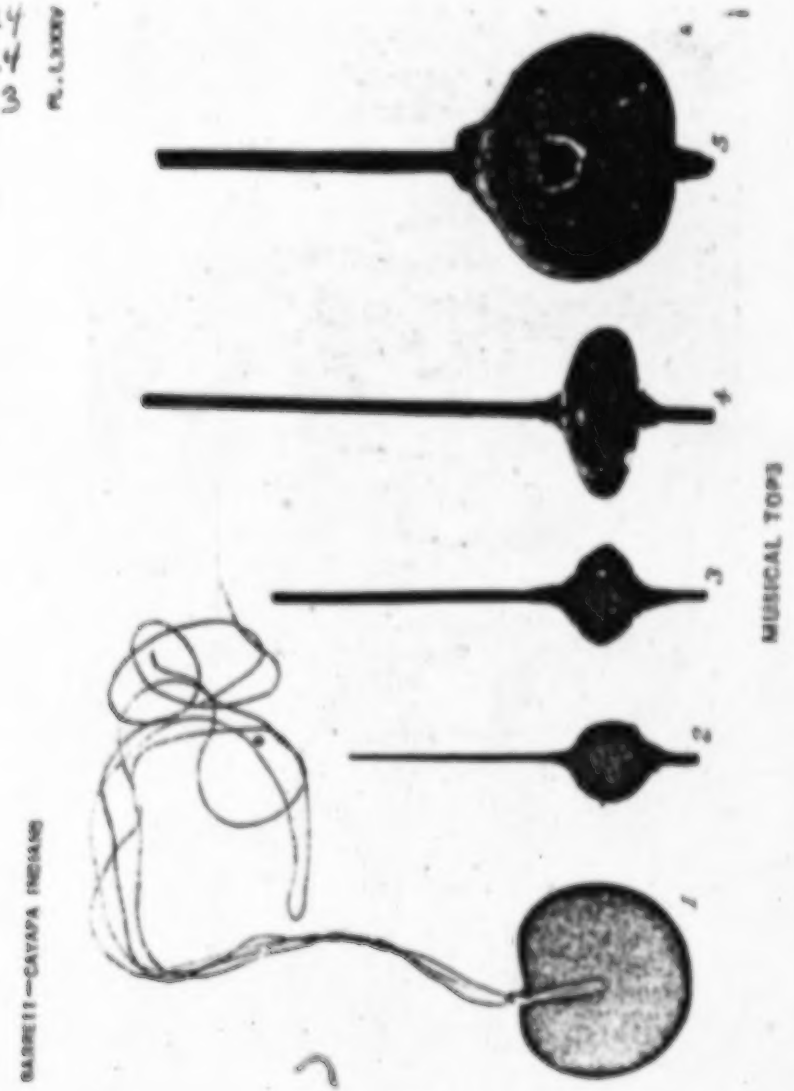

p. 162 (B)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

designed for their own use. In every instance these old-type designs are geometric, but the newer ones are usually realistic, depicting mammals, human beings, and other realistic objects.

In carving, the dolls are entirely realistic, as is shown in pl. LXXXIV, and depicting, the dog, alligator, bird, and especially the human form. In the last instance care is usually taken to indicate the sex. In paddle handles, on the other hand, the forms are usually simple and are always geometric, as is shown in pl. LXXVI. They have no special names. Even in the case of the elaborately carved handle shown in fig. 9 of the plate, no name was given for any of the designs. The same holds true of the designs in the face-painting sticks depicted in pl. CXXI–CXXII.

Closely related to ornamental carving are the wooden seats shown in pl. LXXXIII, some of which receive ornamental treatment certainly not demanded by utilitarian considerations. From comparison with similar objects of South and Central America it seems probable that in these seats, especially the forms shown in figs. 2 and 3, there lies a striking connection of the Cayapa culture with that of a number of other tribes in these regions. As has been shown by Professor Saville,[15] the archeological range of these objects is extensive, the most elaborate among them being the large stone seats from Manabi, carved to represent jaguars.

On the surfaces of calabash utensils are found the only incised designs in use among the Cayapa. These are

[15] See page 156, note.

to maintain a precarious balance. Children from about the ages of nine to thirteen may have small canoes /kakúle/ made for them, which may be seven to eight feet in length, and scarcely a foot in width. At these ages boys begin to accompany their fathers into the monte where the canoes are roughed out by axe and adze. They learn to select the proper trees as only those that are tightly cross-grained will not split easily. Occasionally canoes are roughed out at some height above the creek or rivulet that feeds into the main channel and in the process of carefully snubbing them down the boys learn to rig lines. A large canoe, about thirty-five feet long, may require almost a dozen men to bring it into the water from the monte, whereas a small canoe can be brought in by two or three men. Despite the fact that by the time the boys have reached their late teens they have acquired a large measure of skill in handling canoes, their canoes are nevertheless not considered finely finished until they have had several more years of experience.

Paddles: /yámpa/. The oar is roughed out with a machete, and the finer lines are cut with a knife.

details of style and construction (Barrett 1925:154-157). 000

Dolls: /náwawa/. Dolls for children were scarce among the Cayapa of the Punta Venado section. Barrett briefly discusses dolls, and the impression received is that they were common. They were always made of a single block of wood, and were carved in both human and animal forms. No measurements are given, but they were very likely similar to the dolls of today, measuring usually twelve to thirteen inches in length and from three to four inches in width. They are most frequently carved out of Guayacan, an extremely hard wood. The one Guayacan doll in my possession is carved in two pieces. It is a seated figure, obviously of a white man, wearing a visored cap, a necktie cut in bas-relief, a jacket, breeches, and boots that are tinted reddish. He is seated in a two-legged chair which is sufficient since his own feet serve as the other two legs. The chair is fastened to the figure by two nails through the bottom, and five nails from the rear.

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At the present time, many models for play purposes are cut out of balsa in the forms of airplanes, and the forms of coastal banana boats. Other wooden articles

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now." "Who will take care of the children now that my wife, their mother, has died?" The wailing lasts for some twenty minutes, and then new mourners replace the old who go off and tend children, sleep, talk, and, above all, drink. As these sounds begin to be heard by the people who are waiting up and down the river, they begin to drift in to the funeral house. The women and girls arrange themselves on one side of the room while the men congregate near the drums and marimba. Some begin to play the musical instruments while the "owner" of the dead offers rum to everyone. The music becomes livelier and conversation becomes animated as this goes on, and all this while the mourning continues by the coffin. Games begin to be played by the men and boys, and this is the only time that organized amusements are practiced by the Cayapa. There are at least nine kinds of games engaged in at funerals although they may not all be pursued at any one occasion. One activity, /pánda lúŭi/ 'plantain money,' however, is always included. A description of this is as follows: Five pieces of plantain are cut into slices which are said to be money /luŭi/, and one

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piece is cut in a rectangular form like a domino, and three holes are made on each side. The one who cut the "coins" is said to be the owner of the domino which is called /lúši yá?ma/. The boys and young men who are playing this game sit in a circle face to back. The "coins" are piled up on the floor in the middle of the group. The owner of the domino passes to the one sitting next to him on either the front or to the rear. The chip is passed around full circle and then the owner passes it around in the opposite direction. This is done about five times, and then it is passed down one man at a time. With each pass the passer picks up a "coin" and if he wishes to "cheat," he may pick up more than one. Cheating of this kind is the source of good-natured joshing and shoving. When all of the "coins" are gone, the players count up their winnings, and then everyone puts his pile of plantain slices back into the center of the circle, and the whole process is repeated. This is most definitely not a contest of skill or strategy, but they seem to enjoy it, and it is repeated for an indefinite period. The only difference noted is that, as the game continues,

the participants begin to hit each other's hand with great force as they pass the domino along the circle. Finally, the sport ends, and the plantain money is handed over to the "owner" of the deceased who accepts it in exchange for some bottles of rum. The /pánda lúši/ is then placed in the coffin, and it is said that it becomes "transformed into real money in heaven."

Another activity often indulged in is called /úliŋgayéči kánu/ 'the game of linking arms.' It is as follows: People form a circle by locking hands tightly and then lock arms for a few seconds. This is followed by the participants grasping each other's crossed arms. Following this they line up for a "tug of war" with the man in the middle bearing the brunt of the opposing sides.

In the contest called /čaʔna kénu/ [no gloss], a cloth is twisted and used as a whip. The players form a circle as they face inward. The cloth is placed on the neck of one of the men. As this is done, the recipient of the cloth grabs it and runs after the man who placed it on his neck and hits him with the cloth. The one who was hit rejoins the circle, and the second

'no gloss' in which a double circle is formed with one man in the center. To form the double circle, one man stations himself directly behind another and places his hands on his partner's shoulders. All couples are paired in this manner; in addition, there is a group of three players who form part of the double circle, with the third man being "it." The man in the center has a whip made of a piece of twisted cloth with which he strikes the third man. Upon being struck this man moves over to the next set and assumes the first position in the line-up. The whip bearer then strikes the newly created "third man," and this process is repeated until the whip bearer is tired, and then someone else replaces him.

Arm wrestling and throwing an opponent over one's back are great favorites. In these events men of forty may vie with youths of thirteen. Girls and women do not participate in any of these games and sports, but are appreciative spectators. They are all exquisitely dressed and consciously trying to attract the young men. None of the games involve skill or the use of strategy; they cannot even be

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considered to be gambling. Nevertheless, everyone enjoys them. Even the mourners come over to watch when they are not wailing at the coffin.

It is important that life and gaiety go on, and, for this reason, people struggle not to fall asleep. If the noise, laughter, and music were to cease, the soul of the deceased "could exact vengeance." Finally, about four o'clock in the morning a silence falls over the assembled mourners and celebrants; it is the time of the /mulúta kénu/, the last farewell. Everyone stands, and one man known to have a good voice sings out in a Spanish-Cayapa mixture: "mamay ya se fué muluta yaye llegue muluta talatʸumbi iškʷande." At this, all of the assembled men except for the "owners" of the deceased sing the same phrase in unison. Now the coffin is carried down to the raft for the trip to the ceremonial center. Not everyone goes to the burial; some family members remain behind to take care of the children if there any, and others may be too drunk to make the trip. Three or four people are generally all that go to the cemetery.

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Adults and children are buried in a cemetery

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now." "Who will take care of the children now that my wife, their mother, has died?" The wailing lasts for some twenty minutes, and then new mourners replace the old who go off and tend children, sleep, talk, and, above all, drink. As these sounds begin to be heard by the people who are waiting up and down the river, they begin to drift in to the funeral house. The women and girls arrange themselves on one side of the room while the men congregate near the drums and marimba. Some begin to play the musical instruments while the "owner" of the dead offers rum to everyone. The music becomes livelier and conversation becomes animated as this goes on, and all this while the mourning continues by the coffin. Games begin to be played by the men and boys, and this is the only time that organized amusements are practiced by the Cayapa. There are at least nine kinds of games engaged in at funerals although they may not all be pursued at any one occasion. One activity, /pánda lŭ̈i/ 'plantain money,' however, is always included. A description of this is as follows: Five pieces of plantain are cut into slices which are said to be money /lŭ̈i/, and one

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the participants begin to hit each other's hand with great force as they pass the domino along the circle. Finally, the sport ends, and the plantain money is handed over to the "owner" of the deceased who accepts it in exchange for some bottles of rum. The /pánda lúši/ is then placed in the coffin, and it is said that it becomes "transformed into real money in heaven." 524 [764] [775] [273]

Another activity often indulged in is called /úliggayéči kánu/ 'the game of linking arms.' It is as follows: People form a circle by locking hands tightly and then lock arms for a few seconds. This is followed by the participants grasping each other's crossed arms. Following this they line up for a "tug of war" with the man in the middle bearing the brunt of the opposing sides. 526

In the contest called /čaʔna kánu/ [no gloss], a cloth is twisted and used as a whip. The players form a circle as they face inward. The cloth is placed on the neck of one of the men. As this is done, the recipient of the cloth grabs it and runs after the man who placed it on his neck and hits him with the cloth. The one who was hit rejoins the circle, and the second

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contestant places the cloth on the neck of the next player in line, and as he does so, he shouts "/čána."

/čival^{y}ítu/ from Spanish 'little goat' is a very popular sport. The players form a large circle by linking hands while one man stands in the center of the circle. The circle moves first in one direction then in the other while the players chant in unison "/čival^{y}ítula/" with a rising falsetto at the penultimate vowel. At this, the man in the middle places his hands over his head and beats the palms of his hands together while shouting the same response as the participants in the circle. The man then in the center sings out in a high voice the exclamation /%^{i}/" which is protracted for a few seconds. After this he rejoins the circle, and a replacement steps forward.

In the game of /wagára kénu/ 'playing cow' two men are placed in the center of a circle formed by locking arms. As the circle moves, those in the center attempt to break out by rushing head-long at the joined hands in the circle. As they break out, they join the circle and are replaced in their turn.

Another diversion is called /kûnču mú^{i}nu/ or

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'getting yucca.' A group of men and boys seat themselves in a line. Then four men come and choose one of the players who will be the yucca. This yucca is picked up bodily with one man holding each extremity, and he is then offered for "sale." He is "sold" for /pánda lúši/.[1] After the purchase the yucca remains beside his buyer for a few minutes after which the "money" is placed in the coffin. After this gesture the "owner" of the dead sets up a round of drinks for the players.

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/ayalánu/ 'fishing' is still another entertainment that involves the use of /pánda lúši/. One man tosses out a "line" made of a small piece of cloth among a group of seated "fish." Every now and then one bites and is hauled in and "killed" with a piece of wood. The fish is then weighed by being hefted bodily and is then sold for plantain money.

Another pastime is known as /čupipi/ 'chicken' and is very rough. A man or boy pretends to be a chicken hawk and attempts to steal a "chicken." The "hens" try to prevent this, and few holds are barred.

There is also a diversion called /stuhíca hánu/

[1] [i.e. "plantain money." - ANALYST]

'no glose' in which a double circle is formed with one man in the center. To form the double circle, one man stations himself directly behind another and places his hands on his partner's shoulders. All couples are paired in this manner; in addition, there is a group of three players who form part of the double circle, with the third man being "it." The man in the center has a whip made of a piece of twisted cloth with which he strikes the third man. Upon being struck this man moves over to the next set and assumes the first position in the line-up. The whip bearer then strikes the newly created "third man," and this process is repeated until the whip bearer is tired, and then someone else replaces him.

Arm wrestling and throwing an opponent over one's back are great favorites. In these events men of forty may vie with youths of thirteen. Girls and women do not participate in any of these games and sports, but are appreciative spectators. They are all exquisitely dressed and consciously trying to attract the young men. None of the games involve skill or the use of strategy; they cannot even be

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considered to be gambling. Nevertheless, everyone enjoys them. Even the mourners come over to watch when they are not wailing at the coffin. 764 [526] [524]

It is important that life and gaiety go on, and, for this reason, people struggle not to fall asleep. If the noise, laughter, and music were to cease, the soul of the deceased "could exact vengeance." Finally, about four o'clock in the morning a silence falls over the assembled mourners and celebrants; it is the time of the /mulúta kévu/, the last farewell. Everyone stands, and one man known to have a good voice sings out in a Spanish-Cayapa mixture: "mamay ya se fué muluta yaye llegue muluta talatʸumbi ïśkéande." At this, all of the assembled men except for the "owners" of the deceased sing the same phrase in unison. Now the coffin is carried down to the raft for the trip to the ceremonial center. Not everyone goes to the burial; some family members remain behind to take care of the children if there any, and others may be too drunk to make the trip. Three or four people are generally all that go to the cemetery. [775] [191] [273]

Adults and children are buried in a cemetery 000

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

462 The women do all the spinning and weaving of cloth,
512 but the men sew all garments, not only for themselves
294 but also for the small boys who have not yet learned to
[291] sew. This is due largely no doubt to the fact that the single garment worn by the women requires no sewing whatever, while the two garments worn by the men must be sewn.

868 At a very early age boys begin to learn the arts practised by their elders, hence they are instructed in hunting, fishing, woodworking, and similar useful accomplishments of the men.

512 It is customary among the Cayapa to arise at dawn, usually between five and five-thirty o'clock, and to retire as soon as darkness comes, or between six-thirty and seven o'clock. These hours vary little throughout the year, owing to the proximity of the equator.

[527] The daily routine is usually about the same throughout the year, varying in event of a fiesta, or boda, which brings the people together at a particular village, from which, after some days of festivities, they return home.

[484] Another diversion is going down the river to the settlements. Sometimes this trip is made almost purely for
[439] pleasure and to obtain oysters and other sea foods, but more often these pleasure trips are combined with the selling of tagua, cacao, rubber, or plantains, and occasionally logs for lumber.

593 One of the most characteristic features of the daily life of the Cayapa is the devotion of the members of a family toward one another, especially that of parents toward their children. Few restrictions are placed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

time to time. This thick paste is then placed in a cooking-pot or kettle with the requisite amount of water and boiled, the consistency of the gruel of course depending upon the amount of water added. The thick gruel is eaten with the fingers, or frequently nowadays with a spoon, and is eaten as ordinary food. The thin gruel, which is more frequently made and which usually is sufficiently liquid to be called a beverage rather than a mush, is drunk from small hemispherical calabashes. It is flavored with a little salt, or preferably with sugar. This food is called champo (tcambō'se in Cayapa) and is used almost exclusively at feasts, where it is served in canoe-shape wooden vessels, called tcambō's kûle, made especially for the purpose. These utensils are from two and a half to three and half feet long, their ends are made like the prow and stern of a regular canoe, and they are elaborately ornamented with the same painted designs as are used on large canoes. These little vessels may be set upon the feast table, but often they are carried about among the feasters, in which event one of the masters of ceremony takes the prow and another the stern and pass throughout the house, being careful that everyone is served. On the surface of the beverage float from two to four or five small calabash dippers, or mates, with which the champo is drunk.

A sufficient amount of maize to provide seed for the succeeding year is allowed to ripen on the stalk each season. The ears are gathered, the outer husks bent back, and tied together in bunches of a dozen or more

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

222 Of these species the one most commonly found about the houses and the most used is pû' cllyû, a wide-spreading tree reaching a height of about forty feet. A general view of this species is shown in pl. v, in which the broad, branching top of one of the trees is shown prominently against the sky toward the left of the center of the picture. The habits of growth of the other varieties are similar to this.

247 301 [527] A species of small Compositæ, called la'lyû, which somewhat resembles the marigold, is grown with considerable care, its special use being to provide decorative flowers for fiestas. The flowers are made up into long garlands which are draped about the altar of the church or are worn about the necks of those celebrating the fiesta. They are also sometimes inserted in the hair, over the ears, or about the clothing.

249 Upon the drying platform attached to the house there is almost always a fragment of an old canoe or some broken pots or other utensils in which are grown several of the various species of medicinal herbs, such as limoncillo, or of other plants valued for the scent of their leaves or seeds, or plants used as teas.

245 262 In addition to those already mentioned in greater detail, there are several other introduced fruits, such as the papaya, the caimito, the orange, the lemon, the lime, and the sour sap, which are grown so rarely by the Cayapa as to make them almost negligible in a consideration of the vegetal products of the people. They spring up almost always by the accidental falling of seeds in favorable soil, rather than by intentional

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

greatly modified by intrusive religious ideas as have many other features of Cayapa culture. With the coming of the priest, on the occasion of his annual visit, the regular church marriage rite is performed. At this ceremony there is further chastising of the contracting parties by the chief or by some one delegated by him.

On the occasion of the annual visit of the priest to one of the Cayapa pueblos, usually in August or September, a fiesta of from one to three weeks is held, during which it is customary for couples who have been married between the time of the priest's last visit and the present occasion to celebrate a marriage feast. Should it be inconvenient to celebrate the marriage feast at this particular time, it may be held at any other gathering of the people at the village, or it may even be deferred until the next annual visit of the priest. These marriage feasts are the occasion of much merrymaking. Quantities of food, rum, and tobacco are provided, and the whole village celebrates for a day or two. During the forenoon of the first day, a table, made by spreading upon the floor of the large assembly and dance hall of the chief's house a covering of hoja blanca, is filled with all kinds of food, among them being one special dish of eggs, prepared much after the manner of scrambling. At this feast a most exceptional departure from the rule of the separation of the sexes at public gatherings is observed. At all other feasts, men and boys only are permitted to enter the room in which the feast is held, but on this occasion the bride and her godmother are present. The mother of the bride, however, does not enter. Another interesting feature of this feast is that,

Their bodies are clean, and I have never seen a Cayapa who had a rash or boils, and only few who had scars. Their hair is thick, bristly and dull black in color; the beardless men wear it semi-long to the nape of the neck, while the women let it hang loose and open so that it not only covers their backs and ears, but in part even their foreheads and cheeks. Their clothes are extremely modest. The men wear a sleeveless, shirt-like, loose gown, which usually reaches to the hips only, but is sometimes longer, reaching to the knees, in which case it seems to be the holiday attire, and it looks richer having a border of differently colored cloth. These clothes are made of thin, very bright and cheap cotton materials. On special occasions they even dress in gala clothes, which differ from their every-day clothes in that they are decorated with straight lines or zig-zag designs of shells. In addition they may deck themselves out in their most precious ornaments consisting of two to ten long necklaces made of multi-colored glass beads as well as (at least from their point of view) especially beautiful neck and arm ornaments consisting of the cardboards 6 cm. wide so well known to all of us, with a whole gross of ordinary porcelain shirt-buttons on each just as they were delivered by the European manufacturers. But even among them there are dandies and fashion hounds, who manage to pick up a useless old black waistcoat somewhere, which they then decorate with a lot of white shells and buttons, wearing it as a sort of open vest over their red or blue shirts. But imagine the happiness of the young man who in addition to this splendor, has managed to acquire a stiff round felt hat. No matter how shabby, battered, greasy and much too small it may be on his fat pate with the thick mop of hair, he is proud of his elegance and would not change places even with the governor. The Gobernador de los Cayapas (Governor of the Cayapas) is one of their chiefs, of which each village or district has one—yes of course—he is a great gentleman—he can afford it—he not only wears a shell bedecked waistcoat over his red cotton shirt, but over it still another long, black morning-coat, which he has bought from or been given by Don So-and-so, because it had become too tight, unfashionable or shabby for the latter. And around his neck and wrists he wears especially wide cardboards with buttons in proportion to his dignity. Naturally it would be considered unseemly for a governor to come to town without suitable head-gear, even if it be only a self-made straw panama hat for lack of a black felt hat. But even he does not wear trousers or shoes, which are considered superfluous and burdensome; instead he carries in his right hand a wooden stick five feet long with a silver knob as a symbol of his position and power.

505 might hear a piano or phonograph music from somewhere. That they still must quickly take a look at. The entire crowd rushes busily into the house concerned and up the stairs. Their curiosity is soon satisfied and they come down again and now they must be off quickly so as to be able to make use of the tide current. Their
501 unpainted canoes are 8 to 10 meters (Translator--about 8 to 10 yds.) in length and from 70 to 90 centimeters (Translator--2 1/3 to 3 ft.) in width. They are slim and pleasing in shape and have
● [531] black colored decorations around the edges. Each one of them accommodates from 5 to 8 persons, close together, with their meager belongings. They paddle along nimbly with their leaf-shaped oars and, while their canoes glide along silently and swiftly, the entire crowd has soon disappeared in the mouth of the
484 Mira River. It will take them two days to reach their hometowns.
648 During the journey they camp in the open over night, somewhere along the shore, in an empty pasture. But they have to be careful. Occasionally they are attacked and robbed there by Negroes, and if they resist, they are murdered in cold blood. Only recently a whole group of them, men, women and children, 14 persons altogether, were most cruelly murdered on the Mira River by some bestial Negroes.

101 [285] However, our friends will now have arrived home safe
342 and sound on the upper Cayapa River. They are greeted from afar
361 by the friendly smoke of their own hearths. Their villages con-
824 sist of a few, widely dispersed bamboo huts of a most primitive type. A few uncut tree trunks have simply been rammed into the earth in a rectangle. The floor is at a height of 3 to 4 meters (Translator--ca. 3 to 4 yds.) and is made of split bamboo. Above this, at an equal distance, is the roof made of coconut (?) palm (Steinnusspalme) leaves. That is the entire structure. Since these houses have no walls, it is obivous that doors and windows are not
417 required either. The trunk of the Ceiba trees, light as a cork,
824 *into which a few steps are hewn, serves as stairs. (The Ceiba tree*
512 produces the silk-like balsa wool, called "Kapok" on the European market.) These stairs are obliquely leaned on, without being fastened anywhere. A hen-roost can be climbed more easily than one of these Cayapa ladders. In order to be somewhat safe from surprises by unwanted visitors, the ladders are drawn up to the living quarters overnight, and when a family goes on a trip, the ladder is thrown into the river and left to float away. After
322 all it is so simple and easy to fetch another Ceiba trunk from the nearby forest on returning and quickly hack a few step-like cuts into it with a chopping knife.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

Death.—Death is not considered to be a natural phenomenon but is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body. A dead man's soul hovers around his house, which is usually abandoned, though it may be dismantled and sold. The corpse is buried in a coffin in a Catholic-style cemetery near the church. The dead man's possessions are usually given away, but it is not known who inherits his fields and clearings.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The great range of designs used by the *Cayapa* in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (fajas).

Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

Canoe paddles and wooden seats are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

Music and dancing.—Holidays, weddings, and other feasts are accompanied by much dancing and drinking. As elsewhere along the coast, the European marimba is widely used, as are panpipes, flutes, drums, and rattles. In recent years the Highland San Juan dance has been gaining in popularity. Also of immediate Highland provenience may be the small European wooden harp with palm-fiber strings.

Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. Guarapo, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

RELIGION

Native *Cayapa* religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are told for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

With these pigments, especially with the black, are made a great variety of designs ranging from broad bands to very fine dots and narrow lines. As is shown in pl. XXXIX-LII, the designs employed in these face and body paintings are of almost limitless variety and combination; however, while the Cayapa have developed this phase of personal adornment to such a degree, they never recognize any special signification in the designs employed. The designs, as those on mantas, canoes, calabashes, and other decorated articles, are sometimes named, but in few cases was it found that any of them were intended to be graphic, and in no instance was any symbolic meaning attached to them: they are regarded as merely decorative and have no other special purpose. Furthermore, none of the designs is the particular property of any individual or group of individuals, hence the greatest liberty is exercised in their use; in fact, it is not uncommon to see the same person change the designs on his face or body from day to day during a fiesta, and there is no sequence or other rule governing their use. Both men and women thus decorate themselves, using a small mirror in painting the face. In large measure, of course, the designs employed have been handed down from ancient times, but now and then a person depicts upon his face or body some new device taken from an article of modern manufacture. Such a case is shown in pl. LII, 11, where a modern three-pronged iron fish-spear is shown painted on a man's leg.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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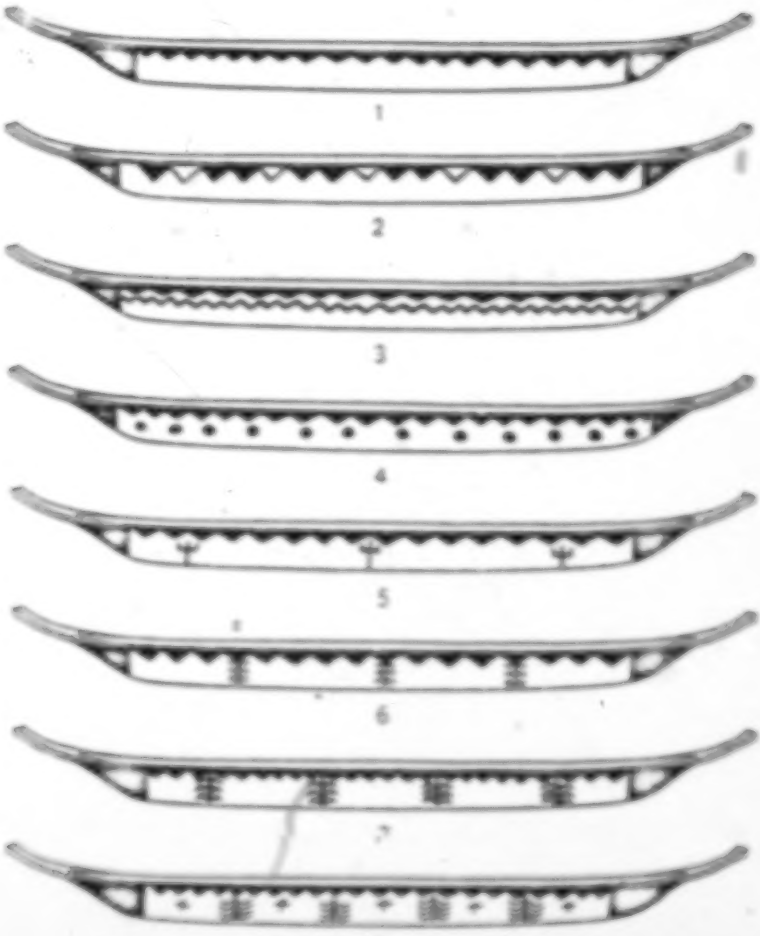

DECORATIVE PATTERNS PAINTED ON CANOES

[p. 136 (f)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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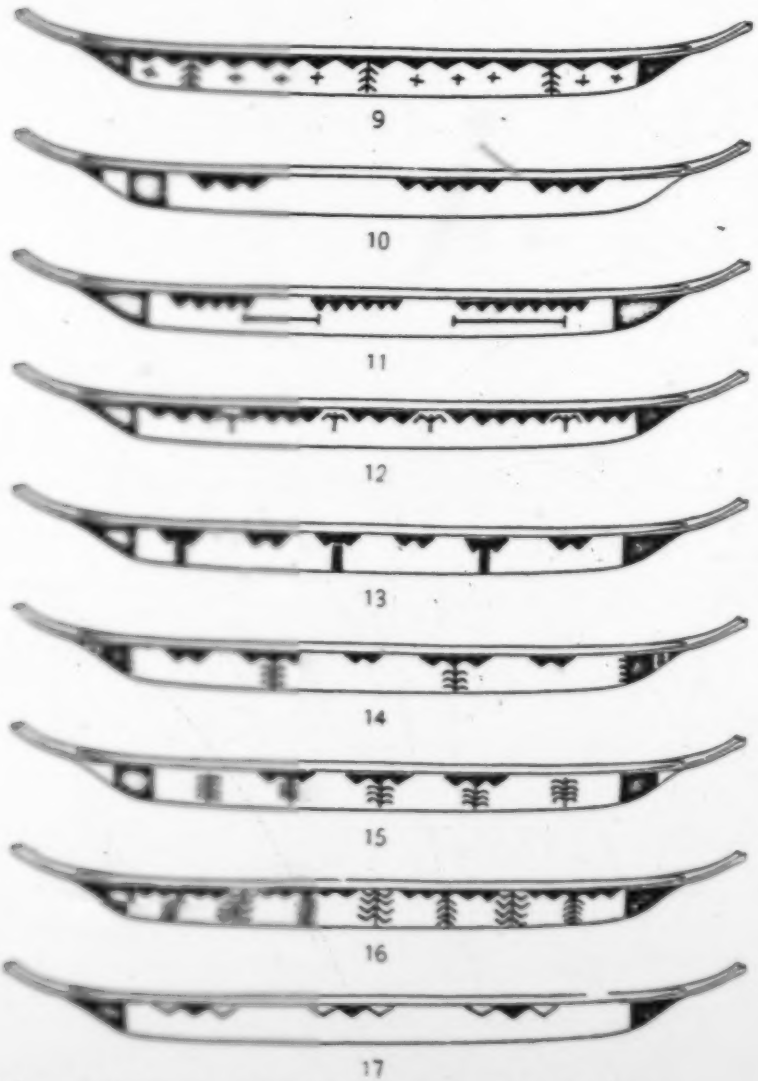

DECORATIVE PATTERNS PAINTED ON CANOES

[p. 138 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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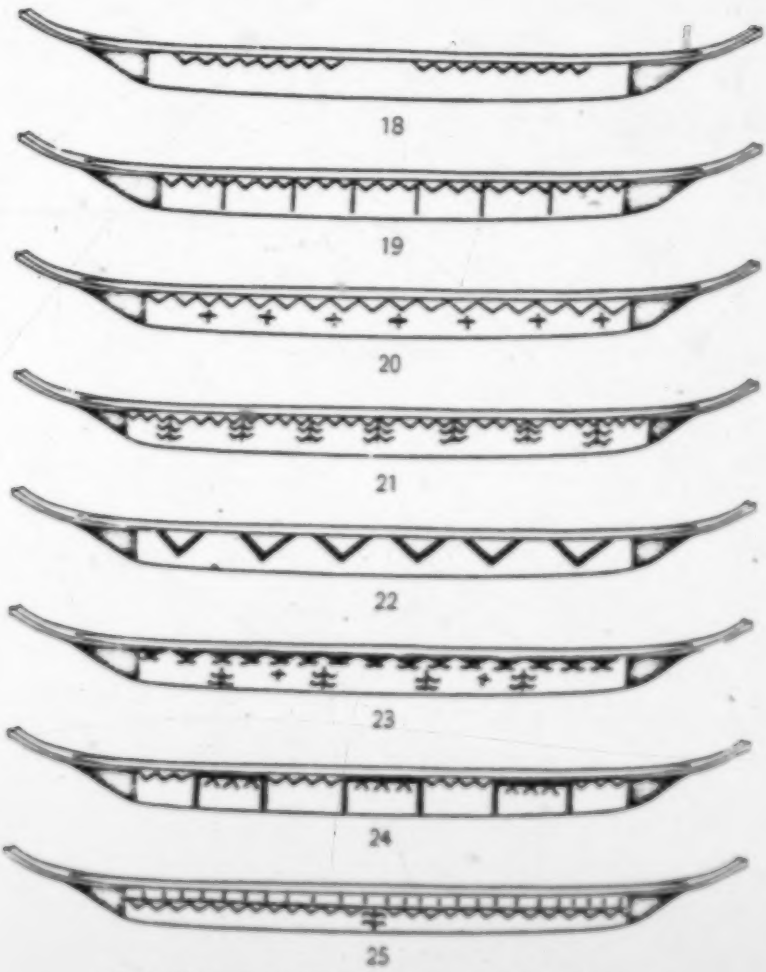

DECORATIVE PATTERNS PAINTED ON CANOES

[p. 138(8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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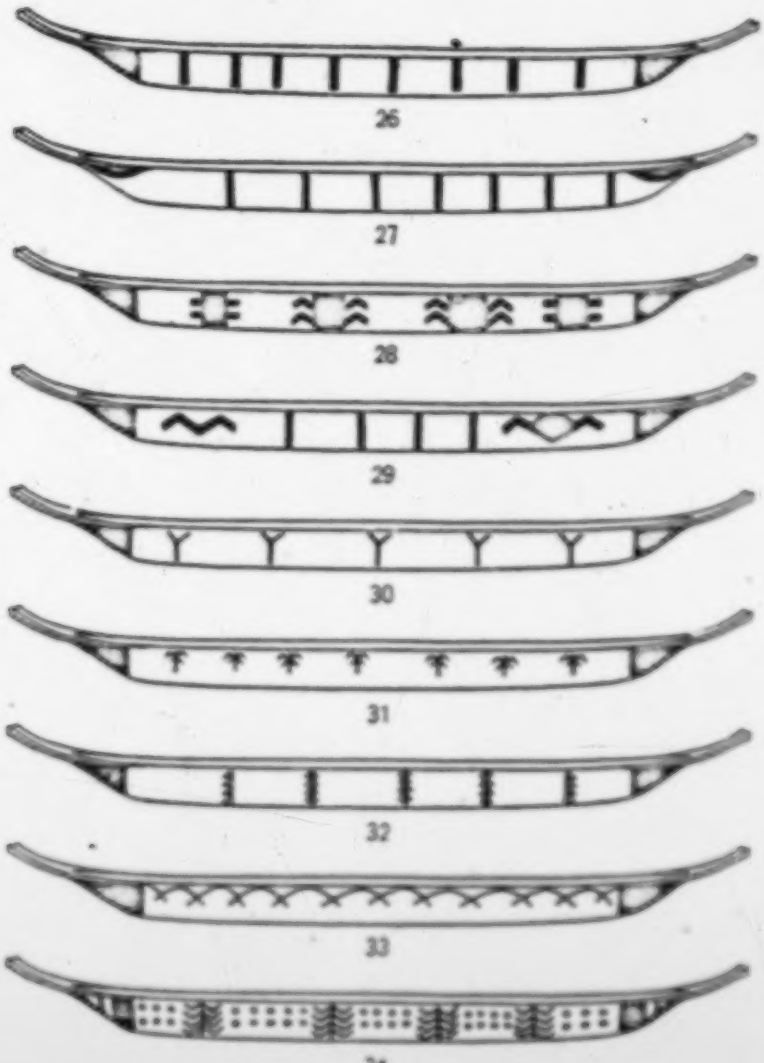

DECORATIVE PATTERNS PAINTED ON CANOES

[p.140(A)]

: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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PADDLE HANDLES AND BLADES

[p. 140(10)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

3% The beeswax for calking and painting the canoe is boiled until of the proper consistency and adhesiveness; this is tested by dropping a small amount of the boiling wax into water and then pressing it between the fingers and also chewing it. The hot wax is applied with a [442] brush about two inches in width, called kū'kū sapa, made of a chisel-edged section of the outer fibrous covering of the coconut.

396 The purpose of the wax thus applied to a canoe is 531 strictly utilitarian. Along the outer surfaces of the gunwale, however, are placed various designs in wax for decorative effect. For this purpose certain stamps made of the light soft balsa wood are used. These stamps are of two forms: one, triangular, with a beveled end, is used for line figures and outlines of triangles and other solid devices; the other is cylindrical and its end is used for making dots. The former is called pi ke'ndū, the latter tsū ka'nū. The wax must in all cases be applied while very hot, when it soaks into the wood. In order to keep the wax at the proper temperature, the pot containing it is frequently re-heated, fresh wax being added as this is done. The painting with the coconut-bark brush may be done rapidly and requires little skill; but the making of designs with the dies must be done carefully in order to insure uniformity in size, shape, and spacing. Many canoe-makers, of course, use comparatively little care in this painting, especially on canoes intended for sale. However, a man who takes pride in his work is always exact in applying the ornamentation and spares no time or pains

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

in his craftsmanship. The less particular artisan simply paints rude designs with a small coconut-bark brush.

The designs, called kū'm bilya, used upon canoes are varied. They are largely geometric, consisting chiefly of dots, lines, and triangles, although sometimes animal figures are employed. These last, however, appear only on those canoes made by the Cayapa for sale. On pl. LXXIII-LXXV are shown most of the designs used by the Cayapa on canoes made for their own use. They bear no special symbolic significance, none of them is typical of any special group of people, and no individual ownership is connected with any of them. In large measure they bear no names other than the generic kū'm bilya, literally "canoe design."

As before mentioned, brea is the wax made by certain small bees common to the region. It is called amū'ya, and is of two kinds, black and yellow, the latter being much preferred. The particular bees which produce the brea are of four different species. A small black bee, which lives in hollow trees and is called paba ta'nda, makes the wax of the best quality and in greater quantities than any of the others. Another small black species, called ta'nda also, lives likewise in hollow trees and makes much more honey than wax, but a certain amount of its wax is used. A third species is called citemi'skī; it is also black, but builds its nest in the ground and its wax is used to a limited extent. The fourth species is a small yellow bee called amūī a'ma; its wax is black.

Brea is obtained by smoking out the bees and chopping

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

be called the grip. In a woman's paddle this end may be truly called the grip, and it is usually notched in more or less of a fish-tail form, shown in pl. LXXVI, 9 to 11. This notch is quite smooth, and is actually gripped by the hand. In the case of the man's paddle, however, a purely ornamental tip is put on the end, which is almost never touched in paddling. A few of the typical forms of these ornamental ends are shown in figs. 1 to 4 and 6 to 8 of the same plate.

Occasionally various simple figures are carved either in relief or in intaglio near the upper ends of the paddles. An illustration of such carving relief is shown in pl. LXXVI, 9. Such ornamentation is seen frequently on women's paddles, but only occasionally on those of the men.

As a finishing touch to paddles and in order to make them perfectly smooth, especially along their handles, they are rubbed down with the under-surface of a dry leaf called lya'pic hakI, which is covered with minute but very hard spines that serve the purpose of sand-paper. A bunch of these palmate leaves is shown in pl. LXXVII.

Although on a long journey a woman may act as pilot of the canoe, a man sometimes serves in this capacity while the woman sits forward and paddles, as shown in pl. LXXX. Again, it is customary for the woman to use the short paddle on all occasions, but now and then she may be seen using the man's long paddle. Such an instance is shown in pl. LXXIX, where the pilot of the canoe in the foreground is a woman using one of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

415 used especially for crushing ripe plantains in making the gruel already described. Some of these mashers are perfectly plain, consisting of a cylindrical stick with a large flat end (fig. 4), but most of them are more
415 or less ornate, especially at the upper end. The simplest
531 type of this ornamentation is that shown in fig. 2, in which the upper end of the masher is of a form similar to that of the lower end, but is considerably smaller. Various other forms of ornamental ends, with or without notches, are made; two of these are shown in figs. 1 and 3. Occasionally also some ornamentation is found along the handle, and especially toward its lower end, as shown in fig. 5.

415 Another wooden implement of special use is the chocolate stirrer, called tcŏkŏla'te tca'll, two specimens of which are shown in pl. LXI, 6, 7. These stirrers always are provided with lateral projections at their lower ends, by means of which the stirring is done, the implement being twisted rapidly back and forth—between the
[272] palms of the hands. Chocolate is rarely used by the Cayapa, but when prepared as a beverage it is usually boiled in a pot somewhat similar to that shown in
415 pl. LXXXVII, 9. The chocolate stirrers also are sometimes
531 ornamented at the upper extremity, as shown in fig. 7, or directly above the four lateral projections at the lower extremity, as in the one illustrated in fig. 6. In the latter case the ring of small ridges projects almost if not quite as far as do the four lateral projections, hence the ridges serve to stir the chocolate as well as do the projections. Whatever useful purpose this ring

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

of small ridges may now serve, however, it seems to have had its origin in a desire to ornament the stirrers, since most of them are plain at that point (as is the one shown in fig. 7), and because various stirrers of this form have carvings at that point which are similar though much smaller and are obviously purely ornamental.

A second form of stirring implement is the food paddle, called kŭwi'ŏgi, two specimens of which are shown in pl. LXI, 8, 9. These are used for stirring all kinds of foods while cooking, but especially ripe plantain gruel and a kind of gruel or mush made from green corn. In many cases these paddles are perfectly plain, as is the one shown in fig. 9, but now and then they are embellished with notches or incised ornaments as is the case with the one shown in fig. 8.

A utensil in common domestic use is an elliptical wooden bowl, copied after a type made by the whites and negroes of the region and bearing only the Spanish name batea. They vary more or less in their elliptical form, but a typical specimen is shown in pl. LXII, 4. They are always provided with a projection at each end to serve as handles. They are hollowed out from a single piece of wood, and range from a foot to three feet in length. Bateas serve a variety of purposes, but they are used especially for the preparation of certain foods, such as ripe plantain gruel, corn gruel or mush, and the like. They are used also as trays for washing meats or other foods, and frequently are employed in mixing and working clay during the process of pottery-making.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

with considerable care, especially from the globose water-calabashes (the wa'iyũ) which have such small openings. By repeatedly striking the shell of the calabash gently with the point of a machete or other sharp-pointed implement in such manner as to chip the shell away little by little, an opening of the desired diameter is made: this is usually at or near the point at which the stem of the fruit was attached, and its size depends on the size of the calabash, but it rarely exceeds an inch and a half. With a long implement (wai-be'rũ, or wai-be'ũ; from wa iyũ, calabash, and be'rũ, hook), such as that shown in pl. CXVII, 1, the seeds and pulp are removed. It has one end shaped like a chisel, the other being fitted with a piece of coconut-shell in the shape of a hoe-blade. The chisel end is first inserted and the mass of pulp cut and worked into as small pieces as possible, a small quantity of water being added from time to time. The greater part of the pulp having been thus removed, the implement is reversed and the inner walls of the calabash are scraped with the hoe-end until they are smooth and clean. This process is usually performed in a canoe at the river where an abundance of water is available. Finally the calabash is turned with the opening downward over a stick, outdoors, until it has thoroughly dried. This curing in the more or less direct sunlight changes the color of the outer surface of the calabash from light-green to dark-brown.

Calabash receptacles are frequently ornamented with incised lines or figures, or with grotesque figures of mammals, birds, and human beings. A variety of these

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

designs is shown in pl. LXXXVI. This decoration is accomplished by cutting with the point of a machete or a knife while the calabash is green, and results, when the utensil is dried, in a white linear figure on a brown background, since it is only the thin outer skin of the calabash that turns brown in the curing. After several days of curing in the open, excepting during rain, the calabash vessel is ready for use. It is rarely put into service immediately, however, since a considerable supply of these utensils is always kept on hand; more frequently it is stored away to season thoroughly and become more durable. A small cross-stick attached to a piece of pitigua cord is inserted in the opening of a globose water-calabash, which is then suspended from a rafter of the house to season. Ordinarily several of these calabashes are thus hung in a cluster. The opening is always plugged with a piece of hoja blanca, or of the leaf ü'tya bakî, used in cooking, in order to protect the calabashes from the ravages of cockroaches.

A second type of calabash utensil, called in Spanish mate and in Cayapa ca'lya, is usually hemispherical and is made ordinarily of the globose form of fruit. Now and then, however, an ellipsoidal calabash is used for this purpose, in which case the mate is elliptical in horizontal cross-section. Fig. 13 exhibits a hemispherical mate resting on a typical woven ring, made to keep it in an upright position, especially when used to serve liquid at feasts. About the rim and on the sides of the mate are shown incised decorations. By cutting the fruit exactly in two, through the stem, a single calabash of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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445 [442] course provides two mates. The cutting is almost always done with an old machete, the edge of which is serrated by striking it with another machete at intervals of about an eighth of an inch. With this crude saw the shell of the calabash is carefully cut along a line marked usually by a string tied tightly around it. The removal

[285 531]

FIG. 13.—Calabash vessel and woven ring

of the pulp is in this case a simple matter. It is first scooped out in large pieces with the point of a machete or a knife, and then, when the inner surface of the shell is reached, it is scraped carefully and smoothly with a small, smooth-edged clam-shell. The drying also is a more simple process than in the case of the water-calabash, since the inner surface is more exposed to the air.

When dry, the mate is used for a multitude of purposes, such as dipping liquids, serving foods, and so on. If permitted to lie for a long time in any liquid, the cala-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The mate[1] has still another special use—that of a woman's cap. With it is worn a piece of light-weight black cloth or a double bandana handkerchief, which passes over the head and shoulders and hangs down the back as a protection from the sun. Usually this cap is decorated with incised lines and figures, and occasionally it is used as a drinking-cup in traveling, but it is never put to any of the ordinary uses in which common mates are employed. On long canoe journeys the women usually carry special mates for use as urinals.

By means of two small perforations at each of two opposite points, a hemispherical mate is bound to a long handle to serve as a dipper, especially in the distillation of rum. Such dippers, called sûmbû and ûñkala pî cûînûnt-sû'mî, are shown in pls. LXIII and LXV.

Further, the bottom of a mate may be perforated to adapt it as a sieve or strainer, called cî'calya, in making green-corn mush and ripe plantain gruel. Attached to a long handle, such a strainer is employed for skimming the froth which rises in boiling cane juice preparatory to fermentation.

The third form of calabash implement is the spoon, called ci'ñ kûtcada, from Spanish cuchara. This implement is always made by cutting narrow sections from the side of an ellipsoidal calabash with the saw-like machete above mentioned. One of these fruits ordinarily provides material for six to eight spoons, varying in length from three or four to as much as fifteen inches. The large spoons are commonly used for stirring food while cooking, and both the large and the small

[1] [i.e, a hemispherical gourd container.---Analyst]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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DESIGNS ON CALABASH UTENSILS

[p. 172 (4)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ones are used to a certain extent in eating, although for this purpose they have been largely superseded by iron spoons. Calabash spoons, like the mates, are often ornamented with incised lines.

Pottery

The Cayapa make a rather crude, heavy pottery vessel, entirely undecorated except in a few forms in which incised lines and dots are impressed in the rim or the shoulder; but no painting, slipping, or glazing is used. The generic name for pottery is pia'ma, or bia'ma.

There are in all ten forms of pots, eight of which are in general use among the Cayapa. All are shown in outline in pl. LXXXVII. These types are: 1, A shallow plate form (fig. 4), called specifically tō' palatō. 2, A somewhat deeper cooking-pot (figs. 1–3), the sides of which, under ordinary circumstances, are comparatively straight, while the rim is without a lip. 3, Another cooking-pot (fig. 6), with a more or less hemispherical base, a pronounced shoulder around the side, and a prominent outcurving lip. 4, A small, flat-bottomed pot (fig. 5), somewhat of the form of an inverted truncated cone and with a more or less outcurving lip. 5, A somewhat globose form (fig. 8), with wide neck and outcurving rim. 6, A large storage olla (fig. 11), called specifically bō'lūm biama, with slightly oval bottom, more or less conical sides, and narrow neck with outcurving rim. 7, A large pottery caldron (fig. 7), which forms part of the still. 8, The condensing chamber (fig. 10), without bottom, used in distilling rum. Pots of the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

forward the process of building a large pot, coil upon coil, is the same as that employed in making small ones. 363

The largest earthenware receptacles made by the Cayapa are the storage ollas (pl. LXXXVII, 11), used for the fermentation of cane-juice, these vessels being sometimes of a diameter and height of three feet. These large ollas are highly prized, as it is difficult to build up successfully, with the comparatively narrow coils of clay, such large vessels without a flaw in joining the coils. It is also hard to get the clay used in the various coils always of exactly the same consistency, and it is especially difficult to dry the ollas properly without checking or other mishap. But the greatest difficulty of all is in the firing; indeed, although a considerable proportion of such large vessels fail in the early stages of their construction, probably ninety percent of those successfully built up and cured, crack in the firing. On the other hand, comparatively little difficulty is experienced in modeling and firing small or medium-size receptacles of varying shapes.

As before stated, the only decoration found on Cayapa pottery consists of small incised dots and lines on the edge of the opening or the shoulder, and even this simple ornamentation is rarely used. The vessel is decorated after being only partly dried. The lines are incised with the sharp-edged calabash instrument used for smoothing the surfaces of the receptacle, while the dots are made by means of the serrated edge of the shell of a small bivalve. The decoration consists almost invariably of a simple row of parallel lines placed vertically or obliquely. Now and then a zigzag is used. 323 531

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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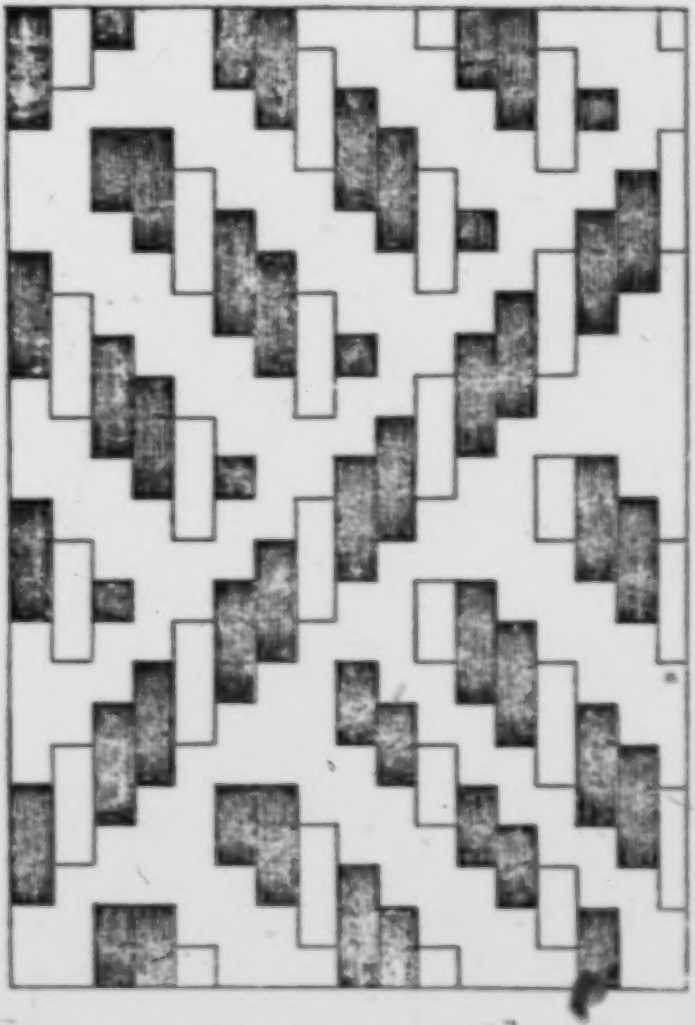

[Transparent overlay on p. 192(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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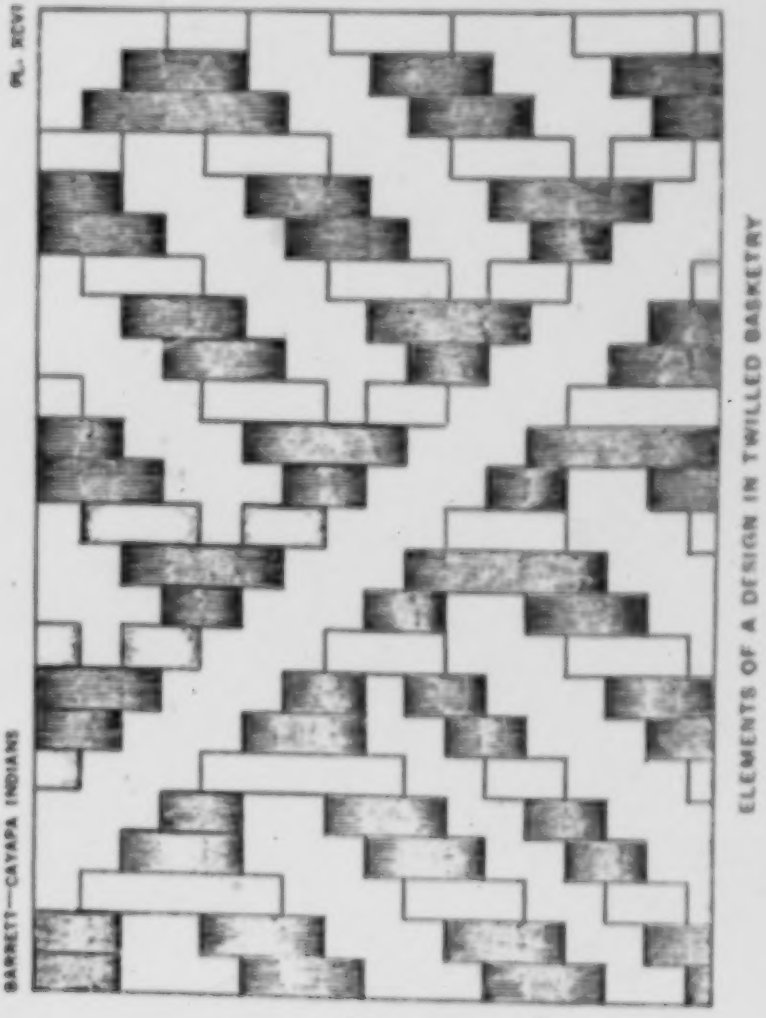

[p. 192 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

hand, comparatively intricate patterns are attempted, these methods of handling the elements may vary greatly and appear to be governed solely by the desire of the maker to produce such combinations as will bring to the surface elements of the desired colors in the necessary sequences. 285

In pl. XCIV, 1, 4, are shown instances of changes of manipulation obviously for decorative purposes. In fig. 4 of this plate the pattern consists of a horizontal row of dots followed by a row of squares joining at opposite corners in such manner as to resemble a section of an old-fashioned lattice; this is followed in turn by another row of dots and another row of squares. This pattern exists in the dark-colored elements as well as in the white ones, and the order of the appearance of a white or a dark element upon the surface is the same for the same direction—that is to say, whether both the elements under consideration run obliquely from right to left or vice versa. The order for those running downward from right to left is thus the direct complement of the order of those running from left to right. In the first case it is over one, under one, over two, under four, once repeated. This cycle completes two rows each of the dots and connected squares, which may be considered a full set of the elements of this pattern. When the elements are taken downward from left to right, the order is: over one, under one, over four, under two. 285 531

In the basket shown in pl. XCIV, 1, the manipulation of the elements is even more complex, owing to the fact that the design is much more complicated. In every case the particular pattern employed calls for regular

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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numerical cycles of its own in the manipulation of the splints. In the design shown in the illustration referred to, the cycles produced by this fairly intricate pattern are exhibited in the accompanying pl. XCVI. In the first of these the cycle is that which results from following the splints downward from right to left, while the second is the result of following them downward from left to right.

[415]

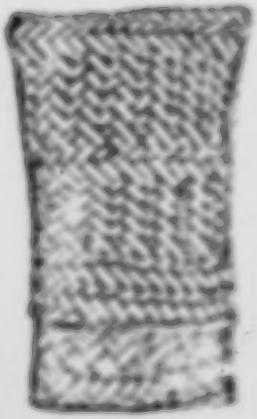

FIG. 37.—Twilled trinket basket

FIG. 38.—Twilled trinket basket

Taken separately, these two show fairly similar and very simple patterns. If, however, they are superposed, the points marked being taken as initial points, the intricate pattern in white shown in pl. XCIV, 1, results. From these cases and others similarly analyzed it is therefore evident that the exact mode of manipulation of the splints in all Cayapa twilling in which any intricate

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

pattern is attempted is governed entirely by the pattern desired, and that any numerical cycle will be employed which will bring to the surface the elements required to produce the desired pattern.

In connection with the change of sequence of the elements in working out an elaborate design, the technical processes involved in changing the direction of a line in a simple design, such as a zigzag, should also be noted. By the very nature of this technic the angle formed in changing the direction of a line is a right angle, as may be seen in pl. xcrv, 6. The change in direction is accomplished by shifting, after the vertex of the angle is past, the point of emergence of each successive horizontal element one vertical element to the right or to the left as the case may be. In this way each of the horizontal elements continues to pass over the regular number of vertical elements as the outer surface of the basket is viewed. The same is not true of the vertical elements however. Immediately in the angle the vertical elements are so crossed by the horizontal ones that only one width appears in the case of the first element, three in the next, and five in the third, after which the two divergent lines of vertical elements run regularly over three and under three. The procedure in the over-two and under-two twilling is the same except that the odd

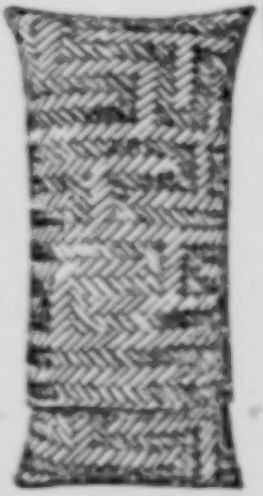

FIG. 17.—Twilled trinket basket

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

[5 3] 285

numbers of elements required to change the direction of the line are one and three instead of one, three, and five.

The details of twilled basketry making are well exemplified in the case of the hamper-shape basket which is such a characteristic form among the Cayapa.

In beginning a basket of this hamper form the two sets of elements are laid down at a right angle one to the other upon a level surface, usually a piece of bark cloth spread upon the floor or upon the lap of the weaver. They are first laid with their dark sides uppermost and are crossed in the regular manner as later on in the weaving. Along this initial line the weaver may cause any given element to pass over three of the elements running at right angles to it, and this is frequently done. As frequently, however, such an element passes over one only of the elements that pass in the opposite direction, and the element thus passed over emerges from beneath and in its turn passes over the next element which is laid parallel to the one above mentioned. Thus along the middle line, that is, the starting line, of one of these baskets, there may be a single row in which the elements passing in one direction go over only one of the elements passing in the opposite direction. Beyond this point they pass in the prescribed manner over three and under three, or, in the rare instances in which this is used, over two and under two.

These methods of beginning the base of such a basket are also invariably employed in those baskets in which the sides are made in the more elaborate over-seven and under-one technic above referred to. No instance was observed where this more elaborate technic had been

285 171

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

material, as has been previously pointed out, from those of this technic. The border in this case is essentially the same as that shown in fig. 8 of the same plate, which has been described in detail in speaking of the borders of wicker baskets. It differs only in that the ends of the twilling elements are turned over in groups of three instead of in pairs, in that one horizontal element is run around on the inner instead of the outer surface, and in that the two spiral binding elements pass in opposite directions instead of in the same direction, thus causing them to cross instead of to parallel each other. 285

KA'PŪ TECHNIC

Of the three technics in which elements passing in three different directions are employed, the simplest is that called by the Cayapa ka'pū, from kapū'ka, signifying eye, this name being derived from the hexagonal opening produced by the technic, which the Indians conceive to resemble an eye. It will perhaps facilitate the description of this technic to letter, in the accompanying illustrations, the elements used therein and the figures and angles which these produce. [531]

Three pairs of elements are required to produce a single unit of this technic, the elements of each pair passing in their particular direction and standing in certain given relations to the remaining elements in the set. Thus, in fig. 18 the two elements A and A' pass obliquely upward toward the right, and B and B' pass obliquely upward toward the left, while C and C' pass horizontally. The exact relation in which any one of these elements stands

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

to any other element is shown by this figure and need not be described in detail here. It should be noted, however, that it is by means of the third pair of these elements that the other two pairs are bound. If taken alone, any two pairs of these elements are found simply to pass over each other, while the elements of the third pair pass through the angles formed by the intersections of the elements of the other pairs and thus bind the whole figure firmly together. This holds good in every instance no matter in what order the pairs of elements are considered. The details of this technic are well illustrated in the baskets shown in pl. XCII, 8, and XCIII, 9. An examination of these will show that the above statements concerning the relations of these pairs of elements one to another in a unit figure holds true for the entire basket, and that if one element, A, passing in a given direction stands in a certain definite relation to another element, B, passing in another direction, then all the elements which are parallel to A stand in the same relation to all elements running parallel to B.

The result of the crossing of these six elements is two equilateral triangles, X Y Z and X' Y' Z', superposed in such manner as to produce a six-pointed star as shown in fig. 19. The central opening in this figure is a hexagon, *a b c d e f*, and it is this opening which characterizes the technic and gives the basket the name of ka'pū pickalyi, or eye-basket.

In beginning the manufacture of a basket of this technic no special knot or other device is used. Six elements are so laid on a convenient flat surface as to produce the first or central "eye," which may be con-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

to a certain extent for fanning themselves. As is shown in pl. cv this fan is always square and has a substantial handle extending from one corner. Almost the only material used for fans is the bark of the petiole of the fan-leaf palm. On rare occasions the bark of the hoja blanca is employed, and such fans almost always show a pattern in red produced by coloring one set of the twilling elements with achote. Both these materials are prepared in exactly the same manner as in making basketry.

The blade of the fan is always made in the over-three and under-three form of twilling, while the handle consists of a bundle of the elements which form the blade, this bundle having an outer surface of twilling or wicker-work, as shown in pl. cxxi, 5-9. Such fans are usually eight or nine inches square, though they are sometimes larger and frequently smaller. The larger fans are used almost exclusively for fanning the fire, while the smaller ones are used for giving personal comfort.

Fans are decorated with a considerable variety of geometric designs of the same character as those found on mats, and in lesser variety on twilled basketry. Pl. cv shows a number of these patterns, which in most instances are without special name and in no case are they symbolic, as has been pointed out in treating the decorative art of the Cayapa.

The exact manipulation of the splints used in fan-making is shown in pl. cxxi, 14 and 15, which exhibit respectively the uppermost corner and the right-hand corner of the front or upper surface of the fan. In detail the manipulation is as follows: A single long

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

BARRETT - CAYAPA DESIGNS

PL. CV

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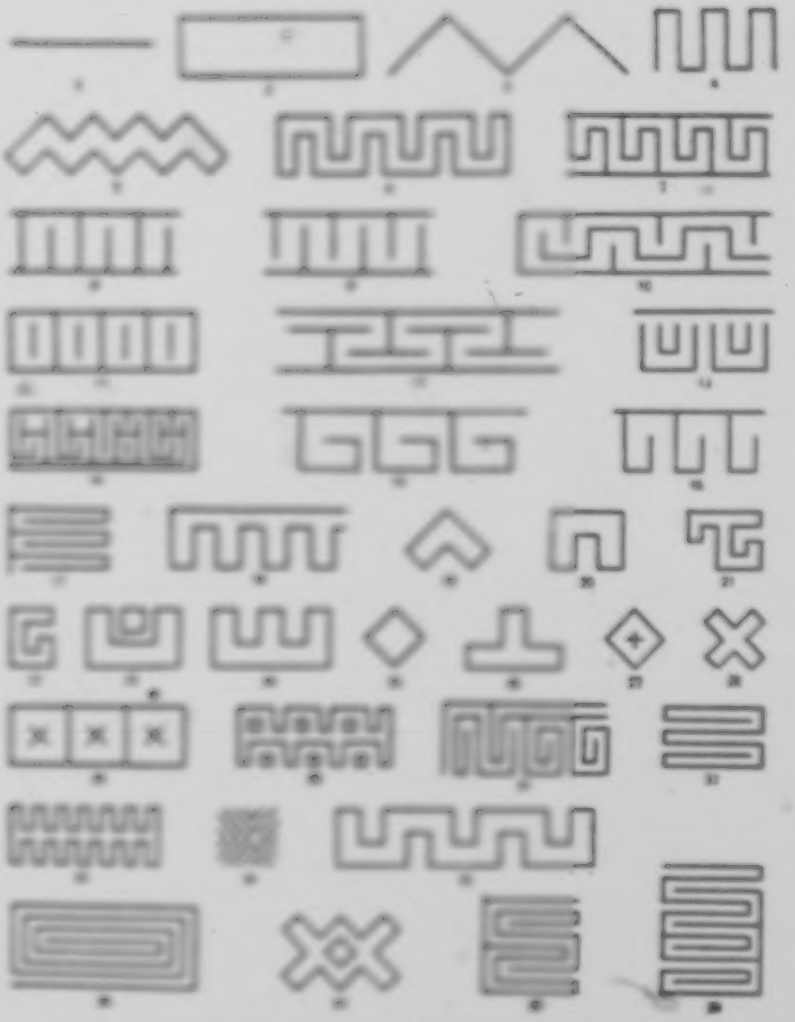

MAT AND FAN DESIGNS

[p. 266 (9)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 this middle horizontal line. However, a half-twist is given this element so as to bring its light-colored surface uppermost, as is shown in pl. CIII, 15. It is then passed on along itself and follows the same course it did originally, passing under and over the same vertical elements and thus maintaining the symmetry of the pattern. The ends of these returning sections are cut off, so that they are hidden under some of the transverse elements under which they pass and thus the smoothness of the finished surface is not interrupted by the appearance of the ragged ends of these elements.

MATS

Mats, called tya'pû, regardless of size and use, are made of the bark of the petiole of the fan-leaf palm, and are of the ordinary over-three and under-three twilling. [531] Their designs are identical with those found on fans, although they are not so varied as the fan designs.

As is done in beginning a hamper-shape basket (page 202), one of these mats is commenced by laying down two sets of splints and crossing them along a line which gives the desired width of the mat. This line is ordinarily a short distance from what is intended to be one end of the finished mat. A short section of each long splint lies on one side of this line, while the greater part of it extends outward in the opposite direction. After having woven a few courses under and over three, the one end of the mat is finished off. This is done by taking the short ends of the elements and weaving them to the point desired as the edge of the mat, where one set of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[p. 284 (b)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

of cords is selected and of them is made a large loop, the lower inch or so of which is securely wrapped as in the case of the loop of the casting net, and it is from this wrapping that the cords emerge. In one instance, that of a hammock made of pita cord, there are fourteen of these cords coming out of this wrapping. To these are added the end of the cord with which the wrapping is done. With these fifteen cords the body of the hammock is woven. Each alternate course of knots numbers seven, while the next course contains eight. The meshes of such hammocks are not made over a mesh-stick, and hence vary somewhat in the same hammock. In the example above mentioned they range from four and one-half to six inches square. In this instance seventeen courses of knots were required to complete the hammock, which, when closed and stretched, measures eight feet in extreme length. The second end is finished off with the same kind of a loop as that above described. The description of this hammock will serve for all, there being little variation.

DECORATIVE ART

From considerations of technic the decorative art of the Cayapa falls into four classes: textile decoration, incised decoration, painting, and carving. In the first class belong such designs as appear on twilled baskets, fans, mats, and soft textiles; the second class is confined entirely to the surfaces of calabash utensils and to a slight extent to pottery; the third is found on canoes and on the human body; and the fourth class is confined to wooden dolls, paddle handles, and sometimes seats.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

•531 In the matter of the forms also, the designs fall practically into these general groups, though in certain instances the same design is found in more than one group. Taken as a whole Cayapa designs are largely geometric, the only exceptions being in the carved wooden dolls, in a few calabash designs, and in a considerable number [171] of the designs on soft textiles. Now and then a realistic modern design is found also upon a canoe and in rare instances in a painting upon the human body. This entire statement applies to the frequency of occurrence of the different types of design. If considered, however, from the standpoint of the number of various elemental designs of the realistic class as compared with elemental designs of the strictly geometric class, the former are fully equal to the latter, though the geometric designs are subject to greater variation.

[552] It is remarkable that few names are given designs except in the case of those on soft textiles. In the case of the face, arm, and leg paintings, for instance, no names were obtainable, and they have no symbolic significance. This fact is noteworthy when so large a series of designs is found (pl. XXXIX-LII) and when they are so universally and extensively used. The only exception to this rule is that of the trident-shape design shown in pl. LII, 11. This, however, is strictly modern and was copied directly from the fish-spear.

501 Also in the considerable series of canoe designs shown
553 in pl. LXXIII-LXXV, no specific names were given by
[552] informants. These are all old-type designs and much preferred by the Cayapa to the modern designs which some paint on canoes made for sale, but never upon those

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

designed for their own use. In every instance these old-type designs are geometric, but the newer ones are usually realistic, depicting mammals, human beings, and other realistic objects.

In carving, the dolls are entirely realistic, as is shown in pl. LXXXIV, and depicting, the dog, alligator, bird, and especially the human form. In the last instance care is usually taken to indicate the sex. In paddle handles, on the other hand, the forms are usually simple and are always geometric, as is shown in pl. LXXVI. They have no special names. Even in the case of the elaborately carved handle shown in fig. 9 of the plate, no name was given for any of the designs. The same holds true of the designs in the face-painting sticks depicted in pl. CXXI–CXXII.

Closely related to ornamental carving are the wooden seats shown in pl. LXXXIII, some of which receive ornamental treatment certainly not demanded by utilitarian considerations. From comparison with similar objects of South and Central America it seems probable that in these seats, especially the forms shown in figs. 2 and 3, there lies a striking connection of the Cayapa culture with that of a number of other tribes in these regions. As has been shown by Professor Saville,[15] the archeological range of these objects is extensive, the most elaborate among them being the large stone seats from Manabi, carved to represent jaguars.

On the surfaces of calabash utensils are found the only incised designs in use among the Cayapa. These are

[15] See page 156, note.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

531 415 made by cutting with the point of a knife or machete through the calabash rind, exposing the inner, white, hard portion which at first contrasts greatly with the brown general surface of the utensil. After such a utensil has been used for a time the incised designs also become brown. The calabash designs shown in pl. LXXXVI present various realistic figures, as well as a considerable number of geometric designs. In the small series of figures shown in this plate there are ten recognizable animal forms, namely:

Subject	*Figures*
Human being	1–4
Human being on horse	5, 9
Monkey	6
Horse or dog	18
Bird	10–12
Lizard	13
Turtle	16
Crab	14, 36
Scorpion	7
Tick	15
Animal (unknown form)	8, 17

The majority of these designs are relatively small, but in the crab design shown in fig. 36 of pl. LXXXVI, is presented a notable exception. This design appeared about the opening of a large, spherical, water-storage calabash and covered about half the entire surface of the vessel. The usual names given to the various animals themselves are also applied to these designs. As usual, on the other hand, the geometric figures are frequently unnamed.

531 523 Cayapa pottery is very simple in its forms and is entirely without decoration except in rare instances in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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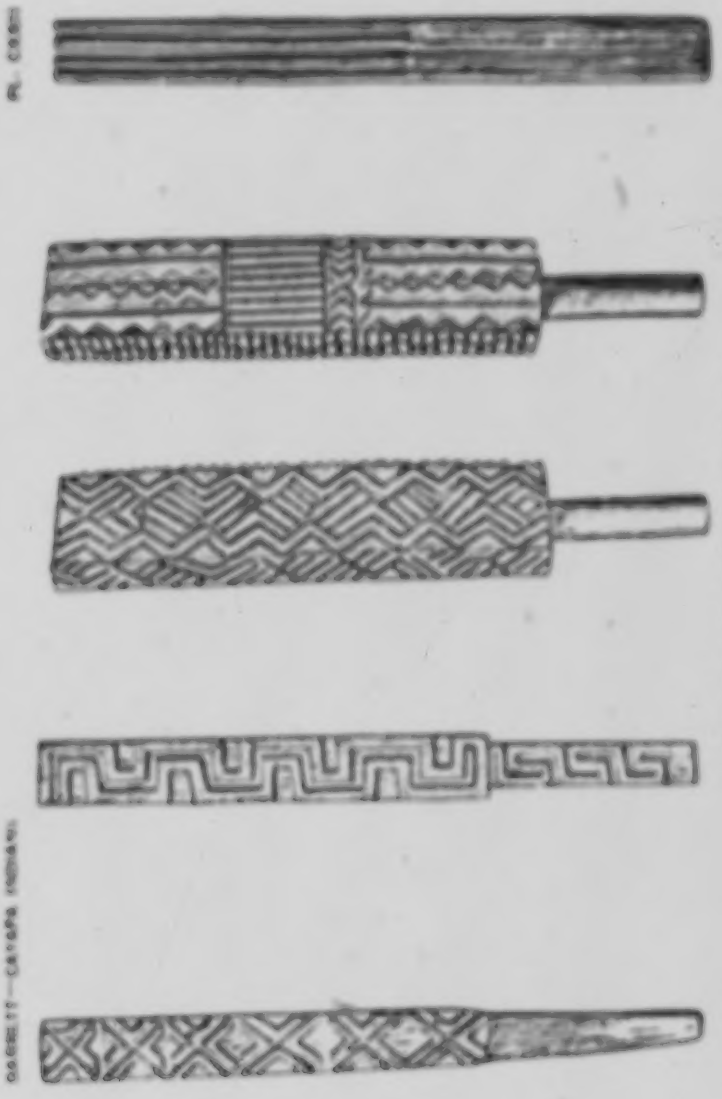

CARVED FACE-PAINTING STICKS

[p. 288(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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652
294

CLOTH DESIGNS: HUMAN AND MAMMAL FIGURES

[p. 288 (8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

which a slight attempt is made to ornament the edge of the shoulder of a vessel with a few incised lines or dots. No names are given to these simple decorations, and no attempt is made to work out any regular patterns even in the rare instances in which they are used. 531 323

The designs in hard textiles—twilled baskets, mats, and fans—are purely geometric, fairly simple (as is shown in pl. CV), and few in number. These conditions are quite natural and are imposed by the character of the material and the technic employed. There is comparatively little naming of these designs. Zigzags such as those shown in figs. 3 and 5 of the plate are called dē'tcū, and figures such as are illustrated in figs. 25 and 27 are commonly called kapū'ka, signifying "eye." 531 285

Soft Textile Designs

It is in the soft textiles that the greatest variety of both geometric and realistic designs appears and where the only detailed naming of designs occurs. A table of the names of the various manta designs shown in pl. CXXIII-CXXVII, together with a glossary, is given in the following pages. From these data various interesting facts concerning the names of manta designs are apparent. 531 552 286

The names may be classified as: mammals, birds, reptiles, insects, miscellaneous animate objects, parts of animate objects, plants, artificial objects, geometric figures, and untranslatable terms. The following tabulation will show the various numbers in each class.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Mammals:
- human being
- monkey (two species)
- horse
- burro
- cow
- dog
- goat
- sheep
- guinea pig
- deer

Birds:
- pĭ'tcû
- la'pĭtcû
- tû'mbĭtcĭlĭli
- hawk
- pelican
- turkey
- buzzard
- frigate bird
- duck
- egret
- dove (general term)
  - pactû'kû
  - wa'pû'pû
- chicken

Reptiles:
- snake (general term)
- boa constrictor
- lizard

Insects:
- centipede
- scorpion
- tick
- spider

Miscellaneous animate objects:
- crab
  - nĕ'lû
  - *te*'pûĭ nĕ'lû
  - There are also three compound terms in which the word crab appears.
- turtle
- toad

Parts of animate objects:
- eye (general term)
  - little eye
  - kapû'ka ya dĕtcû
  - ka'pû tcĭlara
  - kapûka dalala kr''tû
  - dû'lalara kapûka
- ear
- lizard foot
- lizard egg
- tongue of sting-ray

Plants:
- pitigua
- fruit

Artificial objects:
- feast table
- belt or girdle
- ladder
- steps of ladder
- stick used for face painting
- top
- bait
- steel, of "flint-and-steel"
- canoe design
- cross
- handkerchief design
  - also te'mbû balya'lya

Geometric figures:
- zigzag
  - se'rañ dĕtcû
  - ĕ' dĕtcû
  - ûyû'mĭ dĕtcû
  - de''pañmĭ dĕtcû
  - dĕ'tcû serañ tsû'a
- horizontal

Miscellaneous:
- technic (the bandilas technic is mentioned).
- color

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Untranslatable terms:

balya'lya
balya'lyac
delam ba'"ta
de'we
dû'lalara
bû'lara
bû'"la
bû'lara
bû'rula
bû'rûlara
kûê'bû
nim bi'lya
pala'cla
pala'la
pala'c lara
pala'lac
pala'lara
pala'ra
palû'c lara
pala'tcû
petl
pû'ka ka
se'rañ
tapû'lyû
tê'pû balya'lya
tyûlya'lya
tyûm bi'lya
wîlû'cla
tyû'ndyû tcî lara

While there is a large series of geometric figures, as shown in pls. CXXV–CXXVII, and while these appear on mantas in fully as great as, if not in greater numbers than do the realistic figures, inspection shows that these are really variations of a comparatively few geometric elements, chiefly the zigzag, the cross, the triangle, and the rectangle, and that in reality there are not such a large number of distinctive designs as might at first appear. Furthermore, an inspection of the native names of these designs, most of which are of the untranslatable class, shows that the Cayapa recognize these similarities and that little realism is read into the designs by them. In fact the designs called eye, steps of a ladder, crab design (by which is meant the tracks made by a crab in the mud), and steel for striking fire, are the only ones of known significance that show evidence of a tendency toward realism in geometric forms. There may be among the untranslatable terms some which would, if their significations were known, show a similar tendency.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

286 Conventionalization of realistic designs, on the other
531 hand, is somewhat more common, though this conventionalization is such as might be expected to be imposed by the nature of the textile and by the technic employed. Among the best examples of this are such human beings as those shown in pl. CXXIII, 12–16, or such toads as those illustrated in 17 and 18 of the same plate.

Another good example of this tendency is shown in fig. 42, called pelican, and in fig. 45 which is called dog and also monkey. In general this tendency toward the conventionalization of realistic designs appears to be present chiefly among the more unskilled weavers, and it will be observed that as a rule the more finely woven and better textiles from a technical point of view show correspondingly greater skill in design and a greater tendency toward realism. In such textiles the designs are usually of such a nature that there can be no doubt as to their import.

Perhaps one of the most striking features of the textile patterns of the Cayapa is what may be termed an abhorrence of vacant spaces. It will be observed that in a design to which any claim to elaborateness can be made, the tendency is to fill all corners and small areas, not directly connected with the main motif of the pattern, with lines, dots, or other small figures.

531 In conclusion, therefore, it may be said that the decorative art of the Cayapa is characterized by the following features:

1. A predominance of geometric patterns which in a large measure bear no names and have no definite signification.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

2. The presence upon textiles, and to a lesser extent upon calabash utensils, of realistic designs, which in certain instances tend toward conventionalization.

3. A slight tendency toward the assignment of realistic significations to what appear to be purely geometric forms.

4. The abhorrence of vacant spaces, shown by the filling of all small areas about a large design with dots, lines, and other irrelevant devices.

Table of Manta Design Names

Plate	Figure	
CXXIII	1	human being (tca'tcl)
	2	human being (tca'tcl)
	3	human being (tca'tcl)
	4	human being (tca'tcl)
		toad (sa'pû, Spanish sapo)
	5	human being (tca'tcl)
	6	human being (tca'tcl)
	7	human being (tca'tcl)
	8	human being (tca'tcl)
	9	pala'la (untranslatable)
	10	pala'la (untranslatable)
	11	lalya'lyac (untranslatable)
	12	spider (mû'ele, Spanish araña)
		human being (tca'tcl)
	13	human being (tca'tcl)
	14	human being (tca'tcl)
	15	human being (tca'tcl)
	16	human being (tca'tcl)
	17	toad (sa'pû, Spanish sapo)
		hû'rtilara or hû'la (untranslatable)
	18	toad (sa'pû, Spanish sapo)
	19	human being (tca'tcl)
		toad (sa'pû, Spanish sapo)
	20	toad (sa'pû, Spanish sapo)
	21	hû'la or pala'tcu (untranslatable)

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXIII	22	monkey (cū'rĭ, Spanish machin, mico; and wo'cū, Spanish mono)
	23	monkey (cū'rĭ, Spanish machin, mico)
	24	horse (k wa'lyū, Spanish caballo), with human being (tca'tcĭ)
	25	horse (kawa'lyū, Spanish caballo)
	26	horse (kawa'lyū, Spanish caballo) goat (tcĭ'bū, Spanish chivo)
	27	horse (kawa'lyū, Spanish caballo) goat (tcĭ'bū, Spanish chivo)
	28	ho'lara (untranslatable) human being (tca'tcĭ)
	29	monkey (cū'rĭ, Spanish machin, mico)
	30	horse (kawa'lyū, Spanish caballo), with human being (tca'tcĭ)
	31	monkey (cu'rĭ, Spanish machin, mico) horse (kawa'lyū, Spanish caballo)
	32	No interpretation obtained
	33	horse (kawa'lyū, Spanish caballo)
	34	horse (kawa'lyū, Spanish caballo)
	35	cow (waga'ra, Spanish vaca)
	36	horse (kawa'lyū, Spanish caballo)
	37	horse (kawa'lyū, Spanish caballo)
	38	pelican (nana'' ka, Spanish alcatraz) crab (ne'lū, the small red land-crab) monkey (wa'cū, Spanish mono)
	39	monkey (cū'rĭ, Spanish machin, mico)
	40	deer (ma'na)
	41	deer (ma'na) hawk (hūya'lyū, Spanish gabilan)
	42	pelican (nana'' ka, Spanish alcatraz)
	43	human being (tca'tcĭ)
	44	No interpretation obtained
	45	dog (kū'tca) monkey (wo'cū, wa'cū, Spanish mono)
CXXIV	1	guinea pig (a''tse) sheep (ōic'a, Spanish oveja)
	2	guinea pig (a''tse)
	3	guinea pig (a''tse)
	4	sheep (ōica, Spanish oveja) guinea pig (a''tse)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Plate	Figure	
CXXIV	5	human being (tca'tcĭ), with guinea pig (a"tse), or sheep (ŏĭ'ca, Spanish oveja)
	6	human being (tca'tcĭ), with sheep (ŏĭ'ca, Spanish oveja), or guinea pig (a"tse)
	7	horse (kawa'lyû, Spanish caballo) dog (kû'tca)
	8	guinea pig (a"tse) sheep (ŏĭ'ca, Spanish oveja)
	9	goat (tcĭ'bû, Spanish chivo)
	10	guinea pig (a"tse) cow (waga'ra, Spanish vaca)
	11	guinea pig (a"tse) burro (bû'rû)
	12	An animal form for which no name was obtained
	13	An animal design; no information available. It resembles a lizard and might be given by the Cayapa the name of any one of several species of lizards.
	14	horse (kawa'lyû, Spanish caballo)
	15	cow (waga'ra, Spanish vaca)
	16	monkey (cû'rĭ, Spanish machin, mico) sheep (ŏĭ'ca, Spanish oveja)
	17	human being (tca'tcĭ) tyu'ndyû tcĭ lara (untranslatable)
	18	An animal form; no name obtained
	19	dog (kû'tca)
	20	bird (pĭ'tcû; particular species not stated
	21	pelican (nana"ka) horse (kawa'lyû). These names apply to the large bird which is the chief figure in this design. The small triangular portion of this design is called tembû balya'lya or tembû pĭ'lya (tembû, a contraction of tembû'pû, signifying handkerchief)
	22	domestic turkey (kastĕ'lya walya'pa, literally Spanish or Castilian chicken) kûĕ'bû (untranslatable)
	23	bird (pĭ'tcû)
	24	bird (pĭ'tcû) dove (a small species of a reddish color, called by the Cayapa wa'pû'pû)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXIV	25	pelican (nana"ka) dove (a large reddish species, called in Cayapa pactû'kû)
	26	pelican (nana"ka) chicken (walya'pa)
	27	No name was obtained. It resembles the design shown in figure 33, which was called pelican (nana"ka)
	28	horse (kawa'lyû, Spanish caballo). This interpretation appears to be in error. The design is clearly a bird form, not that of a horse. It resembles in all essential details the design shown in figure 33, which was called pelican (nana"ka)
	29	white egret (ka"tsû, Spanish garsa) bird (ps'tcû) pelican (nana"ka) dove; exact species not stated
	30	pelican (nana"ka)
	31	bird (ps'tcû) dove; exact species not stated
	32	No name was obtained for this design, but in many respects it resembles that shown in figure 45, which was called white egret (ka"tsû, Spanish garsa)
	33	pelican (nana"ka)
	34	frigate bird (nyambiwa'tû)
	35	pelican (nana"ka)
	36	buzzard (kû'ndûrûrû, petyû'tyû, Spanish gallinaso) pelican (nana"ka) horse (kawa'lyû, Spanish caballo) goat (tci'bû, Spanish chivo)
	37	pelican (nana"ka) chicken (walya'pa)
	38	pelican (nana"ka) duck (pa'tô, Spanish pato)
	39	tu'mbitcîîîî (a small black bird with red beak)
	40	pelican (nana"ka)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

296
531
582

CLOTH DESIGNS: MAMMAL, BIRD, AND INSECT FIGURES

[p. 296 (A)]

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

28
• 531
552

CLOTH DESIGNS: MAMMAL GROUPS AND GEOMETRIC FIGURES

[p.296(3)]

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXIV	41	pelican (nane'ha)
	42	dove (a small reddish species, called by the Cayapa wa'pi'pū)
	43	No name was obtained for these two birds. They would be called birds (pi'tcū), at least, and would probably be given specific names
	44	bird, a small species, black and yellow in color, a good singer and is much kept by the Cayapa as a pet (la'pi'tcū, Spanish pichicha) buzzard (petyū'tyū, hū'sdūrūrū, Spanish gallinazo)
	45	white egret (ha'tcū, Spanish garza)
	46	spider (mū'lele, Spanish araña)
	47	spider (mū'lele, Spanish araña)
	48	spider (mū'lele, Spanish araña)
	49	scorpion (alagra'ra, Spanish alacrán) spider (mū'lele, Spanish araña)
	50	scorpion (alagra'ra, Spanish alacrán)
	51	No name obtained for this butterfly-like design
	52	No name obtained for this bird-like design
	53	turtle (pūtcī'lū)
	54	turtle (pūtcī'lū)
	55	crab—the small red land-crab (ne'lū) crab—a certain coast species (*tepūl* ne'lū) karna'da (probably from the Spanish). The term is said to signify bait and also to be the name of a certain species of crustacean called in Spanish camaron brava
	56	crab—the small red land-crab (ne'lū)
	57	centipede (se'pīnde)
	58	bimbū'ka (piande, a species of lizard) crab—the small red land-crab (ne'lū)
	59	turtle (pi'tcī'lū) toad (sa'pū, Spanish sapo)
CXXV	1	human being (tca'tcī)
	2	human being (tca'tcī)
	3	monkey (cū'rī, Spanish machin, mico)
	4	monkey (cū'rī, Spanish machin, mico)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXV	5	monkey (cû'rĩ, Spanish machin, mico)
	6	bird (pĩ'tcû) with monkey (cû'rĩ)
	?	No interpretation was obtained for these figures. They resemble some others which were called horses and are probably intended to represent that animal
	8	horse (kawa'lyû, Spanish caballo), with deer (ma'na)
	9	deer (ma'na)
	10	man (tca'tcĩ), with deer (ma'na), and bird (pĩ'tcû)
	11	deer (ma'na)
	12	deer (ma'na) with dogs (kû'tca)
	13	deer (ma'na) with bird (pĩ'tcû)
	14	horses (kawa'lyû, Spanish caballo), with bird (pĩ'tcû)
	15	zigzag (dẽ'tcû). The exact names of zigzags are governed by their relative size and their relations to those with which they are associated; viz.: de''pañmi dẽ'tcû = horizontal zigzag ûyûmi dẽ'tcû = vertical zigzag e' dẽ'tcû = big zigzag se'rañ dẽ'tcû, untranslatable form of zigzag lya'tena (the palm-wood steps of the house ladder). This name refers to the short lines which fill the spaces at the angles formed by the zigzag
	16	zigzag (dẽ'tcû). See fig. 15 above.
	17	zigzag (dẽ'tcû). See fig. 15 above. eye (kapû'ka). This term applies to the diamond-shape figures in the angles formed by the zigzag.
	18	big zigzag (e' dẽtcû)
	19	zigzag (dẽ'tcû). See fig. 15 above
	20	zigzag (dẽ'tcû). See fig. 15 above pitigua design (tyûm bĩ'lya) feast table (pa'kigĩ)
	21	pitigua design (etcûm bĩû, from te'tcûm bĩlya) snake (pĩni)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Plate	Figure	
CXXV	22	seraū dē'tcū (an untranslatable form of zigzag)
	23	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above
		eye (kapū'ka) and little eye (ka' kapūka) refer to the diamond-shape figures in the angles formed by the zigzag
	24, 25, 26	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above.
	27	big zigzag (e' dētcū)
		eye (kapū'ka and small eye (ka kapū'ka) refer to the diamond-shape figures in the angles of the zigzag
	28 29, 30	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above
	31	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above
		pīlya dē'we (pī'lya signifies design, and it appears that dē'we may possibly be related to dē'tcū, meaning zigzag. This design consists in part of a zigzag)
	32	big zigzag (e' dētcū)
		hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
		eye (kapū'ka). This term applies to the diamond-shape portions of the design
	33	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above
	34	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above
		tongue of sting-ray (tyū'wī nī'ka)
	35	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above
		hū'rūlara, hu''la (untranslatable)
	36	bīmbū'ka (piande, a small species of lizard)
		e pala'tcū (e signifies big; pala'tcū is untranslatable)
	37	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above
	38	pala'ra (untranslatable)
		pala'tcū (untranslatable)
		hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
	39	No interpretation was given for this design, since it appears to be of modern origin. Such a modern design is usually called te'mbū pīlya, which signifies handkerchief design from the fact that they are derived largely from handkerchiefs of modern manufacture
	40	big zigzag (e' dētcū)
	41, 42, 43	zigzag (dē'tcū). See fig. 15 above

c.86
531
552
[177]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXV	44	palm-wood steps of the house ladder (lya'tena)
		belt (tcū'mbī). This term should be tcū'mbī pīlya, which signifies belt design and is applicable to any design which appears on a belt
CXXVI	1	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		eggs of a species of lizard called bīmbū'ka (bī'mbū napīpū)
	2	hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
		eggs of a species of lizard called bīmbū'ka
	3	(bī'mbū napīpū)
		pū'ka ka (this appears to be really ka' pūka which means small fruit)
		big zigzag (e' dētcū)
		balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
	4	hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
		balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		pū'ka ka (apparently signifies small fruit)
	5	foot of a small species of lizard (bī'mbū nyapa)
		e hū''la (e signifies large; hū''la is untranslatable)
	6	egg of a small species of lizard (bī'mbū napīpū)
		hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
	7	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyū'ndyu tcī lara (untranslatable)
	8	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
		handkerchief design (tē'mbū pīlya)
	9	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
		hū''lara (untranslatable)
		handkerchief design (te'mbū pīlya)
	10	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		belt design (tcū'mbī pilya). (This term is applied to any design on a belt, regardless of the nature of the design)
		big zigzag (e' dētcū)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXVI		palm-wood steps of a house ladder (lya'tena). (This term applies to the horizontal lines which form part of this design)
		tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
	11	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		te'pū balyalya (untranslatable)
		pala'c lara (untranslatable)
	12	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
	13	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		horizontal design (de" pañ bīlya)
		tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
	14	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		handkerchief design (te'mbū pilya)
	15	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
	16	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		belt (tcū'mbī). (This term should be tcū'mbī pilya, signifying belt design. It is equally applicable to any design which appears on a belt)
	17	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		belt (tcū'mbī). (This term should be tcū'mbī pilya, signifying belt design. It is equally applicable to any design which appears on a belt)
	18	No interpretation obtained
	19	No interpretation obtained
	20	No interpretation obtained
	21	zigzag (dē'tcū). See pl. cxxv, fig. 15, above
		belt (tcū'mbī). (This term is applicable with equal propriety to all designs appearing on belts; its full form is tcū'mbī pilya)
	22	eggs of a species of small lizard called bīmbū'ka (bī'mbū napīpū)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
		hū'rūlara, hū"la (untranslatable)
		pū'te wīlûcla (pū'te signifies hamper-shape basket; wīlû'cla is untranslatable)
	23	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		ladder (lya'pī)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

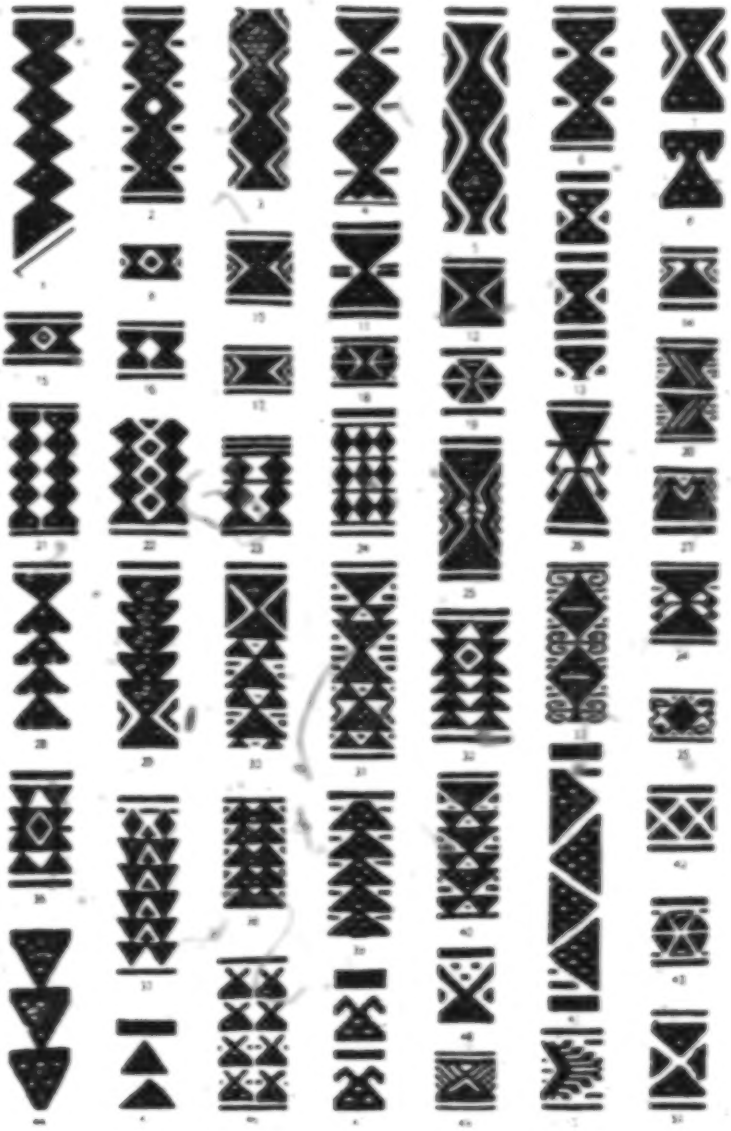
286
531
552

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXVI	24	No name obtained
	25	No name obtained
	26	No name obtained
	27	No name obtained
	28	belt (tcū'mbī). (This term applies to any design which appears on a belt; its full form is tcū'mbī pīlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	29	mō'pītcīpapa, mōpī ke'nū tcīpapa. (The carved stick used as an implement with which to apply the red and yellow face paint)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
		balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyūm bī'lya (bī'lya signifies design, tyūm appears to come from te'tcūa, signifying pitigua). (The connection of the design and name here is not very clear)
	30	handkerchief design (te'mbū pīlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
		pala'lara (untranslatable)
	31	handkerchief design (te'mbū pīlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	32	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyūm bī'lya (bī'lya signifies design, and tyūm appears to be derived from te'tcūa, signifying pitigua)
	33	No signification was obtained for this elaborate design
	34	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
	35	No signification obtained
	36	No signification obtained
	37	No signification obtained
	38	handkerchief design (te'mbū pīlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	39	No signification obtained
	40	handkerchief design (te'mbū pīlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	41	zigzag (dē'tcū). See pl. CXXV, fig. 15, above
		te'pū balya'lya (untranslatable)
		balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		fruit (pū'ka)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS PL. CXXVI

286
531
552



CLOTH DESIGNS: GEOMETRIC FIGURES

[p. 302(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

CLOTH DESIGNS: GEOMETRIC FIGURES

[P. 302 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXVI	42	pala'cla (untranslatable) belt (tcū'mbī). (This term in full is tcū'mbī pīlya, signifying belt design, and is applicable to all designs appearing on belts)
	43	balya'lyac (untranslatable) hō'lara (untranslatable term)
	44	handkerchief design (te'mbū pilya) tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	45	tyūlya'lya (untranslatable) tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
	46	canoe design (kūm bī'lya) handkerchief design (te'mbū pilya)
	47	handkerchief design (te'mbū pilya) te'mbū balyalya (te'mbū signifies handkerchief; balya'lya is untranslatable)
	48	pala'tcū or palū'c lara (untranslatable)
	49	pala'tcū (untranslatable) ears (pū'ñge) centipede (se'pīnde)
	50	No signification obtained
	51	No signification obtained
CXXVII	1	big zigzag (e' dētcū) e pala'tcū (e signifies big; pala'tcū is untranslatable) boa constrictor (we'sū)
	2	e hū'rūlara (e signifies big; hū'rūlara is untranslatable) pitigua design (tyūm bī'lya) (tyūm comes from te'tcūa, meaning pitigua)
	3	ba'ndilas (a certain basketry technic). (This particular basketry technic is a kind of openwork which produces small squares similar to those shown here. It is clearly a case of the adaptation of this technic to this textile) hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
	4	ba'ndilas (a certain basketry technic). See fig. 3 above zigzag (dē'tcū). (This interpretation seems doubtful)
	5	hū'rūlara, hū''la, hū'rūla (untranslatable)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 531 552

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXVII	5	eye (kapū'ka) kapūka ya dē'tcu (eye ya zigzag)
	6	hū'rūlara, hu''la (untranslatable)
	7	e hū''la, hū''la (untranslatable)
	8	hū'rūlara, hū''la, pala'lac (untranslatable)
	9	ba'ndilas (a certain basketry technic). See fig. 3 above
	10	hū'rūlara, hū''la, e hū''la, ho' lara (untranslatable)
	11	zigzag (dē'tcū) hū'rūlara, hū' la (untranslatable)
	12	ba'ndilas (a certain basketry technic). See fig. 3 above crab design (ne' pīlya) nim bī'lya (untranslatable) zigzag (dē'tcū). (The connection seems doubtful)
	13	ba'ndilas (a certain basketry technic). See fig. 3 above
	14	pala'la, pala'lara, pala'tcū (untranslatable)
	15	hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable) turtle (pītcī'lī)
	16	No interpretation obtained
	17	hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
	18	No interpretation obtained
	19	pala'tcū, tapū'lyū (untranslatable)
	20	cross (karū'sa, from the Spanish cruz) pala'tcu (untranslatable) top (tōmbe'ta, from the Spanish trompo)
	21	pala'cla (untranslatable) belt (tcū'mbī). (This term in full is tcū'mbī pīlya, belt design, and is equally applicable to all designs occurring on belts)
	22	big zigzag (ē' dētcu) i'clabō ñ (iron used with flint in striking fire)
	23	eye (kapū'ka)
	24	lya'tena (the palm-wood steps of a ladder) ne' pīlya tyūndyū tcī lara (ne' pīlya signifies crab design; the remainder of the term is untranslatable)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXVII	24	tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable) ladder (lya'pī) crab design (ne' pīlya)
	25	lya'tena (the palm-wood steps of a ladder) ne' pīlya tyūndyū tcī lara (ne' pīlya signifies crab design; the remainder of the term is untranslatable) ladder (lya'pī) crab design (ne' pīlya) tcū'mbī delam ba"ta (tcū'mbī signifies belt; the remainder of the term is untranslatable)
	26	lya'tena (the palm-wood steps of a ladder)
	27	crab design (ne' pīlya) nim bī'lya (untranslatable)
	28	ka'pū tcī lara (to turn the eyes in an upward direction) lya'tena (the palm-wood steps of a ladder)
	29	delam ba"ta (untranslatable) lya'tena (the palm-wood steps of a ladder)
	30	crab design (ne' pīlya)
	31	zigzag (dē'tcū). (The connection seems doubtful) The stick used to apply face-paint; it is called mō'pītcīpapa, mōpī ke'nū tcīpapa, and mū'pī kenū tcīpapa, all variants of the same term
	32	crab design (ne' pīlya) nim bī'lya (untranslatable) crab eyes (ne' kapūka)
	33	zigzag (dē'tcū)
	34	crab design (ne' pīlya)
	35	No interpretation obtained
	36	No interpretation obtained for this design as a whole. Horizontal bars of this kind are called lya'tena, meaning the palm-wood steps of the house ladder, and the small rectangles are called ne' pīlya, signifying crab design, or nim bī'lya, in which nim is a term of unknown signification
	37	crab design (ne' pīlya)

286
531
552

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

286 PLATE FIGURE
CXXVII 37 crab design white cotton (ne' pūlya fibañ ûtcûa)
531 nim bi'lya (untranslatable)
552 crab design technic (ne' pilya decima)
eye (kapû'ka)

38 eye (kapû'ka)
crab eye (ne' kapûka, nē'lû kapûka)
dû'lalara kapûka, kapûka dala'la ke'tû (kapû'ka in each of these terms signifies eye. The remaining portions of these terms are untranslatable)
balya'lyac (untranslatable)
belt design (tcû'mbī pīlya). (This term belt applies equally to all designs occurring on belts)

39 No interpretation obtained. Horizontal bars of this kind are usually called lya'tena, which signifies the palm-wood steps of a house ladder. As a matter of fact the design from which this figure was taken was a very small one and it is doubtful if this name would apply

40 zigzag (dē'tcû)
[372] i'clabō'ñ (iron used with flint in striking fire)

41 i'clabō'ñ (iron used with flint in striking fire)

42 i'clabō'ñ (iron used with flint in striking fire)
zigzag (dē'tcû)
The rectangular closed figures are called kû'tca petī; kû'tca signifies dog, but pe'tī is untranslatable. The crossed lines between these rectangular figures are called pala'la, a term of unknown signification

43 i'clabō'ñ (the iron used with flint in striking fire)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Glossary of Manta Design Names

286
531
552
177
104

bait, karna'da. Also said to be the name of a certain crustacean, called in Spanish camaron brava. CXXIV, 55.

balya'lyac (untranslatable). CXXIII, 11; CXXVI, 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 23, 29, 32, 34, 35, 41, 43; CXXVII, 38.

basket. See pū'te.

belt or girdle, tcū'mbī, a term that may be used as part of the name of any design on a belt. CXXV, 44; CXXVI, 16, 17, 21, 28, 42; CXXVII, 21, 38.

bird, pi'tcú. CXXIV, 20, 23, 24, 29, 31, 43; CXXV, 6, 10, 13, 14.

la'pi'tcū. A small black and yellow bird, a good singer, much kept as a pet by the Cayapa. Spanish, pichichu. CXXIV, 44.

tū'mbitcilīlī. A small black bird with red beak. CXXIV, 39.

frigate bird, nyambīwa'tū. CXXIV, 34.

boa constrictor, we'sū. CXXVII, 1.

burro, bū'rū. CXXIV, 11.

buzzard, kū'ndūrūrū, petyū'tyū; Spanish, gallinaso. CXXIV 36, 44.

canoe design, kūm bī'lya: kūm, from kū'lo, canoe. CXXVI, 46.

centipede's hand, se'pīnde tyapa; hand (not leg) = tyapa'pa. CXXIV, 57; CXXVI, 49.

chicken, walya'pa. CXXIV, 26, 37.

color. Frequently an informant gave as the name of a particular design the name of the color of the material from which it was made. Such names, of course, have no significance in the interpretation of designs, but are of interest in that often they were the only ones obtainable. The names particularly used in this connection were:

te'nda, green thread, from a small shrub called te'nda tcī, the leaves of which provide the pigment used in coloring this thread. [386]

ka'kō, lavender thread, this color being obtained from a small periwinkle-like mollusk.

The names for other colors were almost never used in this manner.

cow, waga'ra, from Spanish vaca. CXXIII, 35; CXXIV, 10, 15.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552
177
104

crab, ne'lū, the small red land-crab. CXXIII, 38; CXXIV, 55, 56, 58.

tepuī ne'lū, a certain species from the coast region. CXXIV, 55.

crab eye, ne'kapūka, ne'lū kapūka. This refers to the eye of the small red land-crab called ne'lū. CXXVII, 32, 38.

crab design, ne' pīlya: ne from ne'lū, crab; pī'lya, design. CXXVII, 12, 24, 25, 27, 30, 32, 34, 37.

ne' pīlya tyūndyū tcī lara: ne' pīlya, crab design; the remainder is untranslatable. CXXVII, 24, 25.

crab design technic (literally), ne' pīlya decīma. CXXVII, 37.

crab design white cotton (literally), ne' pīlya fībañ ūtcūa. CXXVII, 37.

cross, karū'sa, from Spanish cruz. CXXVII, 20.

deer, ma'na. CXXIII, 40, 41; CXXV, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13.

delam ba''ta (untranslatable). CXXVII, 29.

design. In many cases informants simply gave the term pī'lya, or bī'lya, which signifies design or pattern. It would appear that it was employed in cases where the design was of unknown signification, or where it was newly introduced. Such a general term is, of course, applicable to all patterns.

belt design, tcū'mbī pīlya. This term applies to any pattern on a belt or girdle, regardless of its form. CXXVI, 10; CXXVII, 38. See belt.

horizontal design, de''pañ bīlya. CXXVI, 13.

dog, kū'tca. CXXIII, 45; CXXIV, 7, 19; CXXV, 12.

kū'tca petī: pe'tī is untranslatable. The rectangular figures of this pattern are referred to by this name. CXXVII, 42.

dove, Spanish, paloma. CXXIV, 29, 31.

pactū'kū. A reddish species as large as a chicken. CXXIV, 25.

wa'pū'pū. A small reddish species. CXXIV, 24, 42.

duck, Spanish, pato. CXXIV, 38.

dū'lalara kapūka (dū'lalara is untranslatable; kapū'ka, eye). CXXVII, 38.

ear, pū'ñge. CXXVI, 49.

egret, white, ka''tsū; Spanish, garsa. CXXIV, 45, 29.

e hū''la (e, big; hū''la, untranslatable). CXXVI, 5; CXXVII, 7, 10.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

e hū'rūlara (e, big; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 2.
e pala'tcū (e, big; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXV, 36; CXXVII, 1.
eye, kapū'ka. CXXV, 17, 23, 27, 32; CXXVII, 5, 23, 37, 38.
kapūka dalalake''tū (kapū'ka, eye; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 38.
ka' kapūka, "little eye." The small diamond-shape designs on mantas, etc. CXXV, 23, 27.
ka'pūka ya dētcū (kapū'ka, eye; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 5.
ka'pū tcī lara, to turn the eyes in an upward direction, i.e., to look decidedly upward. CXXVII, 28.
feast table, pa'kīgi, a contraction of piñba kīkī. CXXV, 20.
fruit, all classes, pū'ka. CXXVI, 41.
girdle. See belt.
goat, tcī'bū; Spanish, chivo. CXXIII, 26, 27; CXXIV, 9, 36.
guinea pig, a''tse. CXXIV, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11.
handkerchief, te'mbū balya'lya: te'mbū, a contraction of tembū'pū, handkerchief; balya'lya, untranslatable. CXXIV, 21; CXXVI, 47.
handkerchief design, te'mbū pīlya: tembū'pū, handkerchief. CXXIV, 21; CXXV, 39; CXXVI, 8, 9, 14, 30, 31, 38, 40, 44, 46, 47.
hawk, hūya'lyū; Spanish, gabilan. CXXIII, 41.
hō'lara (untranslatable). CXXIII, 28, 43; CXXVII, 10.
horse, kawa'lyū; Spanish, caballo. CXXIII, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37; CXXIV, 7, 14, 21, 28, 36; CXXV, 8, 14.
hū''la (untranslatable). CXXIII, 17, 21; CXXV, 32, 35, 38; CXXVI, 2, 3, 4, 6, 22; CXXVII, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17.
hū'lara (untranslatable). CXXVI, 9.
human being, tca'tcī. CXXIII, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 24, 28, 30, 43; CXXIV, 5, 6, 17; CXXV, 1, 2, 10.
hū'rūla (untranslatable). CXXVII, 5.
hū'rūlara (untranslatable). CXXIII, 17; CXXV, 32, 35, 38; CXXVI, 2, 3, 4, 6, 22; CXXVII, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17.
kūē'bū (untranslatable). CXXIV, 22.
kū'tca pe'tī (kū'tca, dog; pe'tī, untranslatable). The rectangular figures of this pattern are thus referred to. CXXVII, 42
ladder, lya'pī; Spanish, escalera. CXXVI, 23; CXXVII, 24, 25.
lya'tena, i.e. palm-wood steps of a house-ladder. CXXV, 15, 44; CXXVI, 10; CXXVII, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 **lizard.** CXXIV, 13.
•531 bĭmbû'ka. a large species; Spanish, piande. CXXIV, 58; CXXV, 36.
552 bĭ'mbû napipû. i.e., egg of a lizard called bĭmbû'ka. CXXVI, 1, 3, 6, 22.
177 bĭ'mbû nyapa, foot of a lizard called bĭmbû'ka. CXXVI, 5.
104 **monkey.** cu'rĭ, a small species; Spanish, machin and mico. CXXIII, 22, 23, 29, 31, 39; CXXIV, 16; CXXV, 3, 4, 5, 6.
wo'cû, wa'cû, a species larger than the machin but smaller than the large black monkey called mongon; Spanish, mono. CXXIII, 22, 38, 45.
ne'lû kapûka. See crab eye.
nim bi'lya (untranslatable). This design is one of those most frequently employed. CXXVII, 12, 27, 32, 37.
pala'cla (untranslatable). CXXVI, 42; CXXVII, 21.
pala'c lara (untranslatable). CXXVI, 11.
pala'la (untranslatable). CXXIII, 9, 10; CXXVII, 14, 42.
pala'lac (untranslatable). CXXVII, 8.
pala'lara (untranslatable). CXXVI, 30; CXXVII, 14.
pala'ra (untranslatable). CXXV, 38.
pala'tcû (untranslatable; the only definition obtainable was the Spanish term garavata). CXXIII, 21; CXXV, 38; CXXVI, 48, 49; CXXVII, 14, 19, 20.
palû'c lara (untranslatable). CXXVI, 48.
pelican, nana''ka; Spanish alcatraz. CXXIII, 38, 42; CXXV, 21, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41.
petyû'tyû. See buzzard.
pilya dĕ'we: pĭ'lya, design; dĕ'we, possibly related to de'tcû, zigzag. CXXV, 31.
pitigua, etcûm bĭ'û: probably related to te'tcâmb ĭlya, from te'tcûa, pitigua, and bĭ'lya, design. CXXV, 21.
pû'ka ka (untranslatable). CXXVI, 3, 4.
pû'te wilû'cla: pû'te, hamper-shape basket; wĭlû'cla, untranslatable. CXXVI, 22.
ray, tongue of sting-ray. tyû'wĭ nĭ''ka. CXXV, 34.
scorpion, alaga'ra; Spanish, alacrán. CXXIV, 49, 50.
se'rañ dĕ'tcû (untranslatable). CXXV, 22.
sheep, bŏrrĭ'gō, usually called bŏrrĭ'gō by the Cayapa, but called also ōĭ'ca from Spanish oveja. CXXIV, 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 16.
snake, pĭnĭ. CXXV, 21.
spider, mû'tele; Spanish, araña. CXXIII, 12; CXXIV, 46, 47, 49.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

steel, ī'clabō'ñ, i.e., iron used with flint in striking fire. CXXVII, 22, 40, 41, 42, 43. 286

stick, with which achote face-paint is applied, mō'pītcīpapa, mōpī ke'nū tcīpapa, mū'pī kenū tcīpapa. CXXVI, 29; CXXVII, 31. 531 552

tapū'lyū (untranslatable) CXXVII, 19. 177

tcū'mbi delam ba''ta (tcū'mbi, belt or girdle; delam ba''ta, untranslatable). CXXVII, 25. 104

technic, ba'ndilas, a certain basketry technic. CXXVII, 3, 4, 9, 12, 13.

te'pu balya'lya (untranslatable). CXXVI, 11, 41.

toad, sa'pū, from Spanish sapo. CXXIII, 4, 17, 18, 19, 20, 59.

top, tombē'ta, from Spanish trompo. CXXVII, 20.

turkey, domestic, kaste'lya walyapa, literally Spanish or Castilian chicken. CXXIV, 22.

turtle, pītcī'lī; Spanish, tortuga. CXXIV, 53, 54, 59; CXXVII, 15.

tyūlya'lya (untranslatable). CXXVI, 22, 28, 29, 30, 31, 38, 40, 44, 45.

tyūm bī'lya (tyūm, probably from te'tcūa, pitigua; bī'lya, design). CXXV, 20; CXXVI, 29, 32; CXXVII, 2.

tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable). CXXIV, 17; CXXVI, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 45; CXXVII, 24.

zigzag (generic), dē'tcū. This term is usually preceded by an adjectival term which indicates the particular kind of zigzag; viz., ē' dētcū, se'rañ dētcū, ūyū'mī dētcū, de''pañmī dētcū. CXXV, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 41, 42, 43; CXXVI, 21, 41; CXXVII, 4, 11, 12, 31, 33, 40, 42.

dē'tcū serañ tsūa; (dē'tcū, zigzag; no definite translation for the remainder of the term could be obtained). CXXV, 29.

ē' dētcū; literally, big zigzag; given also as crossed zigzag, though this meaning is doubtful. CXXV, 18, 27, 32, 40; CXXVI, 3, 10; CXXVII, 1, 22.

de''pamī dētcū, de''pañmī dētcū; horizontal zigzag. CXXV, 34.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

Death.—Death is not considered to be a natural phenomenon but is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body. A dead man's soul hovers around his house, which is usually abandoned, though it may be dismantled and sold. The corpse is buried in a coffin in a Catholic-style cemetery near the church. The dead man's possessions are usually given away, but it is not known who inherits his fields and clearings.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The great range of designs used by the *Cayapa* in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (fajas).

Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

Canoe paddles and wooden seats are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

Music and dancing.—Holidays, weddings, and other feasts are accompanied by much dancing and drinking. As elsewhere along the coast, the European marimba is widely used, as are panpipes, flutes, drums, and rattles. In recent years the Highland San Juan dance has been gaining in popularity. Also of immediate Highland provenience may be the small European wooden harp with palm-fiber strings.

Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. Guarapo, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

RELIGION

Native *Cayapa* religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are told for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the machete is mounted (pl. LXXXIII, 7). Practically the only difference between this object and a seat such as that shown in fig. 6 of the same plate, is in the presence of the handle at one end. Both the whetstone base and the wooden seat is called tcûmbû'lya.

The whetstones, called tôla'ha, are made of a fine-grained sandstone and are purchased from the settlements down the river. A stone of almost any size is used, but one six by eight or ten inches is most usually employed. It is not fastened to the base, but simply rests upon it in order to bring the stone a few inches from the floor and to make it possible to place the hands on either side lower than the stone when necessary. With this simple apparatus and a hemispherical calabash of water to wet the stone a man will sit and sharpen machetes for a couple of hours at a time, especially when the cane-field is being cleaned or a new area in the bush is being cleared.

In fig. 1 of the plate last referred to is shown another wooden object similar in form to the seats. This is the special wooden base used as a rest upon which to set an earthenware pot as it is being coiled and shaped. Ordinarily these bases consist merely of a flat board of rectangular form. The one here shown is much more elaborate, being circular in outline and having four legs which slant outward from its perimeter; it is also hewn from a single block of wood, as are all the objects represented in this plate.

Another interesting class of wooden objects is dolls, called nawa'wa, made for the amusement of children.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

These are carved from single blocks of wood and represent a variety of animate objects. Chief among them are human figures, both male and female; next follow mammals and birds, and now and then alligators are represented. In pl. LXXXIV, 1 to 5, are shown typical dolls representing human figures. The simplest of these, shown in fig. 4, is a cylindrical block of wood with carved head and face. From such simple forms dolls range through various stages of detail to well-carved figures such as that shown in fig. 5, in which the parts of the body are carefully represented and an attempt is made to imitate the cropped hair of the men by carving a raised band about the head, although the doll is evidently intended to represent a woman. The fact that the hair is thus represented is perhaps due to the inability of the workman to carve the long flowing hair of a woman.

Animals and birds of various kinds are carved more or less perfectly. Examples of these are shown in pl. LXXXIV, figs. 6 and 8. Fig. 7 of this plate represents a well-made figure of an alligator. Some of the figures, as for instance this alligator, are made of very hard wood, dressed and smoothly rubbed.

Dolls are about the only playthings, other than small pots, baskets, and other utensils, that the children have, for, as already stated, the Cayapa have practically no games.

In pl. LXI are shown several implements of wood, all of which are used primarily in cooking. In figs. 1 to 5 are illustrated typical mashers, called matcō'ka,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

designed for their own use. In every instance these old-type designs are geometric, but the newer ones are usually realistic, depicting mammals, human beings, and other realistic objects.

In carving, the dolls are entirely realistic, as is shown in pl. LXXXIV, and depicting the dog, alligator, bird, and especially the human form. In the last instance care is usually taken to indicate the sex. In paddle handles, on the other hand, the forms are usually simple and are always geometric, as is shown in pl. LXXVI. They have no special names. Even in the case of the elaborately carved handle shown in fig. 9 of the plate, no name was given for any of the designs. The same holds true of the designs in the face-painting sticks depicted in pl. CXXI-CXXII.

Closely related to ornamental carving are the wooden seats shown in pl. LXXXIII, some of which receive ornamental treatment certainly not demanded by utilitarian considerations. From comparison with similar objects of South and Central America it seems probable that in these seats, especially the forms shown in figs. 2 and 3, there lies a striking connection of the Cayapa culture with that of a number of other tribes in these regions. As has been shown by Professor Saville,[12] the archeological range of these objects is extensive, the most elaborate among them being the large stone seats from Manabi, carved to represent jaguars.

On the surfaces of calabash utensils are found the only incised designs in use among the Cayapa. These are

[12] See page 156, note.

details of style and construction (Barrett 1925:154-157). ooo

Dolls: /nówawa/. Dolls for children were scarce among the Cayapa of the Punta Venado section. Barrett briefly discusses dolls, and the impression received is that they were common. They were always made of a single block of wood, and were carved in both human and animal forms. No measurements are given, but they were very likely similar to the dolls of today, measuring usually twelve to thirteen inches in length and from three to four inches in width. They are most frequently carved out of Guayacan, an extremely hard wood. The one Guayacan doll in my possession is carved in two pieces. It is a seated figure, obviously of a white man, wearing a visored cap, a necktie cut in bas-relief, a jacket, breeches, and boots that are tinted reddish. He is seated in a two-legged chair which is sufficient since his own feet serve as the other two legs. The chair is fastened to the figure by two nails through the bottom, and five nails from the rear.

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At the present time, many models for play purposes are cut out of balsa in the forms of airplanes, and the forms of coastal banana boats. Other wooden articles

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2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

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Art.—The great range of designs used by the *Cayapa* in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (fajas).

Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

Canoe paddles and wooden seats are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

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Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. Guarapo, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

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Native *Cayapa* religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are told for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

slaves of this western coast, especially of Colombia. These negroes live adjacent to and mingle very much with the Cayapa, and have exerted a strong influence on some features of their culture, especially their music. 177 [533]

HISTORY

According to Cayapa tradition, the original home of the people was in the mountains near Ibarra. At a time probably very near that of the advent of the first Spaniards, the Cayapa as a body moved to what is now known as Pueblo Viejo de Cayapas, in the mountains drained by the upper course of the Rio Santiago. Various reasons are given for this migration, some affirming that it was because of their fear of the invaders (and, as one informant said, especially the fear of their horses), while others say that it was due to the general alteration in their mode of life as a result of the conquest. Still others claim that the migration occurred some time prior to the conquest, and that it was due to their love of peace and their distaste for the hostilities forced on them by the invading Quichua, or Incas as they are so often called, who, only a comparatively short time prior to the arrival of the Spanish explorers, had invaded Ecuador and subjugated its various peoples in the interior, even as far north as what is now the northern boundary of the republic. One informant related a traditionary tale to the effect that the Cayapa migrated by the advice and under the leadership of a certain shaman who, dissatisfied with conditions as they were at Ibarra, called through his magic a jaguar which he entrusted with the duty of finding a more suitable abode. After 173

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

MARRIAGE

When a young man or a young woman desires to marry a certain person, all work other than that absolutely necessary, and all social relations with other individuals, are at an end. Such a person sits throughout the day without speaking to anyone, and no matter how much he or she may be addressed or made fun of, etiquette does not permit such a person to respond or even to laugh. 584

It sometimes happens that a young man is desirous of marrying a woman who cares nothing for him. In such a case, if his ordinary endeavors to gain her interest and attention fail, he resorts to the use of certain sweet-scented herbs, the woods of certain trees, and various other objects, which are supposed to have magic power to attract and to give him good luck in such matters. He wears such charms about his person, especially attached to his necklaces. [832]

A young man in love bides his time until the other members of his family have retired for the night, when he takes his canoe and paddles to a point near the house of the young woman he wishes to marry. On nearing her home he sings softly certain magic love-songs and then cautiously approaches the house. He then, according to some informants, attracts her attention by one means or another and endeavors to persuade her to leave the house with him for a time. According to others, he cautiously enters the house and passes a part of the night with her under her own mosquito canopy. In either case they part toward morning, so that the lover is able to return to his own home without the 583 584 [533]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

585 In the particular ceremony witnessed on the occasion
535 referred to, at about four o'clock in the morning, four couples danced the "San Juan." The men and the women formed two lines, at the head of which respectively were the groom and the bride; next came the godfather of the groom and the godmother of the bride, while the other couples were those who chanced to be selected for the dance. The music for this is very
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The dance itself proceeded as follows: The two lines, one of men and one of women, danced up to each other and passed to the opposite side of the hall in such manner that each man passed between two women, and vice versa. Having arrived at the wall, they faced about, passed back again, and crossed until this had been done three times and the two lines were left facing each other and in their original positions, one near each side of the room. Next each one of the eight

spirit is said to reside in each piece. Black stone axes are especially potent, as are pieces of crystal that have been purchased in town. Tobacco is part of every curing; the smoke wafts the illness away from the body. A considerable amount of alcohol is used as well. The witch takes a mouthful of /iškala/, 'rum,' and sprays it out of his mouth with a loud "whoosh" at the patient's back; a considerable amount of rum fails to compress as spray, and the witch finishes the curing in an advanced state of inebriation! In general, the manner of effecting a cure is as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:344-352). However, I participated in one that differed considerably. I was told one day that a curing session was in progress at a point not too distant from my house. When I arrived, the cure had apparently been going on for some time. A middle-aged man lay on a reed mat that had been placed on the ground. Alejandro of Encanto sat off to one side leaning back against two parallel sticks that had been thrust into the ground to serve as a backrest. From time to time he alternately whistled short stretches of staccato sounds, that had a decided "blues" quality,

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and chanted a curious mixture of Spanish and what may have been unintelligible magical Quechua words. The Spanish element predominated, but not as connected discourse. The manner of chanting made comprehension extremely difficult for me, but the sequence may be described as stretches of humming, interspersed with unintelligibility, peaked by the words "moreno . . . indio bravo . . . enfermidad . . . brujo . . . ," that is, "Negro . . . wild Indian . ... sickness . . . witch . . . ." From time to time there were straight Spanish incantations: "This man is sick, I know, I know, cure, cure, Negro." The Negro is included in the list of powerful words because it is felt that Negroes often practice black magic against the Indian; similarly, the Indio Bravos were a powerful people whose very stone and pottery artifacts retain their ancient power. The witch is included for obvious reasons, and Spanish is used probably because it connotes power. A man who controls Spanish controls the outside forces to a degree impossible for a monolingual Cayapa.

On occasion, Alejandro would take a mouthful of rum and blow it out in the direction of the patient.

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2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

as above mentioned, interlace with the fibers of adjoining leaves in such manner as to make it necessary to pry the leaves apart with wooden bars, are strong and pliable, and are woven into burden-bands by which heavy loads are carried. These fibers often attain a length of about four feet and are possessed of tensile strength sufficient to enable their use as strings on the wooden harp which is now made to a very limited extent by the Cayapa. This instrument was borrowed by them from the Indians of the interior, who in turn copied it from the Spanish conquerors.

Another palm, found to a limited extent along the river, is the coconut, called after the Spanish, kō'kō-tcī. It does not, however, thrive at any considerable distance from the ocean, consequently few palms are found even at so short a distance up the Rio Cayapas as the mouth of the Onzole. Pl. CXXXI presents a view looking up-stream at the confluence of the Rio Onzole with the Rio Cayapas, and, upon the projection of land between them, the hacienda of one of the more prosperous of the negroes of the region. Several coconut palms appear in front of the house. Coconuts grow well along the immediate coast, and there are here large groves, the nuts being shipped to nearby villages and to points even as far away as Esmeraldas. They are purchased to a certain extent by the Indians, by whom they are used in very limited quantities as food, more especially for the so-called coconut-milk which is made from the ripe nuts.

In addition to the foregoing food-producing plants,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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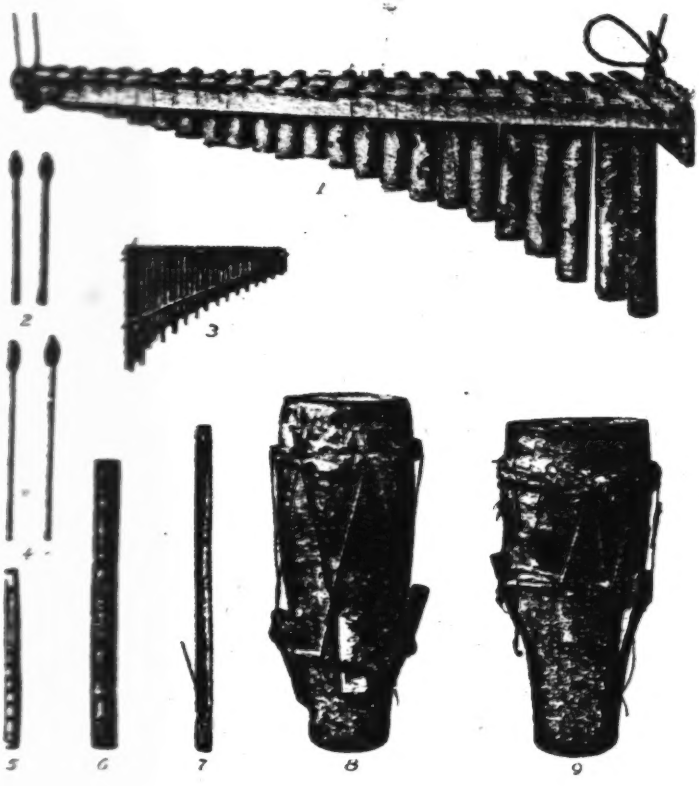

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

[p. 326 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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PL. CXXXIV

MUSIC IN A RANCHO

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 388(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

drew their spears and permitted passage through the central space between the house-posts. At all other times no one was permitted to pass between these posts, although frequent services were held throughout the night. 796

On the return of the procession to the church and the redepositing of the images, banners, and torches, the space between the house-posts was closed by the spears and the guard kept as before until about 7:30 A.M., when another service, a "gloria," was chanted. During this service the guards circled about each other, each slowly twirling his spear in the right hand, much as a man may twirl a cane. Toward the close of this service the spearmen mounted guard at each house-post, with the spears held vertically and with the points up, but after its conclusion the guard was no longer maintained.

Third day. Sabado Santo, April tenth

After the early morning ceremony above referred to, nothing other than the chanting of rosarios took place in the pueblo until about noon. A dance was then commenced in one of the houses and continued until nearly dawn of the following morning. [535

Fourth day. Domingo de Pasqual, April eleventh

Shortly before dawn, four images of saints were placed in a small "rancho" in the plaza. Here also were brought the marimba, the drums, and the rattles used in the dance during the night. The exterior of this structure, with the rank growth of grass and weeds in the plaza about 796 342 [534

Other wooden articles

still made by the Cayapa include the /táči wimáso/ 'bark cloth beater,' /mačúka/ 'plantain masher,' and food stirrers of various types. A full listing and description can be had by consulting Barrett (Barrett 1925: 159-161). Elliptical wooden bowls called batea in Spanish, are cut from a single piece of wood, and they serve as trays for the preparation of some foods.

322 [412] [252] [415]

Musical instruments, which are played by the men, include the marimba or /máⁱmba/, a large drum called by the Spanish word bombo, and a small free-standing drum that tapers at the base called conuno. The Negroes use the same instruments, but they also use various gourd rattles and bamboo shakers. Guitars are occasionally found among the Negroes but only seldom among the Cayapa.

534 [462] [171]

Pottery. This art is scarcely practiced anymore. In fact I was completely unaware that earthenware pots were in the household inventory at all until I was asked one day if I wished to purchase a small Cayapa-made one for five sucres (.30 U.S.). This was the only pot I ever saw, except for the large cantaras made by the people of the San Miguel section, for the storage of /wápo/, the fermented sugar-cane juice called guarapo in Spanish.

323 [178] [126] [273]

instances, it was done with a joking air. There was some laughter as the Cayapa were whipping themselves, but it was restrained. As the official went about looking for more people, they kept stating, "Everyone has to be whipped, everyone." This practice very likely was brought in by Catholic missionaries at a very early period.

In general, the description of a fiesta given by Barrett applies, with one major exception. The passion play described by Barrett was no longer being performed. In its place a group of fiesteros set up a marimba, small hand drums and several bass drums in a small rancho between the church and the main house of the chief. During the evening of Easter Sunday, they played with such gusto that sometime between one and two in the morning the structure collapsed. Concurrently with all of these activities, the chief dispensed justice, marriages were arranged, marriages were celebrated, Negro funerals were conducted, fisticuffs were engaged in, people drank, also passed out, woke up, and the band played on. This continued for six days and nights.

now." "Who will take care of the children now that my wife, their mother, has died?" The wailing lasts for some twenty minutes, and then new mourners replace the old who go off and tend children, sleep, talk, and, above all, drink. As these sounds begin to be heard by the people who are waiting up and down the river, they begin to drift in to the funeral house. The women and girls arrange themselves on one side of the room while the men congregate near the drums and marimba. Some begin to play the musical instruments while the "owner" of the dead offers rum to everyone. The music becomes livelier and conversation becomes animated as this goes on, and all this while the mourning continues by the coffin. Games begin to be played by the men and boys, and this is the only time that organized amusements are practiced by the Cayapa. There are at least nine kinds of games engaged in at funerals although they may not all be pursued at any one occasion. One activity, /pánda lúĕi/ 'plantain money,' however, is always included. A description of this is as follows: Five pieces of plantain are cut into slices which are said to be money /lŭĕi/, and one

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Renando loses his right and his second wife in a fight. Renando Anapa lives in Colinlas. He had three wives by his wife. One day a man from the San Miguel section came down with his daughter to work, and moved into Renando's house. [No information was available as to names and possible relationships.] Renando began making love to the man's daughter, and finally he declared her to be his second wife. They lived thus for about five months. Eventually, during a party held just for visiting, where only guitars and not the traditional Cayapa instruments gave the musical background, Perdomo, a visiting official from the Espolio Grande section, spoke to him about the affair. Renando became annoyed and accused Perdomo of committing adultery with his sister-in law, making him as much a sinner as himself. The upshot of this incident was that Perdomo ordered that Renando and his second wife receive one hundred lashes each. Soon after the punishment, the two men came to blows. After the party, Renando, his two wives, and the father of the second wife left for Chicorfi, a long distance off into the interior. There they went to the house of a 'cousin' of the second wife. Renando and the cousin fought about the polygynous

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2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1945 SD6 Cayapa SD6

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the morning had remained one in one room and one in another, each specially dressed for the occasion, and each with a cloth carefully bound so as to cover the mouth. The groom was attended by his godfather, the bride by her godmother, and neither conversed with any other persons. The same silence and covering of the mouth were maintained throughout the feast, and indeed throughout the remainder of the day. Toward the end of the feast, one of the officials delivered an extended address in which he exhorted the bride and groom to live peacefully and helpfully together, and outlined the paths each should follow in order to insure model married life for themselves and a useful career to the community. He especially warned the groom that under no circumstances had he any right or privilege in chastising the bride, but that in case she were to become remiss in any of her duties he was bound to report the matter to the chief or to some other official, whose duty it was to see that she was properly punished. Likewise he was warned that remissness on his part would also be met by the officials with severe castigation.

The feast being ended with the usual benediction, and the floor having been cleared, dancing was next in order. Practically all dancing among the Cayapa consists, as is elsewhere described, of a kind of shuffling step back and forth along a line in the middle of the dance floor. A single couple only participate in one of these sets, the man dancing backward, followed by the woman, and vice versa.

A feature of special note in connection with the wedding dance is the order in which the participants came

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

585 upon the floor. First, the godfather of the groom, who at the same time is master of ceremonies, danced with
535 the bride; next the groom danced with the godmother of the bride; and finally the chief, followed in order of rank by the other officials, danced with the bride. The groom danced but once during the day, whereas the bride was kept dancing almost constantly. She, however was relieved from time to time by some other member of her family, who danced in her place for a few minutes. During all this time the groom sat at one end of the dance hall with his mouth covered, and conversed with no one except his godfather, and rarely with him. During the intervals between dances the bride sat likewise in silence in an adjoining room. The dancing was kept up during the entire afternoon and
585 night, with a single brief intermission. During this
301 intermission the bride and groom put on new clothing and were decked with pendants and necklaces of silver coins, and with garlands of the yellow flowers so much used by the Cayapa for decorating the images of saints in the church.

585 After donning this finery, the groom resumed his place
535 at the end of the hall and the bride continued her dancing, which lasted till nearly morning. With the coming
[373] of night, light, as usual, was provided in the dance hall by means of candles, small kerosene torches, and native
[177] torches (nī'lyū). Throughout the entire period the dance had been the simple one used by the Cayapa, but finally there was danced what is called the "San Juan," a recent importation from the mountain region which appears to be more or less, if not entirely, of Spanish origin.

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

585 danced alone and in turn along a serpentine path in and
535 out of the two lines; that is to say, beginning with the bridegroom, who was at the head of the line of men, the dance proceeded as follows: He danced to the opposite side of the room, around back of the first of the women; then to the men's side of the room and around back of the first man; back again to the line of women and around back of the second woman; then to the men's line, and so on until he had completed this dancing across and back, passing each time around one member of the line, and finally had danced up the middle of the hall and had returned to his place. He was followed in the same manner by the woman opposite him, who in turn was followed by the man next in order, and so on, alternating until all the eight performers had danced in this serpentine manner and had returned to their places. Next, the first couple danced in the same manner, the man being closely followed by the woman. When they had returned to their places, the two lines danced across the room and back in the manner first described. Next, the second couple performed this movement and were followed by the dance of the lines across the room and back. The same cycle was repeated in the case of each of the two remaining couples. Finally, the eight dancers joined hands and circled three times to the right and three times to the left, there being meanwhile one drummer within the circle while the remainder of the musicians continued their
585 riotous march up and down the hall. After this, the men led the bridegroom and the women led the bride to their mosquito canopy, which had been put up in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

drew their spears and permitted passage through the central space between the house-posts. At all other times no one was permitted to pass between these posts, although frequent services were held throughout the night. 796

On the return of the procession to the church and the redepositing of the images, banners, and torches, the space between the house-posts was closed by the spears and the guard kept as before until about 7:30 A.M., when another service, a "gloria," was chanted. During this service the guards circled about each other, each slowly twirling his spear in the right hand, much as a man may twirl a cane. Toward the close of this service the spearmen mounted guard at each house-post, with the spears held vertically and with the points up, but after its conclusion the guard was no longer maintained.

Third day. Sabado Santo, April tenth

After the early morning ceremony above referred to, nothing other than the chanting of rosarios took place in the pueblo until about noon. A dance was then commenced in one of the houses and continued until nearly dawn of the following morning. [535

Fourth day. Domingo de Pasqual, April eleventh

Shortly before dawn, four images of saints were placed in a small "rancho" in the plaza. Here also were brought the marimba, the drums, and the rattles used in the dance during the night. The exterior of this structure, with the rank growth of grass and weeds in the plaza about 796 342 [534]

made, and seldom in working order. The brand names are obvious imitations of well known trade-marks, and men may be seen sporting watches marked "Algin," "Danrus," or "Wiltham." If queried as to the time of day, the most likely response is "just today the watch stopped working."

Attractive as the Cayapa male is in his festive array, the woman is clearly the fashion leader. Because she is short-legged and thick-waisted, her adornment is calculated to conceal these features and to shift attention to her face instead. Like the male, she is rouged and lip-painted. Occasionally she paints a black line across her cheeks and upper lip. Her hair, which is waist length, is fastened at the side and front with multi-colored barrettes, while the crown of the head is covered by a Juliet's cap fabricated of shiny coins. Around her shoulders and neck depend row after row of brightly-hued glass and metal beads and strings of coins. The ultimate row of baubles may fall below the hip line. Beaded ligatures may be placed on her arms, and silver rings may adorn all of her fingers except the thumbs. Around her shoulders she wears a bright

292
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silk or rayon shawl which can cover her head, face and breast when she is dancing. Her skirt, worn over a black cotton underskirt /t^{y}ún^{y}a/, falls just below the knee and is a wrap-around in a solid color. It is embroidered at the hem in the manner of the men's shirt fashions. A belt secures the underskirt, and the overskirt is tucked in at the waist. The women spend a good deal of time adjusting the overskirt.

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For dancing or for receiving the blows of the cat-o-nine-tails /ástečúwa/ as punishment, the woman puts on over her usual skirts a woven wrap-around skirt made of heavy cotton and decorated with both geometric and realistic designs. Many colors are used, but blue, white, and red predominate. Since the present generation of women is almost completely ignorant of the weaver's art, the skirts are seldom their own handiwork.

[28C]

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Manufactures. Woodworking: It is immediately apparent that canoes and their handling are extremely important to all the inhabitants of the area. Young boys often begin their lessons in canoemanship by playing on the drifting logs that come down stream when the river is in flood. They tumble and splash and learn

announced that he knew more of the law than did Gabriel. The Cayapa plainly do not know how to deal with Pindalenas. Some Cayapa say that he has absolutely no right to interfere in the legal disputes. Similarly, Gabriel points out that the Negro is merely his employee and nothing more, but a few Cayapa think that perhaps he can take part in the adjudicating of disputes. They are not very certain, but if Pindalenas acts as if he can, then perhaps he can. On occasion he has asked Cayapa women to dance with him at the fiesta in the Cayapa manner, but he has always been refused. No other Negro has ever attempted to dance with a Cayapa woman. In the disputes witnessed by the writer at which Pindalenas was present, he seemed to restrict himself to echoing the judgments reached by the Cayapa officials.

Such governmental activities as exist for the Cayapa will be amply illustrated in terms of their law. In point of fact, Cayapa law can be said to be the major part of Cayapa government. Political behavior for the Cayapa is intimately related to governmental instability which is largely the result of interregnum

instances, it was done with a joking air. There was some laughter as the Cayapa were whipping themselves, but it was restrained. As the official went about looking for more people, they kept stating, "Everyone has to be whipped, everyone." This practice very likely was brought in by Catholic missionaries at a very early period.

In general, the description of a fiesta given by Barrett applies, with one major exception. The passion play described by Barrett was no longer being performed. In its place a group of fiesteros set up a marimba, small hand drums and several bass drums in a small rancho between the church and the main house of the chief. During the evening of Easter Sunday, they played with such gusto that sometime between one and two in the morning the structure collapsed. Concurrently with all of these activities, the chief dispensed justice, marriages were arranged, marriages were celebrated, Negro funerals were conducted, fisticuffs were engaged in, people drank, also passed out, woke up, and the band played on. This continued for six days and nights.

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the parish. This honor belonged to the town of San José, but as national elections were near, it was felt that the proper time had come to make a bold attempt to have Camerones declared the leading village. The Inspectór of Camerones visited with several Cayapa officials who lived up the Río Camerones, and he demanded fifty sucres from each adult male Indian. He said that this was needed to bribe the higher officials if Camerones were to take the place of San José. There were four or five days of rumor-mongering, mostly concerning the avarice of the people of Camerones, and then consensus was reached. Gabriel Añapa, the /únʸi/, told the writer that he would have paid five sucres but that fifty was too much. Neither the Indians nor the citizens of Camerones contributed to the Inspectór. As a result, San José continued to be the parish head, although a new teniente político was to replace the old one who had backed the losing party in the elections.

Attempts to encroach on Cayapa governmental affairs may be seen in embryonic form in some of the school activities. For example, the school has been in operation for six or seven years. There has been a

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succession of teachers with varying degrees of competence. In 1960 the school teacher, who was a native of Camerones, began giving the Indian pupils drama lessons. The plays offered always involved Cayapa going to Negroes for advice. Generally, the plots involved marital bickering within the Cayapa families which were then solved by the Negro official. These scenes are always greeted with laughter by the assembled Cayapa who come to watch their children perform. No one would even dream of taking a family quarrel to a Negro official. It is interesting to note however, that one Negro is making some progress toward involving himself in Cayapa affairs. This Negro's name is Pindaleñas, and he presents a rather grotesque appearance. His nose has been entirely destroyed by the ravages of yaws, and his hands are twisted into the shape of talons. This man has the distinction of being the only Negro who speaks Cayapa. Since he lives very near the ceremonial center of Punta Venado, he has been hired by the /únʸi/ to keep the church clean. Pindaleñas attends every fiesta and becomes actively interested in most of the legal cases. On several occasions he publically

648
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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

136 their ransacking of a heap of old crushed sugar-cane stalks, commonly spoken of as "cane-trash," which lay in front of the mill. To all appearances this refuse pile was not inhabited, but when the ants commenced their search of it, it proved to be literally alive with land crabs and with insect life of various kinds. As a rule, these occupants which succeeded in reaching the surface of the pile, did so in each case with several ants clinging tenaciously to them. Now and then one of the flying creatures, such as a cockroach, would endeavor to escape by means of its wings, but would usually alight within a few feet in order to try to rid itself of the clinging ants, but it usually found that these efforts were rewarded only by an attack of a larger number of the pests.

After two or three hours of hunting and feasting in this clearing, the army of ants took its way up the river-bank and disappeared into the jungle, leaving no trace of its visit save an empty crab-shell or other mute reminder here and there.

[538] Many stories are told by the Cayapa and others of the work of these ants, some of them tending to show what may be regarded as a certain degree of sagacity on the part of the ants. That they work in unison in their attacks on small animal life is shown by the above personal observation, and this fact may be taken as in a measure corroborative of the following experience of Señor Don Calixto Ramírez, who has resided for many years in this region and who has had excellent opportunities for observing its natural history.

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shaming, ridicule, the application of bitter tasting substances, or frightening the child with stories of cannibalistic ogres.7 Thus, within the psychoanalytic framework, the seeds of dependency drinking are sown and begin to develop.

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> . . . oral frustrations in the infant result in cannibalistic fantasies toward the mother's breast and her total person. Because the child projects its feelings and fantasies, it also views the external world as cannibalistic and develops fears of objects in it. This results in an unconscious fear of being devoured by the love object. The vagina, which is unconsciously equated with the mouth, comes to represent the castrating, devouring organ. Such anticipations result in avoidance of the heterosexual object . . . (Bieber 1962:6-7).

For the Cayapa, the equation of vagina:mouth is not at all unconscious. The vagina dentata motif is clearly present, and sexual intercourse is spoken of as the vagina eating the penis. As for cannibalistic fantasies, they still exist in the stories that the Cayapa tell of the wild Indians who lived in the area before them; these Indians were cannibals and preyed on the Cayapa. The fantasies are also used to manipulate events. When I first explored the Cayapa area up to the Río Tigre, I decided to do my work among the Cayapa of the San

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

baptizes him with a tumbler of water as she gives him his name, which is almost invariably the given name of the godfather. If a girl, the child is held by the godmother, baptized by the godfather, and given the name of the godmother.

A child may be, and usually is, called by its first baptismal name, but sooner or later in its babyhood some act or circumstance connected with its life will appeal to the members of the family as particularly ludicrous or interesting. Its name is thereupon changed, it being called by the name of this act or circumstance to the almost total exclusion of its baptismal name. At the first opportunity the child is baptized by a priest, and then receives from him its true Christian name, which is usually that of the patron saint of the day upon which the child was born. Some months, however, may elapse before this second christening, since it is possible to have such a baptism only when a priest makes a visit to the region or when a part of the family has occasion to go to Esmeraldas or to some other point where a priest resides. In spite of the fact that the child may now have two Christian names, it almost invariably happens that some nickname given to it in the nature of a joke clings to it, perhaps for the rest of its life, and always at least until after marriage. This nickname may at any time be changed according as some new propensity is displayed by the child, or some new incident occurs which appeals to its associates or to the family.

Such a nickname persists usually until the person becomes a father or a mother, when the name is immediately changed and the person is no longer known by his or

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

551 553 her original name, but as the father or mother of this first-born child. Thus, the chief of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa is known by the Christian name Antonio Napa, but is almost invariably called pi'tcû-apa, signifying "father of pi'tcû." Correspondingly his wife is known as pi'tcû-ama, "mother of pi'tcû." Such a name usually persists regardless of the names of any of the younger children and regardless of whether or not the eldest child still lives. In the case cited, the eldest son, pi'tcû, died several years ago and there are several younger children in the family, but the names pi'tcû-apa and pi'tcû-ama still persist. Now and then a person is found whose original nickname is used even after the birth of his children, but this is very exceptional.

PUBERTY

881 As in the case of birth, there appear to be almost no restrictions upon or ceremonies for either sex on reaching puberty, which is again contrary to the customs of most aboriginal peoples. Some even maintain that there are absolutely no restrictions, but others claim that girls at the age of puberty are prohibited for a short period [841] from going about and from bathing. This latter statement seems the more probable, in view of the fact that during their menstrual periods the older women are subject to the same restrictions, though they are not otherwise restricted in their actions at such times.

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836

> means or another and endeavors to persuade her to leave the house with him for a time. According to others, he cautiously enters the house and passes a part of the night with her under her own mosquito canopy . . . These visits are repeated for some time, when the young couple announce their desire to marry and obtain the consent of their respective parents (Barrett 1925:331).

In 1959-60, in the Cayapa area generally, and particularly in the Punta Venado region, the custom of remaining sitting in silence was apparently no longer in vogue, except during the actual wedding celebration, when the groom does indeed sit off to one side in silence. However, the technique of nightly visitation is still a culturally approved method, but only one of several. [585]

Stealing a Woman. Some men prefer to "steal a woman" for wife. This is called /súpu taŋgahímu/, /súpu/ "woman" and /tánu/ "to steal." Lorenzo Martín, commonly called /pitandé/, "a kind of crested bird" [a nick name he detested], preferred this approach to marriage. According to him, he met his first wife while canoeing along the river. They were both alone, and after some minutes of conversation, he proposed 583 [551]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

531 In the matter of the forms also, the designs fall practically into these general groups, though in certain instances the same design is found in more than one group. Taken as a whole Cayapa designs are largely geometric, the only exceptions being in the carved wooden dolls, in a few calabash designs, and in a considerable number [177] of the designs on soft textiles. Now and then a realistic modern design is found also upon a canoe and in rare instances in a painting upon the human body. This entire statement applies to the frequency of occurrence of the different types of design. If considered, however, from the standpoint of the number of various elemental designs of the realistic class as compared with elemental designs of the strictly geometric class, the former are fully equal to the latter, though the geometric designs are subject to greater variation.

[552] It is remarkable that few names are given designs except in the case of those on soft textiles. In the case of the face, arm, and leg paintings, for instance, no names were obtainable, and they have no symbolic significance. This fact is noteworthy when so large a series of designs is found (pl. XXXIX–LII) and when they are so universally and extensively used. The only exception to this rule is that of the trident-shape design shown in pl. LII, 11. This, however, is strictly modern and was copied directly from the fish-spear.

501 Also in the considerable series of canoe designs shown
553 in pl. LXXIII–LXXV, no specific names were given by
[553] informants. These are all old-type designs and much preferred by the Cayapa to the modern designs which some paint on canoes made for sale, but never upon those

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

designed for their own use. In every instance these old-type designs are geometric, but the newer ones are usually realistic, depicting mammals, human beings, and other realistic objects.

In carving, the dolls are entirely realistic, as is shown in pl. LXXXIV, and depicting, the dog, alligator, bird, and especially the human form. In the last instance care is usually taken to indicate the sex. In paddle handles, on the other hand, the forms are usually simple and are always geometric, as is shown in pl. LXXVI. They have no special names. Even in the case of the elaborately carved handle shown in fig. 9 of the plate, no name was given for any of the designs. The same holds true of the designs in the face-painting sticks depicted in pl. CXXI–CXXII.

Closely related to ornamental carving are the wooden seats shown in pl. LXXXIII, some of which receive ornamental treatment certainly not demanded by utilitarian considerations. From comparison with similar objects of South and Central America it seems probable that in these seats, especially the forms shown in figs. 2 and 3, there lies a striking connection of the Cayapa culture with that of a number of other tribes in these regions. As has been shown by Professor Saville,[15] the archeological range of these objects is extensive, the most elaborate among them being the large stone seats from Manabi, carved to represent jaguars.

On the surfaces of calabash utensils are found the only incised designs in use among the Cayapa. These are

[15] See page 156, note.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

531
552
286

CLOTH DESIGNS: HUMAN AND MAMMAL FIGURES

[p. 288 (8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

which a slight attempt is made to ornament the edge of the shoulder of a vessel with a few incised lines or dots. No names are given to these simple decorations, and no attempt is made to work out any regular patterns even in the rare instances in which they are used.

The designs in hard textiles—twilled baskets, mats, and fans—are purely geometric, fairly simple (as is shown in pl. CV), and few in number. These conditions are quite natural and are imposed by the character of the material and the technic employed. There is comparatively little naming of these designs. Zigzags such as those shown in figs. 3 and 5 of the plate are called dē'tcū, and figures such as are illustrated in figs. 25 and 27 are commonly called kapū'ka, signifying "eye."

Soft Textile Designs

It is in the soft textiles that the greatest variety of both geometric and realistic designs appears and where the only detailed naming of designs occurs. A table of the names of the various manta designs shown in pl. CXXIII-CXXVII, together with a glossary, is given in the following pages. From these data various interesting facts concerning the names of manta designs are apparent.

The names may be classified as: mammals, birds, reptiles, insects, miscellaneous animate objects, parts of animate objects, plants, artificial objects, geometric figures, and untranslatable terms. The following tabulation will show the various numbers in each class.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Mammals:
- human being
- monkey (two species)
- horse
- burro
- cow
- dog
- goat
- sheep
- guinea pig
- deer

Birds:
- pĭ'tcū
- la'pĭtcū
- tū'mbĭtcĭlĭlĭ
- hawk
- pelican
- turkey
- buzzard
- frigate bird
- duck
- egret
- dove (general term)
  - pactū'kū
  - wa'pū'pū
- chicken

Reptiles:
- snake (general term)
- boa constrictor
- lizard

Insects:
- centipede
- scorpion
- tick
- spider

Miscellaneous animate objects:
- crab
  - nē'lū
  - *le*'pūĭ nē'lū
  - There are also three compound terms in which the word crab appears.
- turtle
- toad

Parts of animate objects:
- eye (general term)
  - little eye
  - kapū'ka ya dētcū
  - ka'pū tcĭlara
  - kapūka dalala ke"tū
  - dū'lalara kapūka
- ear
- lizard foot
- lizard egg
- tongue of sting-ray

Plants:
- pitigua
- fruit

Artificial objects:
- feast table
- belt or girdle
- ladder
- steps of ladder
- stick used for face painting
- top
- bait
- steel, of "flint-and-steel"
- canoe design
- cross
- handkerchief design
  - also te'mbū balya'lya

Geometric figures:
- zigzag
  - se'rañ dētcū
  - ē' dētcū
  - ûyû'mĭ dētcū
  - de"pañmĭ dētcū
  - dē'tcū serañ tsû'a
- horizontal

Miscellaneous:
- technic (the bandilas technic is mentioned).
- color

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Untranslatable terms:

balya'lya
balya'lyac
delam ba''ta
de'we
dū'lalara
hō'lara
hū''la
hū'lara
hū'rula
hū'rūlara
kūē'bū
nim bī'lya
pala'cla
pala'la
pala'c lara
pala'lac
pala'lara
pala'ra
palū'c lara
pala'tcū
petī
pū'ka ka
se'rañ
tapū'lyū
tē'pū balya'lya
tyūlya'lya
tyūm bī'lya
wīlū'cla
tyū'ndyū tcī lara

While there is a large series of *geometric figures*, as shown in pls. CXXV–CXXVII, and while these appear on mantas in fully as great as, if not in greater numbers than do the realistic figures, inspection shows that these are really variations of a comparatively few geometric elements, chiefly the zigzag, the cross, the triangle, and the rectangle, and that in reality there are not such a large number of distinctive designs as might at first appear. Furthermore, an inspection of the native names of these designs, most of which are of the untranslatable class, shows that the Cayapa recognize these similarities and that little realism is read into the designs by them. In fact the designs called eye, steps of a ladder, crab design (by which is meant the tracks made by a crab in the mud), and steel for striking fire, are the only ones of known significance that show evidence of a tendency toward realism in geometric forms. There may be among the untranslatable terms some which would, if their significations were known, show a similar tendency.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

2. The presence upon textiles, and to a lesser extent upon calabash utensils, of realistic designs, which in certain instances tend toward conventionalization.

3. A slight tendency toward the assignment of realistic significations to what appear to be purely geometric forms.

4. The abhorrence of vacant spaces, shown by the filling of all small areas about a large design with dots, lines, and other irrelevant devices.

TABLE OF MANTA DESIGN NAMES

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXIII	1	human being (tca'tcī)
	2	human being (tca'tcī)
	3	human being (tca'tcī)
	4	human being (tca'tcī)
		toad (sa'pū, Spanish sapo)
	5	human being (tca'tcī)
	6	human being (tca'tcī)
	7	human being (tca'tcī)
	8	human being (tca'tcī)
	9	pala'la (untranslatable)
	10	pala'la (untranslatable)
	11	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
	12	spider (mū'lele, Spanish araña)
		human being (tca'tcī)
	13	human being (tca'tcī)
	14	human being (tca'tcī)
	15	human being (tca'tcī)
	16	human being (tca'tcī)
	17	toad (sa'pū, Spanish sapo)
		hū'rūlara or hū''la (untranslatable)
	18	toad (sa'pū, Spanish sapo)
	19	human being (tca'tcī)
		toad (sa'pū, Spanish sapo)
	20	toad (sa'pū, Spanish sapo)
	21	hū''la or pala'tcu (untranslatable)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXIII	22	monkey (cū′rī, Spanish machin, mico; and wo′cū, Spanish mono)
	23	monkey (cū′rī, Spanish machin, mico)
	24	horse (k wa′lyū, Spanish caballo), with human being (tca′tcī)
	25	horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo)
	26	horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo) goat (tcī′bū, Spanish chivo)
	27	horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo) goat (tcī′bū, Spanish chivo)
	28	ho′lara (untranslatable) human being (tca′tcī)
	29	monkey (cū′rī, Spanish machin, mico)
	30	horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo), with human being (tca′tcī)
	31	monkey (cu′rī, Spanish machin, mico) horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo)
	32	No interpretation obtained
	33	horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo)
	34	horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo)
	35	cow (waga′ra, Spanish vaca)
	36	horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo)
	37	horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo)
	38	pelican (nana″ ka, Spanish alcatraz) crab (ne′lū, the small red land-crab) monkey (wa′cū, Spanish mono)
	39	monkey (cū′rī, Spanish machin, mico)
	40	deer (ma′na)
	41	deer (ma′na) hawk (hūya′lyū, Spanish gabilan)
	42	pelican (nana″ ka, Spanish alcatraz)
	43	human being (tca′tcī)
	44	No interpretation obtained
	45	dog (kū′tca) monkey (wo′cū, wa′cū, Spanish mono)
CXXIV	1	guinea pig (a″tse) sheep (ōīc′a, Spanish oveja)
	2	guinea pig (a″tse)
	3	guinea pig (a″tse)
	4	sheep (ōīca, Spanish oveja) guinea pig (a″tse)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXIV	5	human being (tca′tcī), with guinea pig (a″tse), or sheep (ōī′ca, Spanish oveja)
	6	human being (tca′tcī), with sheep (ōī′ca, Spanish oveja), or guinea pig (a″tse)
	7	horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo) dog (kū′tca)
	8	guinea pig (a″tse) sheep (ōī′ca, Spanish oveja)
	9	goat (tcī′bū, Spanish chivo)
	10	guinea pig (a″tse) cow (waga′ra, Spanish vaca)
	11	guinea pig (a″tse) burro (bū′rū)
	12	An animal form for which no name was obtained
	13	An animal design; no information available. It resembles a lizard and might be given by the Cayapa the name of any one of several species of lizards.
	14	horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo)
	15	cow (waga′ra, Spanish vaca)
	16	monkey (cū′rī, Spanish machin, mico) sheep (ōī′ca, Spanish oveja)
	17	human being (tca′tcī) tyu′ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
	18	An animal form; no name obtained
	19	dog (kū′tca)
	20	bird (pī′tcū; particular species not stated
	21	pelican (nana″ka) horse (kawa′lyū). These names apply to the large bird which is the chief figure in this design. The small triangular portion of this design is called tembū balya′lya or tembū pī′lya (tembū, a contraction of tembū′pū, signifying handkerchief)
	22	domestic turkey (kastē′lya walya′pa, literally Spanish or Castilian chicken) kūē′bū (untranslatable)
	23	bird (pī′tcū)
	24	bird (pī′tcū) dove (a small species of a reddish color, called by the Cayapa wa′pū′pū)

286
531
552

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXIV	25	pelican (nana″ka) dove (a large reddish species, called in Cayapa pactū′kū)
	26	pelican (nana″ka) chicken (walya′pa)
	27	No name was obtained. It resembles the design shown in figure 33, which was called pelican (nana″ka)
	28	horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo). This interpretation appears to be in error. The design is clearly a bird form, not that of a horse. It resembles in all essential details the design shown in figure 33, which was called pelican (nana″ka)
	29	white egret (ka″tsū, Spanish garsa) bird (pī′tcū) pelican (nana″ka) dove; exact species not stated
	30	pelican (nana″ka)
	31	bird (pī′tcū) dove; exact species not stated
	32	No name was obtained for this design, but in many respects it resembles that shown in figure 45, which was called white egret (ka″tsū, Spanish garsa)
	33	pelican (nana″ka)
	34	frigate bird (nyambīwa′tū)
	35	pelican (nana″ka)
	36	buzzard (kū′ndūrūrū, petyū′tyū, Spanish gallinaso) pelican (nana″ka) horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo) goat (tcī′bū, Spanish chivo)
	37	pelican (nana″ka) chicken (walya′pa)
	38	pelican (nana″ka) duck (pa′tō, Spanish pato)
	39	tu′mbītcīlīlī (a small black bird with red beak)
	40	pelican (nana″ka)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

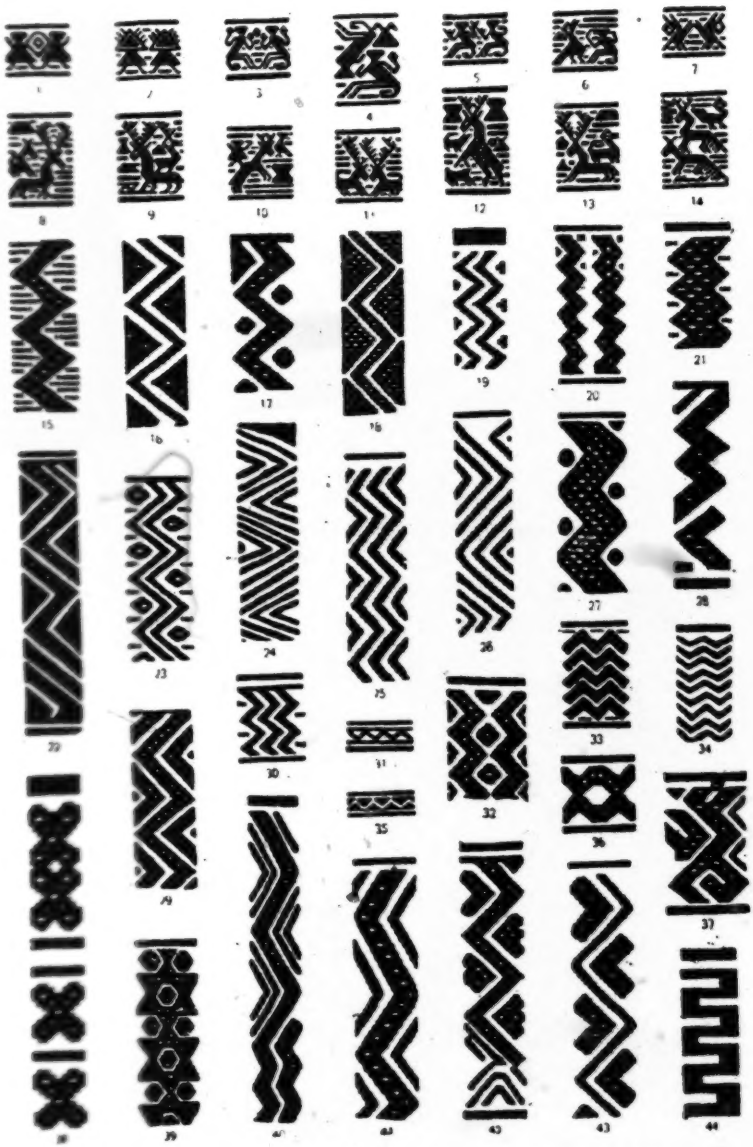
286
531
552

CLOTH DESIGNS: MAMMAL, BIRD, AND INSECT FIGURES

[p. 296 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552



CLOTH DESIGNS: MAMMAL GROUPS AND GEOMETRIC FIGURES

[p. 296 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXIV	41	pelican (nana″ka)
	42	ḍove (a small reddish species, called by the Cayapa wa'pū'pū)
	43	No name was obtained for these two birds. They would be called birds (pī'tcū), at least, and would probably be given specific names
	44	bird, a small species, black and yellow in color, a good singer and is much kept by the Cayapa as a pet (la'pī'tcū, Spanish pichichu) buzzard (petyū'tyū, kū'ndūrūrū, Spanish gallinaso)
	45	white egret (ka″tsū, Spanish garsa)
	46	spider (mū'*t*ele, Spanish araña)
	47	spider (mū'*t*ele, Spanish araña)
	48	spider (mū'*t*ele, Spanish araña)
	49	scorpion (alaga'ra, Spanish alacrán) spider (mū'*t*ele, Spanish araña)
	50	scorpion (alaga'ra, Spanish alacrán)
	51	No name obtained for this butterfly-like design
	52	No name obtained for this bird-like design
	53	turtle (pītcī'lī)
	54	turtle (pītcī'lī)
	55	crab—the small red land-crab (nē'lū) crab—a certain coast species (*t*epūī ne'lū) karna'da (probably from the Spanish). The term is said to signify bait and also to be the name of a certain species of crustacean called in Spanish camaron brava
	56	crab—the small red land-crab (ne'lū)
	57	centipede (se'pīnde)
	58	bīmbū'ka (piande, a species of lizard) crab—the small red land-crab (ne'lū)
	59	turtle (pī'tcī'lī) toad (sa'pū, Spanish sapo)
CXXV	1	human being (tca'tcī)
	2	human being (tca'tcī)
	3	monkey (cū'rī, Spanish machin, mico)
	4	monkey (cū'rī, Spanish machin, mico)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXV	5	monkey (cū′rī, Spanish machin, mico)
	6	bird (pī′tcū) with monkey (cū′rī)
	7	No interpretation was obtained for these figures. They resemble some others which were called horses and are probably intended to represent that animal
	8	horse (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo), with deer (ma′na)
	9	deer (ma′na)
	10	man (tca′tcī), with deer (ma′na), and bird (pī′tcū)
	11	deer (ma′na)
	12	deer (ma′na) with dogs (kū′tca)
	13	deer (ma′na) with bird (pī′tcū)
	14	horses (kawa′lyū, Spanish caballo), with bird (pī′tcū)
	15	zigzag (dē′tcū). The exact names of zigzags are governed by their relative size and their relations to those with which they are associated; viz.: de″pañmī dē′tcū = horizontal zigzag ūyūmī dē′tcū = vertical zigzag e′ dē′tcū = big zigzag se′rañ dē′tcū, untranslatable form of zigzag lya′tena (the palm-wood steps of the house ladder). This name refers to the short lines which fill the spaces at the angles formed by the zigzag
	16	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above.
	17	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above. eye (kapū′ka). This term applies to the diamond-shape figures in the angles formed by the zigzag.
	18	big zigzag (e′ dētcū)
	19	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above
	20	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above pitigua design (tyūm bī′lya) feast table (pa′kīgī)
	21	pitigua design (etcūm bīū, from te′tcūm bīlya) snake (pīni)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

PLATE	FIGURE	
CXXV	22	serañ dē′tcū (an untranslatable form of zigzag)
	23	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above eye (kapū′ka) and little eye (ka′ kapūka) refer to the diamond-shape figures in the angles formed by the zigzag
	24, 25, 26	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above.
	27	big zigzag (e′ dētcū) eye (kapū′ka and small eye (ka kapū′ka) refer to the diamond-shape figures in the angles of the zigzag
	28 29, 30	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above
	31	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above pīlya dē′we (pī′lya signifies design, and it appears that dē′we may possibly be related to dē′tcū, meaning zigzag. This design consists in part of a zigzag)
	32	big zigzag (e′ dētcū) hū′rūlara, hū′′la (untranslatable) eye (kapū′ka). This term applies to the diamond-shape portions of the design
	33	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above
	34	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above tongue of sting-ray (tyū′wī nī′ka)
	35	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above hū′rūlara, hu′′la (untranslatable)
	36	bīmbū′ka (piande, a small species of lizard) e pala′tcū (e signifies big; pala′tcū is untranslatable)
	37	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above
	38	pala′ra (untranslatable) pala′tcū (untranslatable) hū′rūlara, hū′′la (untranslatable)
	39	No interpretation was given for this design, since it appears to be of modern origin. Such a modern design is usually called te′mbū pīlya, which signifies handkerchief design from the fact that they are derived largely from handkerchiefs of modern manufacture
	40	big zigzag (e′ dētcū)
	41, 42, 43	zigzag (dē′tcū). See fig. 15 above

[177]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXV	~~44~~	palm-wood steps of the house ladder (lya'tena)
		belt (tcū'mbī). This term should be tcū'mbī pĭlya, which signifies belt design and is applicable to any design which appears on a belt
CXXVI	1	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		eggs of a species of lizard called bimbū'ka (bĭ'mbū napĭpū)
	2	hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
		eggs of a species of lizard called bimbū'ka
	3	(bĭ'mbū napĭpū)
		pū'ka ka (this appears to be really ka' pūka which means small fruit)
		big zigzag (e' dĕtcū)
		balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
	4	hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
		balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		pū'ka ka (apparently signifies small fruit)
	5	foot of a small species of lizard (bĭ'mbū nyapa)
		e hū''la (e signifies large; hū''la is untranslatable)
	6	egg of a small species of lizard (bĭ'mbū napĭpū)
		hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
	7	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyū'ndyu tcĭ lara (untranslatable)
	8	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyū'ndyū tcĭ lara (untranslatable)
		handkerchief design (tĕ'mbū pĭlya)
	9	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyū'ndyū tcĭ lara (untranslatable)
		hū''lara (untranslatable)
		handkerchief design (te'mbū pĭlya)
	10	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		belt design (tcū'mbī pĭlya). (This term is applied to any design on a belt, regardless of the nature of the design)
		big zigzag (e' dĕtcū)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Plate	Figure	
CXXVI		palm-wood steps of a house ladder (lya'tena). (This term applies to the horizontal lines which form part of this design)
		tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
	11	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		te'pū balyalya (untranslatable)
		pala'c lara (untranslatable)
	12	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
	13	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		horizontal design (de" pañ bīlya)
		tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
	14	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		handkerchief design (te'mbū pilya)
	15	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
	16	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		belt (tcū'mbī). (This term should be tcū'mbī pilya, signifying belt design. It is equally applicable to any design which appears on a belt)
	17	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		belt (tcū'mbī). (This term should be tcū'mbī pilya, signifying belt design. It is equally applicable to any design which appears on a belt)
	18	No interpretation obtained
	19	No interpretation obtained
	20	No interpretation obtained
	21	zigzag (dē'tcū). See pl. CXXV, fig. 15, above
		belt (tcū'mbī). (This term is applicable with equal propriety to all designs appearing on belts; its full form is tcū'mbī pilya)
	22	eggs of a species of small lizard called bimbū'ka (bī'mbū napīpū)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
		hū'rūlara, hū'la (untranslatable)
		pū'te wūūcla (pū'te signifies hamper-shape basket; wūū'cla is untranslatable)
	23	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		ladder (lya'pī)

286
531
552

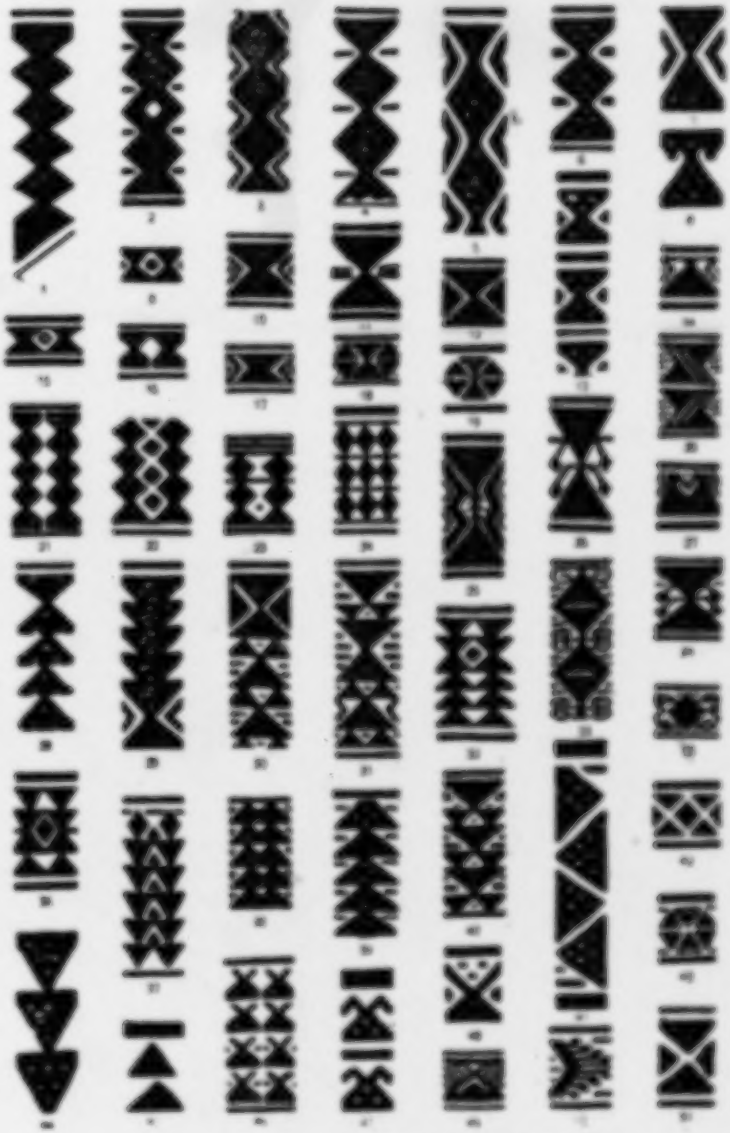
3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXVI	24	No name obtained
	25	No name obtained
	26	No name obtained
	27	No name obtained
	28	belt (tcū'mbī). (This term applies to any design which appears on a belt; its full form is tcū'mbī pīlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	29	mō'pītcipapa, mōpī ke'nū tcīpapa. (The carved stick used as an implement with which to apply the red and yellow face paint)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
		balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyūm bī'lya (bī'lya signifies design, tyūm appears to come from te'tcūa, signifying pitigua). (The connection of the design and name here is not very clear)
	30	handkerchief design (te'mbū pīlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
		pala'lara (untranslatable)
	31	handkerchief design (te'mbū pīlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	32	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		tyūm bī'lya (bī'lya signifies design, and tyūm appears to be derived from te'tcūa, signifying pitigua)
	33	No signification was obtained for this elaborate design
	34	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
	35	No signification obtained
	36	No signification obtained
	37	No signification obtained
	38	handkerchief design (te'mbū pīlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	39	No signification obtained
	40	handkerchief design (te'mbū pīlya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	41	zigzag (dē'tcū). See pl. CXXV, fig. 15, above
		te'pū balya'lya (untranslatable)
		balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		fruit (pū'ka)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552



CLOTH DESIGNS: GEOMETRIC FIGURES

[p. 302(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

281
531
552

CLOTH DESIGNS: GEOMETRIC FIGURES

[p. 302 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXVI	42	pala'cla (untranslatable)
		belt (tcū'mbī). (This term in full is tcū'mbī pilya, signifying belt design, and is applicable to all designs appearing on belts)
	43	balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		hō'lara (untranslatable term)
	44	handkerchief design (te'mbū pilya)
		tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
	45	tyūlya'lya (untranslatable)
		tyū'ndyā tcū'lara (untranslatable)
	46	canoe design (kūm bī'lya)
		handkerchief design (te'mbū pilya)
	47	handkerchief design (te'mbū pilya)
		te'mbū balyalya (te'mbū signifies handkerchief; balya'lya is untranslatable)
	48	pala'tcū or palū'c lara (untranslatable)
	49	pala'tcū (untranslatable)
		cars (pū'ñge)
		centipede (se'pinde)
	50	No signification obtained
	51	No signification obtained
CXXVII	1	big zigzag (e' dētcū)
		e pala'tcū (e signifies big; pala'tcū is untranslatable)
		boa constrictor (we'sū)
	2	e hū'rūlara (e signifies big; hū'rūlara is untranslatable)
		pitigua design (tyūm bī'lya) (tyūm comes from te'tcūa, meaning pitigua)
	3	ba'ndilas (a certain basketry technic). (This particular basketry technic is a kind of openwork which produces small squares similar to those shown here. It is clearly a case of the adaptation of this technic to this textile) [285]
		hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
	4	ba'ndilas (a certain basketry technic). See fig. 3 above
		zigzag (dē'tcū). (This interpretation seems doubtful)
	5	hū'rūlara, hū''la, hū'rūla (untranslatable)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXVIII	5	eye (kapū'ka) kapūka ya dē'tcu (eye ya zigzag)
	6	hū'rūlara, hu''la (untranslatable)
	7	e hū''la, hū''la (untranslatable)
	8	hū'rūlara, hū''la, pala'lac (untranslatable)
	9	ba'ndilas (a certain basketry technic). See fig. 3 above
	10	hū'rūlara, hū''la, e hū''la, ho' lara (untranslatable)
	11	zigzag (dē'tcū) hū'rūlara, hū' la (untranslatable)
	12	ba'ndilas (a certain basketry technic)? See fig. 3 above crab design (ne' pilya) nim bi'lya (untranslatable) zigzag (dē'tcū). (The connection seems doubtful)
	13	ba'ndilas (a certain basketry technic). See fig. 3 above
	14	pala'la, pala'lara, pala'tcū (untranslatable)
	15	hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable) turtle (pitcī'li)
	16	No interpretation obtained
	17	hū'rūlara, hū''la (untranslatable)
	18	No interpretation obtained
	19	pala'tcū, tapū'lyū (untranslatable)
	20	cross (karū'sa, from the Spanish cruz) pala'tcu (untranslatable) top (tōmbe'ta, from the Spanish trompo)
	21	pala'cla (untranslatable) belt (tcū'mbī). (This term in full is tcū'mbī pilya, belt design, and is equally applicable to all designs occurring on belts)
	22	big zigzag (ē' dētcu) i'clabō'ā (iron used with flint in striking fire)
	23	eye (kapū'ka)
	24	lya'tena (the palm-wood steps of a ladder) ne' pilya tyūndyū tcī lara (ne' pilya signifies crab design; the remainder of the term is untranslatable)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Plate	Figure	
CXXVII	24	tyū′ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable)
		ladder (lya′pī)
		crab design (ne′ pīlya)
	25	lya′tena (the palm-wood steps of a ladder)
		ne′ pīlya tyūndyū tcī lara (ne′ pīlya signifies crab design; the remainder of the term is untranslatable)
		ladder (lya′pī)
		crab design (ne′ pīlya)
		tcū′mbī delam ba″ta (tcū′mbī signifies belt; the remainder of the term is untranslatable)
	26	lya′tena (the palm-wood steps of a ladder)
	27	crab design (ne′ pīlya)
		nim bī′lya (untranslatable)
	28	ka′pū tcī lara (to turn the eyes in an upward direction)
		lya′tena (the palm-wood steps of a ladder)
	29	delam ba″ta (untranslatable)
		lya′tena (the palm-wood steps of a ladder)
	30	crab design (ne′ pīlya)
	31	zigzag (dē′tcū). (The connection seems doubtful)
		The stick used to apply face-paint; it is called mō′pītcīpapa, mōpī ke′nū tcīpapa, and mū′pī kenū tcīpapa, all variants of the same term
	32	crab design (ne′ pīlya)
		nim bī′lya (untranslatable)
		crab eyes (ne′ kapūka)
	33	zigzag (dē′tcū)
	34	crab design (ne′ pīlya)
	35	No interpretation obtained
	36	No interpretation obtained for this design as a whole. Horizontal bars of this kind are called lya′tena, meaning the palm-wood steps of the house ladder, and the small rectangles are called ne′ pīlya, signifying crab design, or nim bī′lya, in which nim is a term of unknown signification
	37	crab design (ne′ pīlya)

286
531
552

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

286
531
552

Plate	Figure	
CXXVII	37	crab design white cotton (ne' pīlya fībañ ûtcûa)
		nim bi'lya (untranslatable)
		crab design technic (ne' pīlya decīma)
		eye (kapû'ka)
	38	eye (kapû'ka)
		crab eye (ne' kapûka, nē'lû kapûka)
		dû'lalara kapûka, kapûka dala'la ke'tû (kapû'ka in each of these terms signifies eye. The remaining portions of these terms are untranslatable)
		balya'lyac (untranslatable)
		belt design (tcû'mbī pīlya). (This term belt applies equally to all designs occurring on belts)
	39	No interpretation obtained. Horizontal bars of this kind are usually called lya'tena, which signifies the palm-wood steps of a house ladder. As a matter of fact the design from which this figure was taken was a very small one and it is doubtful if this name would apply
	40	zigzag (dē'tcû)
		i'clabō'ñ (iron used with flint in striking fire)
	41	i'clabō'ñ (iron used with flint in striking fire)
	42	i'clabō'ñ (iron used with flint in striking fire)
		zigzag (dē'tcû)
		The rectangular closed figures are called kû'tca petī; kû'tca signifies dog, but pe'tī is untranslatable. The crossed lines between these rectangular figures are called pala'la, a term of unknown signification
	43	i'clabō'ñ (the iron used with flint in striking fire)

[372]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Glossary of Manta Design Names

286
531
552
177
104

bait, karna'da. Also said to be the name of a certain crustacean, called in Spanish camaron brava. CXXIV, 55.

balya'lyae (untranslatable). CXXIII, 11; CXXVI, 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 23, 29, 32, 34, 35, 41, 43; CXXVII, 38.

basket. See pū'te.

belt or girdle, tcū'mbī, a term that may be used as part of the name of any design on a belt. CXXV, 44; CXXVI, 16, 17, 21, 28, 42; CXXVII, 21, 38.

bird, pī'tcū. CXXIV, 20, 23, 24, 29, 31, 43; CXXV, 6, 10, 13, 14.

la'pī'tcū. A small black and yellow bird, a good singer, much kept as a pet by the Cayapa. Spanish, pichichu. CXXIV, 44.

tū'mbītcūlīl. A small black bird with red beak. CXXIV, 39.

frigate bird, nyambīwa'tū. CXXIV, 34.

boa constrictor, we'sū. CXXVII, 1.

burro, bū'rū. CXXIV, 11.

buzzard, kū'ndūrūrū, petyū'tyū; Spanish, gallinaso. CXXIV 36, 44.

canoe design, kūm bī'lya: kūm, from kū'lo, canoe. CXXVI, 46.

centipede's hand, se'pinde tyapa; hand (not leg) = tyapa'pa. CXXIV, 57; CXXVI, 49.

chicken, walya'pa. CXXIV, 26, 37.

color. Frequently an informant gave as the name of a particular design the name of the color of the material from which it was made. Such names, of course, have no significance in the interpretation of designs, but are of interest in that often they were the only ones obtainable. The names particularly used in this connection were:

te'nda, green thread, from a small shrub called te'nda tcī, the leaves of which provide the pigment used in coloring this thread. [386]

ka'kō, lavender thread, this color being obtained from a small periwinkle-like mollusk.

The names for other colors were almost never used in this manner.

cow, waga'ra, from Spanish vaca. CXXIII, 35; CXXIV, 10, 15.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 531 552 177 104

crab, ne'lû, the small red land-crab. CXXIII, 38; CXXIV, 55, 56, 58.

tepuí ne'lû, a certain species from the coast region. CXXIV, 55.

crab eye, ne'kapûka, ne'lû kapûka. This refers to the eye of the small red land-crab called ne'lû. CXXVII, 32, 38.

crab design, ne' pílya: ne from ne'lû, crab; pí'lya, design. CXXVII, 12, 24, 25, 27, 30, 32, 34, 37.

ne' pílya tyûndyû tcí lara: ne' pílya, crab design; the remainder is untranslatable. CXXVII, 24, 25.

crab design technic (literally), ne' pílya decíma. CXXVII, 37.

crab design white cotton (literally), ne' pílya ffbañ ûtcûa. CXXVII, 37.

cross, karû'sa, from Spanish cruz. CXXVII, 20.

deer, ma'na. CXXIII, 40, 41; CXXV, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13.

delam ba''ta (untranslatable). CXXVII, 29.

design. In many cases informants simply gave the term pí'lya, or bí'lya, which signifies design or pattern. It would appear that it was employed in cases where the design was of unknown signification, or where it was newly introduced. Such a general term is, of course, applicable to all patterns.

belt design. tcû'mbi pílya. This term applies to any pattern on a belt or girdle, regardless of its form. CXXVI, 10; CXXVII, 38. See belt.

horizontal design. de''pañ bílya. CXXVI, 13.

dog, kû'tca. CXXIII, 45; CXXIV, 7, 19; CXXV, 12.

kû'tca petí: pe'tí is untranslatable. The rectangular figures of this pattern are referred to by this name. CXXVII, 42.

dove, Spanish, paloma. CXXIV, 29, 31.

pactû'kû. A reddish species as large as a chicken. CXXIV, 25.

wa'pû'pû. A small reddish species. CXXIV, 24, 42.

duck, Spanish, pato. CXXIV, 38.

dû'lalara kapûka (dû'lalara is untranslatable; kapû'ka, eye). CXXVII, 38.

ear, pû'ñge. CXXVI, 49.

egret, white, ka''tsû; Spanish, garsa. CXXIV, 45, 29.

e hû''la (e, big; hû''la, untranslatable). CXXVI, 5; CXXVII, 7, 10.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

e hū'rūlara (e, big; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 2.
e pala'tcū (e, big; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXV, 36; CXXVII, 1.
eye, kapū'ka. CXXV, 17, 23, 27, 32; CXXVII, 5, 23, 37, 38.
kapūka dalalake"tū (kapū'ka, eye; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 38.
ka' kapūka, "little eye." The small diamond-shape designs on mantas, etc. CXXV, 23, 27.
ka'pūka ya dētcū (kapū'ka, eye; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 5.
ka'pū tcī lara, to turn the eyes in an upward direction, i.e., to look decidedly upward. CXXVII, 28.
feast table, pa'kigi, a contraction of pūba kīkī. CXXV, 20.
fruit, all classes, **pū'ka.** CXXVI, 41.
girdle. See belt.
goat, tcī'bū; Spanish, chivo. CXVIII, 26, 27; CXXIV, 9, 36.
guinea pig, a"tse. CXXIV, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11.
handkerchief, te'mbū balya'lya: te'mbū, a contraction of tembū'pū, handkerchief; balya'lya, untranslatable. CXXIV, 21; CXXVI, 47.
handkerchief design, te'mbū pūlya: tembū'pū, handkerchief. CXXIV, 21; CXXV, 39; CXXVI, 8, 9, 14, 30, 31, 38, 40, 44, 46, 47.
hawk, hūya'lyū; Spanish, gabilan. CXXIII, 41.
hō'lara (untranslatable). CXXIII, 28, 43; CXXVII, 10.
horse, kawa'lyū; Spanish, caballo. CXXIII, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37; CXXIV, 7, 14, 21, 28, 36; CXXV, 8, 14.
hū"la (untranslatable). CXXIII, 17, 21; CXXV, 32, 35, 38; CXXVI, 2, 3, 4, 6, 22; CXXVII, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17.
hū'lara (untranslatable). CXXVI, 9.
human being, tca'tcī. CXXIII, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 24, 28, 30, 43; CXXIV, 5, 6, 17; CXXV, 1, 2, 10.
hū'rūla (untranslatable). CXXVII, 5.
hū'rūlara (untranslatable). CXXIII, 17; CXXV, 32, 35, 38; CXXVI, 2, 3, 4, 6, 22; CXXVII, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17.
kūē'bū (untranslatable). CXXIV, 22.
kū'tca pe'tī (kū'tca, dog; pe'tī, untranslatable). The rectangular figures of this pattern are thus referred to. CXXVII, 42
ladder, lya'pī; Spanish, escalera. CXXVI, 23; CXXVII, 24, 25. lya'tena, i.e. palm-wood steps of a house-ladder. CXXV, 15, 44; CXXVI, 10; CXXVII, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 **lizard.** CXXIV, 13.
531 bīmbū'ka, a large species; Spanish, piande. CXXIV, 58; CXXV, 36.
•552 bī'mbū napīpū, i.e., egg of a lizard called bīmbū'ka. CXXVI, 1, 3, 6, 22.
177 bī'mbū nyapa, foot of a lizard called bīmbū'ka. CXXVI, 5.
104 **monkey,** cu'rī, a small species; Spanish, machin and mīco. CXXIII, 22, 23, 29, 31, 39; CXXIV, 16; CXXV, 3, 4, 5, 6.
wo'cū, wa'cū, a species larger than the machin but smaller than the large black monkey called mongon; Spanish, mono. CXXIII, 22, 38, 45.
ne'lū kapūka. See crab eye.
nim bi'lya (untranslatable). This design is one of those most frequently employed. CXXVII, 12, 27, 32, 37.
pala'cla (untranslatable). CXXVI, 42; CXXVII, 21.
pala'c lara (untranslatable). CXXVI, 11.
pala'la (untranslatable). CXXIII, 9, 10; CXXVII, 14, 42.
pala'lac (untranslatable). CXXVII, 8.
pala'lara (untranslatable). CXXVI, 30; CXXVII, 14.
pala'ra (untranslatable). CXXV, 38.
pala'tcū (untranslatable; the only definition obtainable was the Spanish term garavata). CXXIII, 21; CXXV, 38; CXXVI, 48, 49; CXXVII, 14, 19, 20.
palù'c lara (untranslatable). CXXVI, 48.
pelican, nana''ka; Spanish alcatraz. CXXIII, 38, 42; CXXV, 21, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41.
petyū'tyū. See buzzard.
pilya dē'we: pī'lya, design; dē'we, possibly related to de'tcū, zigzag. CXXV, 31.
pitigua, etcūm bī'û: probably related to te'tcūmb ilya, from te'tcūa, pitigua, and bī'lya, design. CXXV, 21.
pū'ka ka (untranslatable). CXXVI, 3, 4.
pū'te wilû'cla: pū'te, hamper-shape basket; wīlû'cla, untranslatable. CXXVI, 22.
ray, tongue of sting-ray, tyū'wī nī''ka. CXXV, 34.
scorpion, alaga'ra; Spanish, alacrán. CXXIV, 49, 50.
se'rañ dē'tcū (untranslatable). CXXV, 22.
sheep, bōrrī'gō, usually called bōrrī'gō by the Cayapa, but called also ōī'ca from Spanish oveja. CXXIV, 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 16.
snake, pīnī. CXXV, 21.
spider, mū'tele; Spanish, araña. CXXIII, 12; CXXIV, 46, 47, 49.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

steel, ĭ'clabō'ñ, i.e., iron used with flint in striking fire. CXXVII, 22, 40, 41, 42, 43.
stick, with which achote face-paint is applied, mō'pītcīpapa, mōpī ke'nū tcīpapa, mū'pī kenū tcīpapa. CXXVI, 29; CXXVII, 31.
tapū'lyū (untranslatable) CXXVII, 19.
tcū'mbi delam ba"ta (tcū'mbi, belt or girdle; delam ba"ta, untranslatable). CXXVII, 25.
technic, ba'ndilas, a certain basketry technic. CXXVII, 3, 4, 9, 12, 13.
te'pu balya'lya (untranslatable). CXXVI, 11, 41.
toad, sa'pū, from Spanish sapo. CXXIII, 4, 17, 18, 19, 20, 59.
top, tombē'ta, from Spanish trompo. CXXVII, 20.
turkey, domestic, kaste'lya walyapa, literally Spanish or Castilian chicken. CXXIV, 22.
turtle, pītcī'lī; Spanish, tortuga. CXXIV, 53, 54, 59; CXXVII, 15.
tyūlya'lya (untranslatable). CXXVI, 22, 28, 29, 30, 31, 38, 40, 44, 45.
tyūm bi'lya (tyūm, probably from te'tcūa, pitigua; bi'lya, design). CXXV, 20; CXXVI, 29, 32; CXXVII, 2.
tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable). CXXIV, 17; CXXVI, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 45; CXXVII, 24.
zigzag (generic), dē'tcū. This term is usually preceded by an adjectival term which indicates the particular kind of zigzag; viz., ē' dētcū, se'rañ dētcū, ūyū'mī dētcū, de"pañmī dētcū. CXXV, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 41, 42, 43; CXXVI, 21, 41; CXXVII, 4, 11, 12, 31, 33, 40, 42.
dē'tcū serañ tsūa; (dē'tcū, zigzag; no definite translation for the remainder of the term could be obtained). CXXV, 29.
ē' dētcū; literally, big zigzag; given also as crossed zigzag, though this meaning is doubtful. CXXV, 18, 27, 32, 40; CXXVI, 3, 10; CXXVII, 1, 22.
de"pamī dētcū, de"pañmī dētcū; horizontal zigzag. CXXV, 34.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

[611] There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

844 either carried far into the hills and there deposited in some lonely, out-of-the-way spot, or it is placed to dry in the upper part of the house for about a month, when it may be thrown away in a place where no one is likely 846 to find it. When the umbilicus finally sluffs from the body, it is kept in the house for a month or so and also thrown away in some secluded spot.

844 This great care that no one shall come upon either the 846 umbilical cord or the afterbirth is apparently not due to fear that the child or a member of its immediate family will be injured if either should be found, but it is claimed that the magic effect upon a person encountering either would be very serious, and might even result in death. [754] No evidence could be obtained that would point to the use of either the umbilicus or the placenta by shamans or others for bringing about magic spells or other malevolent effects.

844 Immediately after its birth, the child is bathed in warm water and its entire face is painted with red achote, but neither the child nor the mother is obliged later to undergo any purification or other ceremony.

NAMES

●553 According to their profession of the Roman Catholic faith the Cayapa baptize their children for the first time 553 within a few days after birth. This first rite is per- 608 formed by a man and a woman, special friends of the family, who are selected by the parents. If the child is a boy, he is held by the man who is to become his godfather while the woman who is to become his godmother

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

baptizes him with a tumbler of water as she gives him his name, which is almost invariably the given name of the godfather. If a girl, the child is held by the godmother, baptized by the godfather, and given the name of the godmother. 553 608

A child may be, and usually is, called by its first baptismal name, but sooner or later in its babyhood some act or circumstance connected with its life will appeal to the members of the family as particularly ludicrous or interesting. Its name is thereupon changed, it being called by the name of this act or circumstance to the almost total exclusion of its baptismal name. At the first opportunity the child is baptized by a priest, and then receives from him its true Christian name, which is usually that of the patron saint of the day upon which the child was born. Some months, however, may elapse before this second christening, since it is possible to have such a baptism only when a priest makes a visit to the region or when a part of the family has occasion to go to Esmeraldas or to some other point where a priest resides. In spite of the fact that the child may now have two Christian names, it almost invariably happens that some nickname given to it in the nature of a joke clings to it, perhaps for the rest of its life, and always at least until after marriage. This nickname may at any time be changed according as some new propensity is displayed by the child, or some new incident occurs which appeals to its associates or to the family. 551 551 553 551

Such a nickname persists usually until the person becomes a father or a mother, when the name is immediately changed and the person is no longer known by his or 551 553

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

551 her original name, but as the father or mother of this
•553 first-born child. Thus, the chief of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa is known by the Christian name Antonio Napa, but is almost invariably called pī′tcū-apa, signifying "father of pī′tcū." Correspondingly his wife is known as pī′tcū-ama, "mother of pī′tcū." Such a name usually persists regardless of the names of any of the younger children and regardless of whether or not the eldest child still lives. In the case cited, the eldest son, pī′tcū, died several years ago and there are several younger children in the family, but the names pī′tcū-apa and pī′tcū-ama still persist. Now and then a person is found whose original nickname is used even after the birth of his children, but this is very exceptional.

PUBERTY

881 As in the case of birth, there appear to be almost no restrictions upon or ceremonies for either sex on reaching puberty, which is again contrary to the customs of most aboriginal peoples. Some even maintain that there are absolutely no restrictions, but others claim that girls at the age of puberty are prohibited for a short period
[841] from going about and from bathing. This latter statement seems the more probable, in view of the fact that during their menstrual periods the older women are subject to the same restrictions, though they are not otherwise restricted in their actions at such times.

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of witchcraft. Barrett records that very little attention is given to wounds per se beyond the application of hot beeswax or a leaf to keep off the insects; however, a few individuals have specialized in the setting of broken bones. Apparently, this specialty is not taught, but a person who wants to engage in this activity practices by removing the corn kernels from a dry ear of corn and then replaces them in their sockets under cover of the husks. This is said to develop finger dexterity and the sense of touch. With growing competence the neophyte bonesetter practices mending the limbs of domestic animals, and eventually, the first human patient requests his services. Clean fractures seem to be rather easily handled, and it is said that "green-twig" fractures are similarly mended. The price for this service is high, ranging from 500 sucres to over 1,000 sucres.

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For illnesses caused by spirit possession or spirit loss, a brujo or witch is needed. There are no special requirements for becoming a brujo beyond the desire and money to pay for instruction. As the prophet is seldom honored in his own country, so the Cayapa

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maintain that the best witches are not Cayapa at all but rather the Cholo of Colombia and the Colorado of Ecuador. Next in order of preference are the highland Indians around Ibarra, and, finally, those Cayapa who have been instructed from the masters listed in descending order of preference. Those Cayapa who have been instructed by other Cayapa enjoy very little esteem. There is said to be a good deal of jealousy between witches, and in popular belief they are said to seek opportunities to kill off their rivals.

The Cayapa theory of spirit possession is that if one is wandering in the monte, a spirit may spy one and fall in love with one. The spirit then embraces the victim and enters his body. Spirits or inimical objects may be implanted in the body by witchcraft as well. When someone falls ill and lingers in illness for a time, the charge is made that an enemy is at work. The task of the brujo is simply to rid the body of the object or spirit that is causing the illness.

The witches' paraphernalia consists of archaeological artifacts that were made by the people resident in the area prior to the Cayapa occupation. A

sending of a commission too expensive. 595 684x

Polygyny defended as the right of the wealthy. Rosenda was tried by the late /ʌnʸi/, Arcilio. He responded to Arcilio's statement that "Jesus never ordered man to have two wives" by saying that the devil told him to get a second wife. He also pointed out that he was a very rich man and could well afford to maintain two women and that he needed two wives to help him cultivate all of his banana fields. Fifty lashes were ordered, but Rosenda protested and he was only given twenty lashes. Because of the reduction in the number of lashes, he was fined thirty sucres. [It is also said that he threatened to kill one of the officials before being sentenced.] The woman received fifty lashes and that same day was given to a man from Sapallo Grande. Later that day, the woman and her new husband were overtaken by Rosenda at San Antonio just a few miles above Punta Venado. Rosenda told the groom that he was the woman's husband, that he had been drunk and had never ordered her sent away. The man from Sapallo Grande "was somewhat stupid," and handed her over. That night, Rosenda and his wife slipped down the river past

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father, and they argued. Roberto claimed that he needed two wives, and, being a rich hombre, he could afford them. Furthermore, the second wife could supply him with children. Romulo's father replied that Roberto should know well what he was doing in his own heart, and after death, Jesus would punish him.

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The case materials so far presented indicate that the polygynists and would-be polygynists have been wealthy and powerful dissidents. The following case of Segundo Añapa is a contrary instance that portends of major changes to come.

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Poor man attempts polygyny. Julio Tapullo who lived a short distance below Tapullo Grande had a crippled left arm. His wife, María Cimarrón, deserted him for another man named Segundo Añapa. Segundo who lived near Playa Grande on the Río Cayapas was already married to Petrona Cimarrón who was not related to María. Despite the objections of his first wife, he and María lived together for over a month. A 'niece' of Petrona met Aurelio who is one of the /[illegible]tala/ from the Río Camarones; she met him when he was bringing in bananas for sale directly to the boat at San Antonio.

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Segundo did not reply. In the crowd the murmur went around, "por gusto," for pleasure. [Best translated here as, "for the hell of it."] They both received two hundred and fifty lashes, and as a Cayapa woman does not live by plantain alone, Gabriel advised Julio to spend more money on his wife.

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Again it is seen that Cayapa women are capable of direct action, but much more important, a case of polygyny had been successfully legally quashed. Compare, however, the severity of the sentence with that of Segundo: two hundred and fifty lashes versus twenty, plus a thirty sucre fine. Cayapa law can handle the "little man." It is almost as if polygyny were becoming quasi-respectable. Gabriel implied that Segundo had no need for another wife, since he had children. The lack of follow-up action directed against the rich and powerful and the severe quashing that Segundo received may signal the formation of a class-structured society wherein polygyny is legally restricted to the wealthy. In any event, the chief in discussing with me all of the on-going cases of polygyny presented above denied his responsibility. He said that even though all of them were living in sin, everything was actually

4:Altschuler E-S (1959-1960) 1968
SD6 Cayuga SD6

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all right because these cases had been "settled" previously by the late /Earl/ Arville.

The omnipresent theme seems to be that a truly determined wrong-doer cannot be handled within the legal framework, and his punishment is shifted to the realm of the supernatural. This results in a de facto acceptance of the illegal act that may be very productive of greater change ultimately leading to de jure acceptance in terms of legal decisions.

301 The women's clothes are much simpler and scantier than the
291 men's. They simply consist of a piece of cotton cloth dyed blue, black or red, about two yards long, which is tightly wrapped around the lower part of the body and is tied at the waist with flax cord. The upper part of the body, up to the waist, and legs, from the feet to the knees, remain totally uncovered. By way of ornaments they wear long strings of tiny colored beads around the wrists and long, colored bead necklaces around the neck, as well as self-made mother-of-pearl amulets and some of the more well-to-do women even wear strings of silver coins. Bead necklaces are also
[584] worn in large numbers by young men during the period of their betrothal. In other words the women's wardrobes are not a serious worry to the husbands. Up to their sixth year, children run about completely naked apart from some bead or button ornaments likewise hung on them.

481 The men walk ahead of their wives, a long leaf-shaped paddle
562 in one hand and a small net-like basket containing as little as
482 possible in the other, while the heavily laden women trot behind them with short, swaying steps, along with the children. Even from their visits to town one can observe that the woman has been given the role of the load and work-horse.

482 On her back the woman carries a heavily laden basket which is strapped around her forehead, while the youngest child sits thrust out in riding position on her hip, with the mother's arm holding him tightly. In her other hand she usually carries a bundle and a cooking pot.

574 One of their first visits in town is at the local priest's. The
797 latter claims that the Cayapa are Catholics. But this is not true.
301 Probably they only go to the priest because he seeks to prove the blessings of the Catholic Church by means of small presents and holy coins, which, one must admit, do look very pretty worn around the neck. At home they have their own cult.

481 Their happiness is apparent when they leave the vicarage, be-
198 cause they have again received presents. They amble down the business streets, curious, amazed and admiring as they go from one shop to the other. "Chindo, Kachindo, compadre?" the gutter-snipes call after them. (The first two words are in the Cayapa language, the third is Spanish; the sentence means: "Where'ye going, fellow?") "Caminando, viendo, comprando, compadre"
[91] ("going for a walk, seeing, buying, brother") the men answer politely, but in very poor Spanish.

juice called guarapo in Spanish.

Basketry. Fans, baskets, and pouches, are made in the same style and technique as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:183-250). There is a market for the fans which are used for fanning the embers in the fire-box when preparing a meal. They are often sold in the coastal towns of San Lorenzo and Esmeraldas as well as in the highland town of Ibarra. The money received for these fans is the property of the woman who made the fans, even though they were sold by her husband.

Weapons. The blowgun has disappeared from general use. Only a few specimens are left. All hunting today is done with the escopeta or muzzle-loading shotgun. Serving both as a tool and as a weapon is the machete or /mučte/, and both men and women are quite adept in its use.

Housing.

Probably the cultural feature of the Pacific lowlands which most quickly attracts the eye of the outsider is the type of house used by the rural Negroid population. This is the square or rectangular pile dwelling with four-shed hipped roof of thatch, a peculiar roof crown, and palm-lath floor

ties are often very tender. On one occasion while the writer was treating a man for a fever his married sister came in and knelt beside him. She put her mouth close to his ear and whispered to him while she gently stroked his back. It is said that brothers should work together on all things, that they should inherit and work land together.

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Parent-child relationships are affectionate and close. Both parents play with their children and indulge them. Often children were brought in to the writer for an injection of penicillin. In these cases if the child cried and stated emphatically that he did not want it, the parents would not insist. Generally boy and girl children are treated much the same in play behavior with the parents and other siblings with one exception. Boy children, up to about the third or fourth year, are often held up at arms-length above the head of the older person who then lowers the child slowly. When the child is within reach, the older person then places his mouth over the child's genitals for a few seconds. This game is never played with girl children.

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While husband and wife relationships tend to be affectionate, the woman is often in a near dominant

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position. She generally controls the finances and is consulted before any major purchase is made. If a large sale is made--for example, that of a canoe--she is on hand to count the money. During fiestas she doles out the money to her husband for rum purchases. It is not at all unusual to see a man, already quite drunk, whine, wheedle, threaten, curse, and coax his wife for a few coins. He usually gets it, but ever so begrudgingly. A man and his wife work the fields together and she is adept in the use of a machete. They seem to be in agreement on most things that involve the house and their children. When a child is punished he never seeks aid and comfort from the other parent. Children were never seen playing one parent off against the other. It is doubtful whether this would ever occur to a child. Similarly, parents do not use their children as foils for their own individual advantages.

If grandparents are residing in the home, they are treated with respect by their children and grandchildren. The grandchildren often call them 'father' and 'mother.' Unless they are bedridden, the grandparents do a full share of work, and they continue working until

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the last. The grandmother will often remain behind taking care of the young children while the parents are out working. She may punish the children either by admonition or by slapping them. Generally, there seems to be more roughhouse behavior among the children of the household when the grandparent(s) are present than when are just the parents.

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When the in-laws and/or other relatives are resident in the house the same atmosphere tends to prevail. Each nuclear family occupies a section of the house. Sometimes a cubicle is built for sleeping and storing purposes. Meals are prepared separately and consumed individually. No one eats together as a group. The men are served first. One may be in a hammock, another seated on a bench, yet another may be standing off by himself at the front of the house watching the river. They eat where they are. The women and children *eat after the men have eaten. They tend to form more of* a group because of the proximity of the cooking area and they converse more together while they are eating than the men do.

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Newcomers to the household group such as a new son or daughter-in-law, tend to be shy and quiet. In

'no gloss' in which a double circle is formed with one man in the center. To form the double circle, one man stations himself directly behind another and places his hands on his partner's shoulders. All couples are paired in this manner; in addition, there is a group of three players who form part of the double circle, with the third man being "it." The man in the center has a whip made of a piece of twisted cloth with which he strikes the third man. Upon being struck this man moves over to the next set and assumes the first position in the line-up. The whip bearer then strikes the newly created "third man," and this process is repeated until the whip bearer is tired, and then someone else replaces him.

Arm wrestling and throwing an opponent over one's back are great favorites. In these events men of forty may vie with youths of thirteen. Girls and women do not participate in any of these games and sports, but are appreciative spectators. They are all exquisitely dressed and consciously trying to attract the young men. None of the games involve skill or the use of strategy; they cannot even be

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Indians returned home without the girl. Several days later, Manuel Largo took his reluctant bride up a small nearby stream to hide, since he feared a return of the girl's family. The girl apparently entertained no such hopes anymore, and when they had gone a short distance upstream, she told Manuel to go on up ahead and wait for her as she wanted to defecate. When he was gone from view, she ran through the monte and later that day she arrived at the house of Juanito Cimarrón of Pichiyaco. Even though Juanito was not related to her, he arranged for one of his sons to return her to her home; nothing more was ever done about this incident.

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If Manuel Largo was indeed small, thin, and ugly, then Perdomo's sister would view the arrangement with something less than enthusiasm. If Manuel was indeed weak, then the family in general could join the girl in her refusal. A man who is weak certainly would not be a very good provider for the wife, and, as a man is expected to help his in-laws when needed, he would not be of much use to them. The material presented so far indicates that a woman has a great deal to say as to whether or not she will marry and/or to whom. A

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determined woman will usually have her way, and many Cayapa women are determined: 584 [581] [562]

Earlier, in the case of Carmelina, we saw that the relatives of the /ún^{y}i/ were not immune from being manhandled by a commission. In the following case we shall see an instance in which the very authority of the /ún^{y}i/ was flouted.

Mother removes her daughter from the bridegroom's home. Several years ago Kalía wanted to send his sister to marry a man on the Río Camerones. The mother objected, saying that the girl was much too young. They all later went as guests to a baile de casamiento, that is, a wedding feast celebrated usually a year or two after a man and woman have been living together as man and wife. The late /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio, was asked by the prospective bridegroom's brother to deliver the girl, and this was done. The girl's mother said nothing at the time, but when she returned to the Río Camerones, she marched into the bridegroom's house and took her daughter home with her. The bridegroom's mother protested, but that was all. The older brother 584 627 [585]

among the Cayapa. It is forbidden by the Church through the person of the priest, who is seldom seen. Many Cayapa maintain that divorce is not proper. At the present time, divorce is possible for both sexes, but it is much more difficult for a woman to obtain. In one instance, a woman was married to a mental defective and she left him with the full approval of the community. In the case of the crippled Julio Tapullo, his wife was not permitted a divorce even though Julio had been very miserly with her. On the other hand, a man may divorce his wife if she is barren or has too many still-births. In one case, a man beat his wife because she only gave birth to girls; he threatened either to kill her or to throw her out of the house (divorce), if the next child were a girl.

The divorce procedure is quite simple. The woman is simply told to leave! There is usually some grumbling by the woman's parents, but to my knowledge, complaints are never made to any of the officials. Julio Tapullo's case above was complicated by polygyny.

Santiaquello hires a Negro to bring his children back after his wife left him. Santiaquello Anapa's first

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woman had really been punished. Certainly, initially the intention was present, but the proceedings soon became a travesty as all of the participants became progressively drunker. It is of interest to note that only the woman was tried, and no mention at all was made of the man or men involved. It seems to have been generally accepted that she had been taking the initiative in her sexual adventures. For the Cayapa, extra-marital sexual behavior is sinful, and at the root of all sin are women. Assigning initial guilt to women sometimes requires a certain amount of mental gymnastics which is quite ludicrous as in the following instance.

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<u>The blame is placed on the woman because she did not say no</u>. A 'nephew' of Arcilio was single. He made love to the wife of Arcilio's son and they were seen by the /ʌnʸi/. Arcilio, however, was "ashamed" and said nothing then but charged them during the Easter <u>fiesta</u> at <u>Punta Venado</u>. The woman blamed the man, but he in turn said that it was all her fault because all she had to do was to refuse his advances. They were both punished with eighty lashes.

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[For information on the Negroes of Esmeraldas Province, Northwestern Ecuador, see 4: Altschuler, SD6 Cayapa, category 116 passim.]

They have sold the new small canoes, tree bark mats (damajaguas), palm-leaf fans, rubber and rolls of liana (these are used in the construction of bamboo huts to tie up the palm-leaves on the [284] roofs and for some other purposes in lieu of string), which they have brought from the villages and with the cash they have earned they now make their small purchases. They have few wants and do not need much: a few feet of cotton cloth, a chopping knife, some salt, a small mirror, glass beads, fish hooks, powder and small shot for the old muzzle-loader which a few of them may own. This would be all their heart desires. It is little, even very little, and yet it takes long, even very long, until they have made their choice and finally decided to buy. First they talk it over among themselves in their guttural and sinuous language and then they start bargaining, and then they count out their money slowly and cautiously; finally having managed to get the desired goods, they packed them into the nearly full basket carried by the wife. The women and girls timidly hide behind their menfolk. When spoken to, they do not answer, although they understand sufficient Spanish. Their jealous menfolk have strictly forbidden them to enter into conversation with men of other races or tribes. They draw back bashfully. But if the husband is not present, only the mother or brother, the women become very loquacious, especially when their tongue has been untied by a small present--a mirror, necklace or something of the kind. And they are happy beyond words if you caress their little child, who looks like a Japanese baby painted brown, and has a friendly smile even for a stranger. It is amusing to watch the women meeting a fashionably dressed lady in one of the shops, then they surround her laughing, amazed and admiring, but they do not appear to be jealous of the lace dresses worn by European women. The men, on the other hand, do not honor even the most beautiful and most elegant white lady with so much as a glance.

The Cayapa girls are pretty from the age of 12 to 16 years, their bodies somewhat plump, but still with a beautiful shape. Sometimes young men and women can be seen with red and black streaks and dots on their faces, chest, arms and legs; this is a sign that they are engaged.

Once their business in town is finished they prepare for the return journey to their villages. "Adios compadre, adios compadres," and chattering and laughing, happy and content, they hurry to the shore where their canoes are moored. On their way they

J: Barrett E-S (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the means employed to accomplish it, the advantages in this new location over their former mountain habitat resulted in greater ease of agriculture, improved conditions for growing plantains, facility of travel on the river, and proximity to the sea. The change from their former life, which was that of a village community of mountaineers with maize as the staple food, was very considerable. They at present live scattered along the banks of the rivers, each family keeping to itself in large measure, but they still preserve a semblance of their former village life in the three pueblos, Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, each of which is a common meeting place for its particular division of the people.

The provincial and national governments recognize, in a way, the rights of the Indians to full and peaceable possession of their territory, and have endeavored to protect them by enacting laws prohibiting the settlement of other peoples along the Rio Cayapas and its tributaries. The enforcement of these laws, however, has been quite another matter, for the negroes, descendants of former slaves of Colombia and Ecuador, in later years have gradually worked their way up the streams until now their houses extend as far as Corriente Grande. Formerly Cayapa houses were found as far down-stream as Borbon, at the confluence of the Cayapas and Santiago rivers, but at present the house farthest down-stream is only a short distance below the confluence of the Rio Onzole with the Rio Cayapas.

As for the white population of the entire Province of

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and never by way of organized groups. There were no political groups, just individuals who occasionally voiced dissatisfaction.

John Embree in his comparison between Thai and Japanese social systems wrote in terms of close and loose structures:

> Loosely integrated here signifying a culture in which considerable variation of individual behavior is sanctioned (Embree 1950:182) . . . Where social structure is "close"--that is, where the behavior of the people conforms closely to the formal social patterns of human relations . . . it is difficult for an individual to deviate, and reciprocal rights and duties are clearly marked and carried out (Embree 1950:185).

Cayapa social organization is, in these terms, loosely integrated, and Cayapa behavior is marked by individuality but not by individualism. That is, there is no ethic of individualism, rugged or otherwise, held as an ideal, but rather the sociological concomitants of a bi-laterally structured kinship system, lacking corporate kin groupings, coupled with the lack of permanent action groups of any kind, usually preclude social involvements on other than an individual basis. A possible exception to this may be

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found in the household consisting of several related nuclear families, but even here, the group is contingent upon circumstances, variable in personnel and unstable in duration. Members of the household are in constant movement, tending their far flung farm plots, visiting kinfolk, traveling to the cities, and visiting curers. 591 183 105 156 [592]

The lack of corporate involvements for the Cayapa effectively restricts political behavior to periods of turbulence and uncertainty such as occurred after the death of the late /ʌ̃ʌ̃ʸʌ/, Arcilio Pianchichi, and the installation of his nephew, Gabriel Añapa, as the new governor. It may be, that whenever the office passes out of the direct line from father to son, political disturbances develop which may be exacerbated by personality factors. This seems to have been the case with Gabriel whose involvement in political events will be discussed shortly. [622] [643] [665]

In terms of being a loosely structured society, the Cayapa differ from the Thai as discussed by Embree in an important manner:

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> In Siamese society it is relatively easy to achieve a fait accompli by doing something not approved by other members of the group. But in so doing one does not necessarily achieve the acceptance of the others. The "accomplished fact" does not accomplish much (Embras 1950: 185).

It is precisely at this point that the Cayapa offer a dramatic contrast. The strong-minded deviant in Cayapa society can, by his determination, make his accomplished fact a model for emulation and ultimate acceptance by the members of his society. Cayapa society is structurally unable, in the normal course of events, to permit the development of concerted and protracted pressure on an individual deviant. The only approach to this occurred when Gabriel assumed his position as /ʃɑ̃ʸɩ/. Gabriel was not a man who commanded respect from either the Negroes or the Indians. He did not speak Spanish well, he drank to excess and was unable to perform his duties, he was not well versed in the law, and he was a poor man. For the Cayapa, the /ʃɑ̃ʸɩ/ should be a man of infinite wisdom, who is well spoken both in Cayapa and in Spanish, a man who can stand up to the Negroes for the Cayapa,

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a man who can govern justly with a minimum of friction. People may be born in this mold and others may change aspects of their personality and perceptions through the performance of required role behavior in new status positions. This latter situation is being structured by the Cayuga in terms of a unique kind of political behavior.

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the Río Verde. In fact, she said that she planned to go there with her late husband's brother. Her complaint was that the Rosenda household was "sad, bad, much crying and beating." She wanted to leave her husband permanently. According to my informants, this would be a valid divorce, considering the polygynous circumstances, and she could then remarry. She had left Rosenda without her children, because "the father did not send them along," and therefore within a few days she returned home to Rosenda. It was being said at the time that Rosenda was looking for a third wife.

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The area around Quinsás is a bustling center of the banana trade, and the Cayapa who live there are very well off financially. The people of the San Miguel section are the furthest removed from the banana trade and from time to time go to the coastal areas to work. Sometimes they work for Whites and sometimes for Negroes, but mostly they seek work on Cayapa-owned land. For the first time non-related Cayapa may live and work together and opportunities for liasons are greatly increased. In some instances, as in the following case, they end in a polygynous marriage.

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your vagina is delicious," but the matter is resolved differently for girls.

> . . . owing to the fact that a girl's 'graspiness' does not need to remain fixated in the mouth . . . it can normally shift to the vagina and pass for genital behavior (Erickson 1950:80).

The sexual forwardness of the women [forward only in comparison with the backwardness of the males], is not true genital behavior but rather an expression of incorporative fixation, and is psychologically equivalent to the heavy dependency drinking of the Cayapa male. Cayapa women also drink and get drunk, but their drinking is only the palest reflection of the drinking behavior of the men; the psychological needs of the women, it is quite clear, are satisfied more genitally.

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Affiliative Behavior. Affiliative behavior is characteristic of many animal orders, and especially of the primate. On the human level, affiliative needs are intensified by the peculiarly human process of socialization, and the general dyadic patterns of 'Me-You,' 'Them-Us,' as learned behavior, becomes formed in the cultural expectancies that mark an individual's psycho-

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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sexual-social development. This leads to friendship relationships of one kind or another, and as we have been told, in bi-lateral societies, these relationships are especially marked by elaborate gift giving or other dyadic exchanges (Sahlins 1960:76-87). For the Cayapa, affiliative behavior, as expressed in these terms, can only be found in rudimentary form. One might almost say that the Cayapa practice a form of avoidance behavior that is extended to all non-kin. This avoidance is not pronounced with the Negroes and Whites. Commonly, one may see a Cayapa guiding his canoe downstream, coming abreast of another Indian poling his way upstream. They turn their heads away from each other and pass in silence, unless they are family or very well known to each other. When an Indian passes a Negro or a White, or passes in front of their houses, loud salutations are exchanged. From within a Cayapa house, when the sounds of a canoe on the river are heard, people rush to the edge of the house and peer intently: if it is a Cayapa canoe, excited whispers are heard "/[illegible]/" which means 'people.' No word is exchanged, the "people" in the canoe glide past with averted glances.

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the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense interpersonal relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in three different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa:Cayapa, Cayapa:Negro, and Cayapa:White.

> . . . anxiety acquired in childhood might be generalized to other people . . . because of their similarity to the persons responsible for the frustration and punishment of the child--their similarity, above all, to the child's parents (Whiting and Child 1962:267).

Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa--much more so than Negroes and Whites.

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The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by avoidance or

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

highly restrictive interpersonal involvements. When in their canoes, which pass each other quickly, they can easily and effectively avoid each other. Where they cannot pass by rapidly, as at the weeklong fiestas at the ceremonial centers, heavy drinking is required to get the law-jobs done, arrange the marriages, and to maintain a minimum of social integration and interaction. With the increase in social integration and interaction brought about by liberal amounts of alcohol, a new factor can be noticed. For some, latent homosexuality comes close to the surface in the form of homoeroticism. Young boys may be seen on the floor wrapped in each other's arms, and young men may be seen seated in the same hammock, facing each other, holding hands. It must be emphasized that this is not homosexual per se, but erotic in the sense of a transfer of libidinal affect to another male. I have only witnessed this behavior at the fiestas. If the Cayapa have strong latent homosexual tendencies where the generalized fear of others may be seen "as a defense against sexual anxieties . . . against homosexual tendencies" (Whiting and Child 1962:269), why then do we not find it in its sexual

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just as I was leaving, with my canoe dangerously overloaded with Indians. He asked to go along. It was pointed out that there was absolutely no room, whereupon he suggested that I eject someone to make room for him. When this was refused, he went into a fit of pouting. Reverend Glenn, the missionary in the Rapalio Grande area, reports that Cayapa whom he considers to be friends, will come to the dispensary long after hours, or when there is a long line and demand to be taken first. The demand is always refused and pouting always follows.

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Friendship in the western sense does not really exist in Cayapa life and culture, except in embryonic form. The complex of friendship that is offered to them by the surrounding population, more often than not, leaves the Indian either in debt, defrauded, and/or, as he believes, bewitched. This, coupled with the tenuous diminishing of the fear of others, leads to a dyadic relationship that requires constant testing and probing, that is neurotically destructive of the relationship itself. The strong commitment to alcohol alleviates the fears of other people, the self-doubts, the personal and sexual inadequacies, the basic anxiety of Cayapa life.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

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The nexus between the realms of Cayapa law, government, and politics, can be found in the area of personality and social structure. The law derives from a functional complex that is characterised by a deep-rooted anxiety, sexual inadequacy, heavy permissive and dependent drinking, periodic political behavior, and individual deviant behavior that ultimately leads to sweeping socio-cultural changes. The framework of this complex, and its legal derivative, is a society that is bi-laterally organized and lacks corporate bodies; whose only action groups are marked by constant changes in personnel, as individuals and family members move about tending their widespread land holdings. Cayapa fear and anxiety, coupled with a generalised fear of others, effectively blocks the formation of action groups that are more than temporary unions of very short duration. Even non-kin dyadic friendship groups were marked by extreme instability as the bonds of friendship are being constantly tried and probed and usually found wanting.

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sexual-social development. This leads to friendship relationships of one kind or another, and as we have been told, in bi-lateral societies, these relationships are especially marked by elaborate gift giving or other dyadic exchanges (Dahlins 1960:76-87). For the Cayapa, affiliative behavior, as expressed in these terms, can only be found in rudimentary form. One might almost say that the Cayapa practice a form of avoidance behavior that is extended to all non-kin. This avoidance is not pronounced with the Negroes and Whites. Commonly, one may see a Cayapa guiding his canoe downstream, coming abreast of another Indian poling his way upstream. They turn their heads away from each other and pass in silence, unless they are family or very well known to each other. When an Indian passes a Negro or a White, or passes in front of their houses, loud salutations are exchanged. From within a Cayapa house, when the sounds of a canoe on the river are heard, people rush to the edge of the house and peer intently; if it is a Cayapa canoe, excited whispers are heard "/[illegible]/" which means 'people.' No word is exchanged, the "people" in the canoe glide past with averted glances.

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At the Negro village of Concepcion, Indians wander about and visit casually the homes of many of the Negroes whom they know. Among themselves there are no casual visits to friends--there are really no friends, with the possible exception of some of the pupils at the Borrero Indian school. The language has no word for "friend" beyond the Spanish loan-word. There is family and not-family and, one does not visit family casually either. There must be a purpose beyond a desire just to visit. Dyadic relations are easily set up with the Negroes and are quasi-friendships that are quite clearly instrumental on both sides. I have no count but my decided impression is that prestation increases markedly between Indian and Negro. Negroes very often ask to become a god-parent for a minor ceremonial occasion when the child's nails are cut for the first time. The nail parings are placed in a cup of rum and drunk by the father and the Negro god-father. Small gifts are exchanged of little monetary value, and food is consumed along with the alcohol. Thereafter at very irregular intervals, small presents will be exchanged. Gifting, while not especially generous on any level, showed an apparent increase with

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the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense intergenerational relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in three different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa:Cayapa, Cayapa:Negro, and Cayapa:White.

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Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa--much more so than Negroes and Whites.

The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by avoidance or

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of the main requirements for homosexuality is a profound feeling of fear and inadequacy, hardly the sort of person who would persistently and doggedly pursue this rather striking innovation. It should be noted that the Cayapa flatly deny the existance of homosexual practices. Just once did an informant admit that "maybe some boys" practiced mutual masturbation.

In the recently built Indian school at Forenta, boys and young men now maintain, for several months of the school year, a high frequency of interaction with non-related boys, and for some, very intense feelings of chumship are beginning to form that never existed before. Given the increase in duration and frequency of interaction, homoeroticism could very easily pass over into homosexualism.

Friendship is a most novel situation for the Cayapa and he cannot easily function within it. In his dealings with Negroes, rules of ritual kinship may obtain or a hail-fellow-well-met stance may be adopted. The anthropologist-Cayapa situation was completely new, especially in the informant relationship. This was the closest approach to friendship, in the western sense, that they had ever experienced.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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Given the psychological factors that have been discussed so far, it would seem that some informants could only unconsciously structure the relationship in terms of possible homoerotic feelings which could develop in a situation of increased duration and frequency of interaction with one person. This is what the informant-anthropologist relation does. When I would begin to use other informants, as an anthropologist must, the first informant would react in terms of rejection, and pout: he would gradually become withdrawn, and finally break off the informant relationship. The situation is quite similar to the "ramarada complex" described by Ruben E. Reina for Chinautla in Guatemala (Reina 1959:44-50).

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A similar situation was revealed in the matter of giving rides in my motorized canoe whenever I went on long trips. For example, Lorenzo Martín once asked for a ride when I planned to go up to San Miguel and I agreed. A time was set, broadly enough to take account of Cayapa casualness regarding time. He never arrived at all! When next seen he said that I should have waited much longer than I did, and he was clearly offended that I had not. At another occasion, he came

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just as I was leaving, with my canoe dangerously overloaded with Indians. He asked to go along. It was pointed out that there was absolutely no room, whereupon he suggested that I eject someone to make room for him. When this was refused, he went into a fit of pouting. Reverend Glenn, the missionary in the fegelio Grande area, reports that Cayapa whom he considers to be friends, will come to the dispensary long after hours, or when there is a long line and demand to be taken first. The demand is always refused and pouting always follows.

Friendship in the western sense does not really exist in Cayapa life and culture, except in embryonic form. The complex of friendship that is offered to them by the surrounding population, more often than not, leaves the Indian either in debt, defrauded, and/or, as he believes, bewitched. This, coupled with the tenuous diminishing of the fear of others, leads to a dyadic relationship that requires constant testing and probing, that is neurotically destructive of the relationship itself. The strong commitment to alcohol alleviates the fears of other people, the self-doubts, the personal and sexual inadequacies, the basic anxiety of Cayapa life.

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301 The women's clothes are much simpler and scantier than the
297 men's. They simply consist of a piece of cotton cloth dyed blue, black or red, about two yards long, which is tightly wrapped around the lower part of the body and is tied at the waist with flax cord. The upper part of the body, up to the waist, and legs, from the foot to the knees, remain totally uncovered. By way of ornaments they wear long strings of tiny colored beads around the wrists and long, colored bead necklaces around the neck, as well as self-made mother-of-pearl amulets and some of the more well-to-do women even wear strings of silver coins. Bead necklaces are also
[illegible] worn in large numbers by young men during the period of their betrothal. In other words the women's wardrobes are not a serious worry to the husbands. Up to their sixth year, children run about completely naked apart from some bead or button ornaments likewise hung on them.

§ 67 The men walk ahead of their wives, a long leaf-shaped paddle
[illegible] in one hand and a small net-like basket containing as little as
682 possible in the other, while the heavily laden women trot behind them with short, swaying steps, along with the children. Even from their visits to town one can observe that the woman has been given the role of the land and work-horse.

682 On her back the woman carries a heavily laden basket which is strapped around her forehead, while the youngest child sits thrust out in riding position on her hip, with the mother's arm holding him tightly. In her other hand she usually carries a bundle and a cooking pot.

§ 76 One of their first visits in town is at the local priest's. The
717 latter claims that the Cayapa are Catholics. But this is not true.
301 Probably they only go to the priest because he seeks to prove the blessings of the Catholic Church by means of small presents and holy coins, which, one must admit, do look very pretty worn around the neck. At home they have their own cult.

68 Their happiness is apparent when they leave the vicarage, be-
718 cause they have again received presents. They amble down the business streets, curious, amused and admiring as they go from one shop to the other. "Chindo, Kachindo, compadre?" the gutter-snipes call after them. (The first two words are in the Cayapa language, the third is Spanish, the sentence means: "Where're ye going, fellow?") "Caminando, viendo, comprando, compadre" [illegible] ("going for a walk, seeing, buying, brother") the men answer politely, but in very poor Spanish.

846 and demons; on the other hand it also aims at inducing the father to identify himself intimately with the child. Obviously the women, for whom these customs do not provide the least amount of consideration, quickly lose their earlier beauty and after a few years, they wilt and become horribly ugly.

594 [595] 837 [401] The marriage of the Cayapa is most harmonious. They do not have polygamy or polyandry, and adultery never occurs or only [287] very rarely. Women or girls who have relationships with white or black men or those of any other race, are killed without pity. In fact they are even forbidden to enter into innocent conversation with such men under threat of severe penalty. If one of the spouses dies, they do not remarry, remaining faithful to the [764] dead. The dead are only buried when the corpse is already in a state of decomposition and when the pestilent smell has become unbearable.

● 574 648 While the villagers and inhabitants of other races in these parts are very hospitable and will always offer hospitality to travelers, no matter how poor they are, even without expecting any remuneration, the Cayapa are an exception to this rule. They fear strangers on account of their women, who are not always safe from them; but most particularly they hate the Negroes who have repeatedly attacked their women forcibly. For this reason it is not easy to obtain shelter in Cayapa villages. As they have frequently also been robbed and mistreated by Negroes, they leave their huts as soon as a Negro settles in the neighborhood, and keep on withdrawing further inland. Thus they have already completely disappeared from the banks of the Santiago River and the lower course of the Cayapa River.

135 316 [30] There still is a lot of gold in their region, as indeed there are small layers of alluvial gold in all these rivers. But these Indians, with the exception of a few, more modern minded, and the renegades, do not collect it, nor do they wear gold ornaments. On the other hand none of them would tell a stranger where the yellow metal could be found, even if he were offered a fortune for his secret. From the Cayapa point of view gold is an accursed thing, which brought the white and the black devils into the country and was responsible for their being pushed back into the interior and [648] robbed of their dominion. The Negroes, however, are their sworn enemies because they have too often had to suffer bitter injustice from them.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

136 [579] It is claimed by the Indians that if an army of these ants enters the dwelling, there is but one recourse, namely, its occupants move out and visit nearby relatives or friends for a day or two. Meantime the ants penetrate every nook and corner of the house from top to bottom, including the palm-leaf thatch, and devour or drive out every living thing in it. Cockroaches, one of the greatest pests of the region, are almost always present in large numbers in the thatch, but after a visitation of army ants, they, together with the centipedes, scorpions, and all other forms of insect life have disappeared.

While residing in the cane-mill previously referred to (pl. VI), a short distance above the village of Punta Venado on the lower course of the Rio Cayapas, at about ten o'clock one morning there appeared on the ground about the house a large number of these ants. On investigation it was found that they were issuing from the jungle in myriads, traveling along an old and fairly well-beaten Indian hunting trail that led from the jungle out into the clearing. The cane-mill was surrounded by a clearing of about two acres, with a relatively open portion, about half an acre in extent, immediately adjacent to the mill. The cane, which had been recently planted in this area, did not exceed a foot or so in height, hence a good opportunity was afforded to observe the movements of the ants. To all appearances they paid attention to nothing except their journey, so long as they were on the trail within the jungle; but immediately they reached the edge of the clearing, the dense line, which was as wide as the trail

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

leaf, a covering of the most available material is employed. The material used for this temporary thatch is usually a palm-leaf, but generally of some species of palm which provides a much less durable thatch than that used for the permanent dwelling. 342 [624]

These ranchos serve two purposes almost exclusively, namely, temporary shelters while traveling, and temporary shelters for work which lies too far from home to make daily journeys to and from the regular dwelling profitable. When traveling it is infeasible, not to say dangerous, to sleep upon the ground and without some kind of a roof, owing to the torrential rains which are almost sure to occur during the night, as well as to the danger from poisonous reptiles and other creatures. If, therefore, in traveling, it is impossible to reach a house by night, an early halt is made and a rancho constructed. This is rarely necessary except in case of a long trip over an uninhabited mountain trail, since along the navigable rivers are houses which may be reached in the course of the day's travel. Here the traveler, whoever he may be, is always welcomed according to the custom of the country, the unwritten law of which requires that shelter be given any traveler, whether he be an old acquaintance or a total stranger. When it is necessary in gathering rubber or pita, in making canoes, or in doing any other work, to journey so far from the permanent dwelling as to make daily travel back and forth unprofitable, a small rancho is built. Such a structure may be used for a short time or for several seasons, it being re-thatched as occasion demands. In the [578] [209] [222]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Most families, however, go at least once a year, while
505 those living on the main Río Cayapas and its tributaries
to the limit of tidewater, which is just above the con-
[439] fluence of the Río Camarones with the main river,
usually go down to the coast several times a year,
each time taking with them a load of various commodi-
ties such as plantains, tagua, rubber, and cacao, for sale.
For such a journey from two to several days are required,
and each member of the family must take along his
mosquito canopy, his strip of bark cloth which serves
as a bed, and other necessary personal articles, while
the party must be provided by the women with cooking
utensils and food for the journey. Each member is
usually bedecked in his best clothing and necklaces,
and it is customary also to paint elaborately the exposed
parts of the body, as is done on the occasion of a fiesta.

For the protection of the small children, a mat, such
as that shown in pl. cvi, 2, is placed with its two ends
just inside the gunwales of the canoe so that it bows up
in the form of a canopy. Such a protection is shown in
pl. lxxxx. The cargo of the canoe is always protected
from rain with hoja-blanca leaves, or now and then with
large plantain or banana leaves. In the Cayapa country,
where it rains practically every day, a downpour never
hinders one from making a journey. An ordinary rain
is met without protection, but if it is very severe one
may be well sheltered by holding up a large plantain or
banana leaf on the windward side.

505 It is unnecessary to provide a camping outfit in this
region, since hospitality is a custom of the country;
consequently in making a journey it is necessary only

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

to reach some house for the night. It is immaterial whether the resident is an old acquaintance or a perfect stranger, for the traveler is assured of a welcome.

Under ordinary conditions a journey down-stream with the current is easier and more rapid than one up-stream. However, the effect of the tide retards down-stream travel to some extent, but this is compensated by the aid which it gives while one journeys up-stream. It is in all cases customary to travel with the tide, either up or down stream. When going with the current the middle of the stream is taken, as shown in pl. LXXIX, where a canoe is illustrated going down-stream in the middle of the river; but when necessary to travel against the current, the side of the stream is taken. In the illustration mentioned is shown a second canoe making its way along near the bank and against the current.

For ordinary propelling under all such circumstances the paddle is exclusively used, though a man's paddle with its long handle may be temporarily converted into a pole when shallow water is reached. When a strong current is encountered, as is the case along the upper courses of the streams or when going against a flood, regular poles, such as those already described, are needed to propel the canoe. Every person in the canoe, including the children, carries his own paddle and is expected to use it almost constantly throughout the journey. Ordinarily in the large canoes not more than two poles are carried, and for a moderate current the pole would be used only by the man in the extreme prow, who frequently stands out on its flat surface as shown in

relationship of greatest importance is that between the compadres and not between the /kumbatípa/ and /kumbatíma/, that is 'god-father' and 'god-mother,' and the god-child or /ihádu/. The compadres refer to each other as /kopáre/ or /komáre/. The relationship thus set up is utterly without sanction from the Church, and in point of fact, the parties, if they are Negro and Indian, do not feel that they are actually tied to each other ritually.

Quite often the Negro who asks to be permitted to cut the child's nails is a travelling merchant who, from time to time, visits the area. It is to his advantage to have an Indian compadre as this assures him of a place to eat and to sleep in his travels. Similarly, if the Negro lives near a town, the Cayapa compadre will visit him occasionally. Indians going to Esmeraldas, for example, may stay for several days in the home of a Negro compadre. Very often the Negro asks to cut the nails of a Cayapa child for pecuniary reasons so that, for example, the banana merchants seek to extend their compadre ties to as many banana growers as they can. Sometimes the Negro attempts to establish previously

existing kinship ties by means of the nail-cutting ceremony with a Cayapa child. As an example, one Negro who is distantly related to the 'ún^{y}i/ of the Punta Venado section asked if he could be his compadre. The manner of relationship is as follows:

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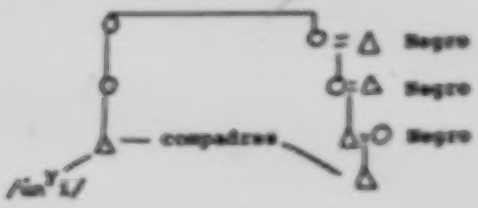

The /ún^{y}i/ says that he does not know the name of this Negro kinsman and compadre who lives by the ocean near Punta Bajo on the other side of Limones at the mouth of the Río Cayapas. He came up one day in his canoe, bringing fish, green coconuts, clams, and other small gifts. He asked if he could cut the nails of one of the children, and the /ún^{y}i/ agreed, and the Negro cut the nails of the daughter, María Agrecaria. The /ún^{y}i/ gave his new compadre gifts of sugar cane, plantain, and chontadura. Since then, the /ún^{y}i/ had visited his compadre about ten times in a four- or five-year period, and in return

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he has been visited about four times. There is no work at all involved in these visits, which are said to be purely social.

Sometimes an Indian will ask to be a compadre so that, for example, the /imYi/'s daughter, Maria Rosa had her nails cut by the father-in-law of the /imYi/'s eldest brother's daughter. She lived in Río Onzole area. Her daughter was ill on occasion, and her father-in-law came up to the Río Cayapas to ask Gabriel who was not yet the /imYi/ to come and cure the child. He went down with his family and stayed for about one week. While there a brother-in-law of his niece asked if he could cut the nails of his daughter. When asked why the man had asked to do this, Gabriel replied, "Because he likes me very much." In this case we find a reinforcement of a previously existing relationship. Most children have their nails ceremonially cut, and each child in a family has different god-parents. The picture is one of a multiplicity of compadres extended vertically and horizontally. The emphasis in ceremonial nailcutting is primarily vertical and generally involves Negroes. Indians who seek compadrazgo are usually related

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Renando loses his right and his second wife in a fight. Renando Añapa lives in Optimíes. He had three sons by his wife. One day a man from the San Miguel section came down with his daughter to work, and moved into Renando's house. [No information was available as to names and possible relationships.] Renando began making love to the man's daughter, and finally he declared her to be his second wife. They lived thus for about five months. Eventually, during a party held just for visiting, where only guitars and not the traditional Cayapa instruments gave the musical background, Perdomo, a visiting official from the Zapallo Grande section, spoke to him about the affair. Renando became annoyed and accused Perdomo of committing adultery with his sister-in law, making him as much a sinner as himself. The upshot of this incident was that Perdomo ordered that Renando and his second wife receive one hundred lashes each. Soon after the punishment, the two men came to blows. After the party, Renando, his two wives, and the father of the second wife left for Quinendé, a long distance off into the interior. There they went to the house of a 'cousin' of the second wife. Renando and the cousin fought about the polygynous

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marriage, and the cousin aided by another man, soundly trounced Ramando. After this, they sent the second wife to another Cayuga in Onondaga. That same day Ramando and his first wife left to return to Ontario.

The party held "for visiting" is worth noting because Cayuga never just visit among themselves. A new pattern is developing in the coastal regions where groups of unrelated Cayuga are brought together in a live-work arrangement that is quite foreign to the traditional patterns. "Guitars formed the musical background"--an indicator of the newly developing situation. It must also be noted that Ramando was a member of the Potts Woods and the official who ordered his whipped was from the Seneca Grande section, and the second wife, who was also whipped, was from the Sun Signal section. The official did not have the second wife sent away, and it can only be surmised that there were no single men locally available for her. Ramando was not able to keep the second wife simply because he was not strong enough to do so. It is becoming abundantly clear that the Cayuga cannot come to grips with a determined wrong-doer. The following case illustrates this in terms of polygyny.

At the Negro village of Camerones, Indians wander about and visit casually the homes of many of the Negroes whom they know. Among themselves there are no casual visits to friends--there are really no friends, with the possible exception of some of the pupils at the Encanto Indian school. The language has no word for "friend" beyond the Spanish loan-word. There is family and not-family and, one does not visit family casually either. There must be a purpose beyond a desire just to visit. Dyadic relations are easily set up with the Negroes and are quasi-friendships that are quite clearly instrumental on both sides. I have no count but my decided impression is that prestation increases markedly between Indian and Negro. Negroes very often ask to become a god-parent for a minor ceremonial occasion when the child's nails are cut for the first time. The nail parings are placed in a cup of rum and drunk by the father and the Negro god-father. Small gifts are exchanged of little monetary value, and food is consumed along with the alcohol. Thenceforth at very irregular intervals, small presents will be exchanged. Gifting, while not especially generous on any level, showed an apparent increase with

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637 They have sold the new small canoes, tree bark mats
501 (damajaguas), palm-leaf fans, rubber and rolls of liana (these are
295 used in the construction of bamboo huts to tie up the palm-leaves
283] on the [284] roofs and for some other purposes in lieu of string),
which they have brought from the villages and with the cash they
have earned they now make their small purchases. They have
few wants and do not need much: a few feet of cotton cloth, a
chopping knife, some salt, a small mirror, glass-beads, fish hooks,
[311] powder and small shot for the old muzzle-loader which a few of
them may own. This would be all their heart desires. It is little,
even very little, and yet it takes long, even very long, until they
have made their choice and finally decided to buy. First they
talk it over among themselves in their guttural and sonorous lan-
guage and then they start bargaining, and then they count out their
money slowly and cautiously; finally having managed to get the
[342] desired goods, they packed them into the nearly full basket car-
ried by the wife. The women and girls timidly hide behind their
menfolk. When spoken to, they do not answer, although they
●576 understand sufficient Spanish. Their jealous menfolk have strictly
571 forbidden them to enter into conversation with men of other races
[491] or tribes. They draw back bashfully. But if the husband is not
present, only the mother or brother, the women become very
loquacious, especially when their tongue has been untied by a
small present--a mirror, necklace or something of the kind. And
they are happy beyond words if you caress their little child, who
looks like a Japanese baby painted brown, and has a friendly smile
even for a stranger. It is amusing to watch the women meeting a
fashionably dressed lady in one of the shops; then they surround
her laughing, amazed and admiring, but they do not appear to be
jealous of the lace dresses worn by European women. The men,
on the other hand, do not honor even the most beautiful and most
elegant white lady with so much as a glance.

142 The Cayapa girls are pretty from the age of 12 to 16 years,
302 their bodies somewhat plump, but still with a beautiful shape.
584 Sometimes young men and women can be seen with red and black
streaks and dots on their faces, chest, arms and legs; this is a
sign that they are engaged.

505 Once their business in town is finished they prepare for the re-
turn journey to their villages. "Adios compadre, adios compadres,"
and chattering and laughing, happy and content, they hurry to
the shore where their canoes are moored. On their way they

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 it, is shown in the background of pl. CXXXII. In pl.
CXXXIII part of the structure is just visible below the
342 cloud of smoke before the church, and in pl. CXXXVI it
is shown in the background. In both of these the plaza
is shown completely cleared of vegetation as it appeared
during this particular fiesta. The interior of the "rancho"
with the instruments and their players is shown in pl.
796 CXXXIV. Here throughout the day, until about 4 P.M.,
the music was continued almost without cessation,
regardless of the fact that services, processions, and
feasts were at different times in progress in the pueblo.
It is the custom to give the images guarapo to drink on
this one day of the year, and this must be done very
ceremoniously and with much music. The images them-
selves are supposed never to drink rum, nor is it drunk in
their presence, but great quantities of guarapo are con-
sumed actually by the fiesteros as well as ceremonially
by the images. A small calabash is filled with this drink
and is held to the lips of the image for some minutes, or
if the image is so placed that the calabash cannot be
placed to its lips, they are moistened with guarapo by
dipping the finger into the liquid. The images having
been allowed to imbibe from this calabash, its contents
are either thrown on the ground or drunk by some of
those present. In addition, other guarapo is constantly
drunk by the fiesteros. Almost no rum is drunk in the
[576] vicinity of the "rancho," but in case it is desired to drink
rum, etiquette requires that a person must turn away
from the saints, otherwise they would be displeased at
the sight.

At about 8:30 A.M. a service was held in the church,

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

In the Cayapa country the stocks is strictly a Spanish institution, so far as can be learned, and has no Cayapa name, but is always called by the Spanish term cepo, or, as it is rendered locally, se'pō. So far as known it was introduced among the Cayapa by early missionaries.

In speaking of ceremonies (page 392), detailed descriptions are given of the methods of punishment, which theoretically is meted out only by the chief and the subchief. The remaining officers of the government, however, take a hand in the actual punishment when asked to do so by the chief, though their special duty is to apprehend and bring the offenders to justice, to keep order at fiestas and other gatherings, and generally to execute the laws devised by the chief, whose authority is supreme and whose word in all matters is absolutely binding. His attitude, however, is in no way oppressive; on the contrary, he displays great deference to public opinion and conducts the affairs of government in a harmonious and satisfactory manner. Perhaps the operations of the Cayapa governmental machinery are shown to best advantage in the settlement of what may be termed civil difficulties, for, as has been previously pointed out, there are few fixed laws among the Cayapa, largely for the reason that few crimes are committed. The laws are more in the nature of canons of ethics than statutory enactments, and they may be varied to a certain extent by public opinion concerning the particular case in hand. The Cayapa maintain that they have no punishment for theft, because theft does not exist either among themselves or against their neighbors. This reputation is borne out by the whites and negroes of the region, who

their traditional tales probably took place by way of the Río Santiago until the confluence with the Río Cayapas was reached; thence, movement was up the Río Cayapas.

In 1879 Wolf marked on his map of Esmeraldas province a "town"--that is, a center of habitation named San Miguel de Cayapas and in 1894 Reasuros recorded Cayapa living up the Río Sapallo Grande and the Río San Miguel. The latter group is reported to have an alcalde (Reasuros 1894:414). Between 1809 and 1879 the Malábe had apparently been replaced by the Cayapa. By 1908 Barrett reported definitely that the Cayapa were divided into three tribal groups: Punta Venado, Sapallo Grande, and San Miguel. Each group was reported as having its own ceremonial center and being led by an /ʔinʸi/ or gobernador. During my 1959-1960 field trip, I was told by Gabriel Anapa, the /ʔinʸi/ of the Punta Venado group, that some twenty-five years earlier a group of people had left the Sapallo Grande section and had formed a new tribal unit with its own /ʔinʸi/. They left after a dispute with the /ʔinʸi/ of Sapallo grande concerning the re-establishment of Pueblo Viejo, the ancient center in the mountainous upper reaches of the Río

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Santiago drainage system. The dissident group claimed that the Saints were stronger in the old area and would be of greater help to the Cayapa. The new group settled in Rapalito, where they have their own ceremonial center, but for reasons unknown they did not return to Pueblo Viejo. Factionalism apparently accounts for some of the tribal fission.

Settlement Patterns. In 1879 the banks of the Río Cayapas almost as far down as Borbon, a town at the confluence of the Río Santiago and the Río Cayapas, were inhabited by Cayapa Indians while Negroes were found mainly along the Río Santiago (Wolf 1879). By 1894 Borbon had become a Negro town, and the lower reaches of Cayapa settlement had retreated up stream toward the area of the Río Onzole. At this time, about twenty-three Negroes were reported by Basurco to be living at Telembí, a "village" of three houses about 77.3 kilometers from the mouth of the Río Cayapas. The Negroes had been given special permission by the Cayapa to live there provided they did not pan for gold which was found occasionally. (Basurco 1894). In 1960 Telembí was a thriving Negro village of several hundred people, and the greater part

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4 Altschuler E-6 (1959-1960) 1965
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CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship. The eliciting of kinship terminology among the Cayuga proved to be extremely difficult and time consuming. Many informants professed to be ignorant of many of the terms and clearly preferred to use Spanish nomenclature; however, sufficient data were collected to illustrate a major structural shift from Barrett's 1909 recording to the writer's 1960 notes. At present, the writer is unable to account for this shift in terms of Barrett's material and his own, as the residence and marriage patterns remain basically the same in the reports of the two investigators; however, there is some indication that new terminological forms were just beginning to come into the language in 1909. It is also known that the Cayuga tribe has undergone a process of fission, changing from one unit in 1809 to three in 1909 and four by 1960. We lack most of the vital details, but it is a reasonable assumption that changes in residence either went along with or followed the formation of the new groups.

harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several canoes in Esmeraldas. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is now undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

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maintain that the best witches are not Cayapa at all but rather the Cholo of Colombia and the Colorado of Ecuador. Next in order of preference are the highland Indians around Ibarra, and, finally, those Cayapa who have been instructed from the masters listed in descending order of preference. Those Cayapa who have been instructed by other Cayapa enjoy very little esteem. There is said to be a good deal of jealousy between witches, and in popular belief they are said to seek opportunities to kill off their rivals.

The Cayapa theory of spirit possession is that if one is wandering in the monte, a spirit may spy one and fall in love with one. The spirit then embraces the victim and enters his body. Spirits or inimical objects may be implanted in the body by witchcraft as well. When someone falls ill and lingers in illness for a time, the charge is made that an enemy is at work. The task of the brujo is simply to rid the body of the object or spirit that is causing the illness.

The witches' paraphernalia consists of archaeological artifacts that were made by the people resident in the area prior to the Cayapa occupation. A

and she agreed. Now, with a new wife, neither he nor his mother-in-law wanted to live under the same roof. Feelings of anger and/or disapproval on the part of parents and kin of the dead spouse to the remarriage of the surviving spouse are not uncommon among the Cayapa. There is some feeling that the death may have been caused by the survivor.

An interesting point emerges that is part of a general Cayapa theme: Lorenzo waited about five years before remarrying, and apparently the motivation lay not so much in his sexual needs, as in his appetite for food. His mother-in-law was not preparing his meals properly. It should be kept in mind that, by Cayapa standards, a man who is capable of /súpu taygahísu/,[1] who can actually walk up to a woman and propose to her, is deserving of envy, awe, and admiration. This means that such a man is sexually forward and aggressive. Many, if not most, Cayapa men are very hesitant and uncertain about sex and marriage. While chastity is not particularly valued, men in their twenties who claim to have had no sexual intercourse are not uncommon. Women, on the other hand, lose their virginity much

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[1] [is "to steal a woman" - ANALYST]

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whom he fancies as a son-in-law. As an instance, Gerardo Perdomo of Encanto asked the late /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio, to deliver his daughter to Camilio Blanco during an Easter fiesta at Punta Venado. Camilio was most reluctant when approached by Arcilio. He said that he was too young in the first place, and in the second place, he did not want to get married anyway. The /ún^{y}i/ pointed out that all of Camilio's siblings had died unmarried and that he could too. At this point Camilio agreed to marry Gerardo's daughter.

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Occasionally a man's kinfolk will decide that he has been too long a bachelor or a widower. When someone hears of an available woman in any of the Cayapa sections, one or two men go to speak to the woman's family. If the parents agree to let their daughter marry the man under discussion, she leaves at once with the match-makers, taking only her clothing and ornaments. They then bring the woman to the home of the unsuspecting groom-to-be. The man may refuse the profferred one; in this case, the men who brought her will try to deliver her to someone else. If she fails again to be accepted, they will return her to her family

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who will be most annoyed and an argument most certainly will follow. If the prospective bridegroom is doubtful, the men talk to him earnestly of the pleasures of married life while the woman, very wisely, says nothing, but sits very still with downcast eyes--"very still and very quiet." Most often she is accepted.

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Many times a man has a definite woman in mind for marriage but is not at all sure that he can get her by means of any of the techniques so far discussed. Then, too, it may be that another person has a particular woman in mind for a certain man, and, similarly, is not too sure that he can bring off the marriage. In either case a commission is formed, consisting of two Indians who are usually related to the man under consideration and two Negroes. The Indian members of the commission are not paid except with a few drinks. The Negroes receive some money and two or three gallons of home-distilled rum which, as Barrett once correctly remarked, "is clear in color and vile in taste."

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The Indians on the commission are first to enter the house of the prospective bride. They present

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spent the greater part of his life living and working with his uncle presumably he will inherit land from the uncle. His rights to such an inheritance, however, are still legally ambiguous, as the following reported dispute indicates.

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A conflict of the principle of inheritance by work-validation and the principle of inheritance by kinship. Some years ago when tagua was still selling well, Romulo Añapa and Trivinio "owned" some land jointly. Trivinio's mother had been the legal owner of the land originally. The manner of kinship between Romulo and Trivinio is not known. Trivinio was lazy and "never" worked the land, whereas Romulo helped Trivinio's parents. After the death of Trivinio's parents, Romulo agreed to sell all of the land for about eight hundred sucres to Marianito Añapa "who is somewhat related." Meanwhile, Trivinio sold half of the land to Sanchi, his /ačin^{y}a/, 'sister's son.'

One day, a widow related to Romulo and Sanchi built a small rancho on the section of land that Sanchi believed was his by purchase. He threw the old woman off the land and she went crying to Romulo, who became

very angry. A meeting was called in the house of Santiaguenho Añapa, and Romulo pointed out that the land was really his as he had worked it, while Trivnio as a boy was lazy and never helped. Romulo, therefore, demanded the money that Sanchi had paid to Trivinio, plus more on the grounds that they were not family. Since Marianito had paid half of the agreed upon money to Romulo, he owned half of the land with clear title. If Sanchi wanted to keep the other half, he would have to make an additional payment to Romulo. Sanchi refused to pay any more money, and Trivinio refused to hand over the money he had received from Sanchi. Romulo and Trivinio are enemies to this day, and apparently the case never went to the chief for settlement. Sanchi continued to own the land that he had paid Trivinio for, and Marianito continued to own the land that he had bought from Romulo. In both instances, exactly half the land went to each purchaser.

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The principle of kinship, perhaps, has not been overridden by the principle of working the land, and the de facto inheritance was an equal division, that, in fact, seems to have been tacitly recognized by the

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principles themselves and constructive notice seems to have been drawn from the circumstances known to all of the potential buyers. Romulo wanted to sell all of the land but actually was offered, and accepted payment for, only half. He alone believed that he had the right to make a conditional sale of all of the land to Marianito. Trivinio made no pretense of selling more than half and did not object to Romulo's selling the other half, a recognition of the principle, at least in part, that work validates ownership of the land. The issue, however, was moral, rather than legal and since it was not completely resolved, Romulo and Trivinio have become life-long enemies. Marianito, who bought half the land, will not leave any to his son Maximino, precisely because Maximino has not been readily available to help work the land.

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Although ownership of land is validated by use, it is not necessary for property to be in continual use to validate ownership. A person may have clear title, either through purchase, inheritance, or by clearing the land from monte jivaro, which will be recognized by his contemporaries, but as land is never registered,

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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From one informant was obtained the term a'toiú, said to signify both aunt and uncle, and there was also obtained the term unyunyu, said to signify aunt. No verification could be obtained for either of these terms, which, combined with the fact that they are so at variance with the whole system of relationship, make them both seem very doubtful (Barrett 1929:335 note 16).

The terms that seemed deviant and doubtful in 1909 had become systematic by 1960! Barrett also recorded that the Cayapa equated the paternal cross-cousin with the maternal cross-cousin. In 1960, cross-cousins are equated and parallel-cousins are distinguished. Barrett recorded 'grandfather' as /ancápa/ whereas this writer recorded it as /aápa/. Barrett also used the term, /ancápa/, as meaning 'father-in-law,' which agreed with my recording. Terms used between in-laws are not recorded by Barrett, but I recorded /ancaʔtála/ as a reciprocal term for the two fathers-in-law. It would appear that the best translation for /anc-/ is 'in-law,' and /-tala/ is glossed as 'together.' Barrett's recording of 'grandfather' as /ancápa/ is an anomoly when compared to/aápa/, since /a/ means 'big' and /ápa/ 'father.' One purpose of marriage for the Cayapa is to have children, and these children make the respective in-laws grandparents

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child being cared for can walk, it may be dragged along by one hand at a much too rapid pace, and it drags rather than runs behind. If the parents should see this the older girl is reprimanded and occasionally slapped.

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Adolescence. There are no special rites marking a boy's entrance into puberty. At adolescence the boy is not considered to be ready to assume the responsibility of adulthood. His training is much more protracted than that of the girls. For example, he must attain skill in canoe workmanship, and this may not be fully achieved until late teen age. He may be given a piece of land of his own to work, but even so, he must help his parents in their work, on demand. The criteria used to determine a boy's readiness for marriage are the following: he must be skillful in cutting his own canoe; he must acquire sufficient land to support a family; he should own a shotgun. The young man himself is often reluctant to assume new responsibilities despite the expectations of his adult associates. This will be discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with Sex, Courtship, and Marriage.

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4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CHAPTER III

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Children are important to the Cayapa and are welcomed because it is essential that a man or a woman have children who can perform a boda or memorial feast for the deceased parent(s) several years after death. The spirit of the dead parent would be unhappy and vexed, if this were not done. In addition, as we have discussed, the family is economically important. There is ample motivation for the Cayapa to begin a family and a variety of methods are available.

> When a young man or a young woman desires to marry a certain person, all work other than that absolutely necessary, and all social relations with other individuals, are at an end. Such a person sits throughout the day without speaking to anyone, and no matter how much he or she may be addressed or made fun of, etiquette does not permit such a person to respond or even to laugh. . . A young swain then bides his time until the other members of his family have retired for the night, when he takes his canoe and paddles to a point near the house of the young woman he wishes to marry. On nearing her home he sings softly certain magic love-songs and then cautiously approaches the house. He then, according to some informants, attracts her attention by one

The pressure lantern remained in Gabriel's house. About two weeks later when the lantern had not been returned to him, Chapiro went looking for it at night in Gabriel's house, but he couldn't find it. He kept asking for the lantern, and eventually, after two or three months, it was returned to him. 156 684 x

The lack of interest on the part of the young woman, coupled with Chapiro's poor reputation, apparently led Gabriel to make it clear to Chapiro that he did not want him as a son-in-law. A year or two later, the /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio, died and Gabriel became the chief. Gabriel now began to consider Chapiro's threat to his daughter, who was now married. He ordered Lorenzo Añapa and Aurelio Añapa, two of the /č$^{v/i}$ta'ia/, to go up to Sapallo Grande during Christmas and to bring back a wife for Chapiro. They found a woman who was lame and not very eagerly sought after as a marriage partner, inasmuch as she could not work effectively in the monte. They brought her to Chapiro's house and presented her to him. He refused to take her, but Lorenzo said that if he did not take the girl, he would beat him. Chapiro then agreed to 156 584 627 [732] [581]

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marry her. In 1960 he seemed happy with his wife, especially since she gave birth to a boy, and since his marriage he apparently has stayed close to home.

It may be that the choice of a crippled wife for Chapiro was deliberate and with malice aforethought. Chapiro's reputation, however, extended beyond the sexual sphere, and he was known to be lazy and a poor worker. Most women would have refused him as a husband anyway. What is important, however, is the fact that the solution worked, and that Chapiro was effectively removed from circulation. It should be mentioned for the record that when he was queried about Chapiro's wife, Lorenzo Añapa reported, with what appeared to the writer to be no small measure of satisfaction, "She can't work very well in the fields because of her bad leg."

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For the Cayapa, marriages are not all made in heaven, and many times legal difficulties both attend and follow a marriage. The parents of Chapiro's bride did not object to her marriage at all; however, as women are economically useful, some families that lack one or another of the parents attempt to keep the

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

on his brother. A few days later, the /ún^{y}i/ found them and removed Carmelina to his house, and from there she was sent to a man from the Río Onzole. In the meantime, Carmelina's brother became enamored of Alipio's sister. He 'stole' her, and they hid for a week, but were caught by Alipio when they came out of the monte. He took his sister home, declaring that she still had a lot of work to do around the house, such as making fans for sale on the coast. The young man 'stole' her again, apparently keeping her for a considerable time, at least sufficient for it to become clear that the woman was now pregnant, and so they remained together. At Punta Venado, during one of the fiestas, the /ún^{y}i/ ordered them to be whipped twenty lashes.

Carmelina was crippled, and yet she was eagerly sought after by two men, in marked contrast to Chapiro's crippled wife. The choice of marriage partners for both Alipio and Chapiro had been considerably restricted, due to their poor work habits. Alipio's brother posed something of a problem. It is not known that he was lazy also, but certainly the reputation of his

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brother did not give him any advantage. The reluctance of some families to part peacefully with their unmarried female members stems in part from economic factors. Even though Carmelina was crippled, she was still of great assistance to her mother. Similarly, Alipio hoped to realize some profit from his sister's handiwork before permitting her to marry. As Carmelina's mother did not object to her daughter's marriage to the man from the Río Onzole, it can be assumed that he was more desirable as a son-in-law than either Alipio or his brother. She probably realized that she would not be able to prevent her daughter from leaving home much longer since the girl had made it clear, after her brief sojourn with Alipio, that she wanted a man--any man.

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The marriage commission as a device for arranging marriages is apparently very common although it is not always eufunctional. Quite often more problems are raised than are settled by the commission's attempt at match-making as witnessed in the following case.

Averticio lied when he said that he had not asked for the use of force by the commission. Mena res marked Averticio's actions and he was an accessory before and after the fact. By requesting the two Negroes for the commission he gave tacit approval to the use of force. If Romulo had complained to an Indian official, the latter would have been unable to deal legally with the Negroes, and he would have restricted his investigation to Averticio and Dámian. When Negroes are involved, and feelings are running high among the aggrieved Cayapa, self-help may be resorted to, as the following case demonstrates.

Perdomo fights for his sister. Perdomo lived with his wife, mother, and sister in a house up the Río Canerones. One night a commission composed of the usual two Indians and two Negroes came to the house. The two Indians spoke first. They had come to deliver Perdomo's sister to Manuel Largo of Playa Grande. Perdomo and his mother refused. [Manuel was said to be very ugly, thin, and weak.] Following this refusal, the two Negroes came in to take the girl forcibly. She began to cry whereupon Perdomo went for his machete

Indians returned home without the girl. Several days later, Manuel Largo took his reluctant bride up a small nearby stream to hide, since he feared a return of the girl's family. The girl apparently entertained no such hopes anymore, and when they had gone a short distance upstream, she told Manuel to go on up ahead and wait for her as she wanted to defecate. When he was gone from view, she ran through the monte and later that day she arrived at the house of Juanito Cimarrón of Pichiyaco. Even though Juanito was not related to her, he arranged for one of his sons to return her to her home; nothing more was ever done about this incident.

If Manuel Largo was indeed small, thin, and ugly, then Perdomo's sister would view the arrangement with something less than enthusiasm. If Manuel was indeed weak, then the family in general could join the girl in her refusal. A man who is weak certainly would not be a very good provider for the wife, and, as a man is expected to help his in-laws when needed, he would not be of much use to them. The material presented so far indicates that a woman has a great deal to say as to whether or not she will marry and/or to whom. A

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determined woman will usually have her way, and many Cayapa women are determined:

Earlier, in the case of Carmelina, we saw that the relatives of the /únʸi/ were not immune from being manhandled by a commission. In the following case we shall see an instance in which the very authority of the /únʸi/ was flouted.

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Mother removes her daughter from the bridegroom's home. Several years ago Kalía wanted to send his sister to marry a man on the Río Camerones. The mother objected, saying that the girl was much too young. They all later went as guests to a baile de casamiento, that is, a wedding feast celebrated usually a year or two after a man and woman have been living together as man and wife. The late /únʸi/, Arcilio, was asked by the prospective bridegroom's brother to deliver the girl, and this was done. The girl's mother said nothing at the time, but when she returned to the Río Camerones, she marched into the bridegroom's house and took her daughter home with her. The bridegroom's mother protested, but that was all. The elder brother

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352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
412 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cook-
ing utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunt-
622 ing and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who
rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
796 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes
sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not
interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful
Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

584 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
583 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father
turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the
young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible,
consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They
will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price
for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from
what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted
with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
[411] family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows,
i.e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to
kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting
feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take
place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who
will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but
also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these.
It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to
undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique
will administer a hundred blows (well counted on fingers and toes)
with the ship. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but
bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his
teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the
test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
[473] can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will
be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato
(corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
[715] ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

3: Barrett E-5 (1903-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

At an early age the girls are instructed in household duties of all kinds, and often begin to spin and weave, as well as to make pottery, basketry, and other articles, at the age of five or six years. They also take a hand in agriculture when very small. As they grow older and become more proficient in these various arts, they enter more and more into the regular daily work of the home, until they finally marry, which they usually do at an early age, often at about seventeen or eighteen years.

The daily life of the men is also a busy one. They do their share of the work in the fields, besides being industrious hunters and fishermen. They are expert woodworkers, making very excellent canoes, paddles, benches, images used as toys by children, musical instruments, certain cooking utensils, and various other objects of wood. They make and tend the fish corrals, as well as set the seines when the water is in a favorable condition to divert fish to certain places. In addition to trapping and netting fish, they also do much fishing with hook and line. They hunt a great deal and procure a very important part of the food supply in that way, for the jungle abounds in many kinds of game. When about the house, they are, like the women, almost always busy at something, as adzing a canoe, weaving a net, or doing some one of the many kinds of work which fall to the man's lot in the Cayapa division of labor. Since the introduction of needles and thread among the Cayapa, the men have taken up sewing and have become very efficient tailors for their simple needs.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the adjoining room, and placed the two under it. They were followed to the canopy by the musicians and by all the spectators, the former playing their rattles, beating their drums, and whacking sticks most noisily, and all calling and shouting and making every manner of fun. Having been thus escorted to their mosquito canopy, the ceremony was ended, and the bride and groom were at liberty to remove their finery, appear in their usual dress, and go about without further restriction. 585

The Cayapa maintain that not only at present, under the influence of the Catholic Church, but also in aboriginal times, marriage between near relatives was strictly forbidden. Even marriage between remote cousins is prohibited. This relationship of cousin, however, is regarded in a way somewhat different from that of civilized peoples. Further in case of the death of a man or his wife, the survivor is prohibited from marrying any other member of his or her family. 582

Divorce is now strictly prohibited, and the Cayapa maintain that it was unknown even before they came under church influence. It is also held that even before the establishment of the church among them the family relations were as sacred and the family ties as binding as at the present time. Divorce, however, is only a theoretical prohibition. As a matter of fact it does occur at the present time, although very rarely. A man or a woman leaving his or her spouse is, if apprehended, severely punished by the Cayapa officials and every effort is made to force reconciliation. Although sometimes these efforts are successful, cases are known 586 586 684

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

586 684 in which, in order to escape the wrath of public opinion and castigation by the officials, offenders against the divorce laws have left the Cayapa country entirely and taken up their abode in Colombia or in the interior of Ecuador. The same applies to the laws relating to ●582 684 marriage between near relatives. The evasion or the open violation of either the laws of divorce or those governing consanguineal marriage are, however, of such rare occurrence that the laws may be said to operate almost perfectly, and they, together with the laws requiring chastity and fidelity in both sexes, certainly produce a salutary moral effect on the community. In fact, it is most exceptional to find a tribe or a community of the size of the Cayapa in which the ethical standards are so high and so strictly observed.

DEATH

761 753 776 [754] As was stated in speaking of medicine practices, death is ordinarily attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body, whither they find their way by various means. For instance, they may be placed by some malicious shaman in the soul of the individual as it wanders about during sleep, or they may enter directly into the body as one passes some particular spot believed to be infested with these malicious, disease-breeding spirits.

774 775 177 There seems to be a difference of opinion as to the soul. One informant maintained that there are numerous souls, each residing in a different part of the body; that the one in the chest is the largest and most im-

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in-laws grandparents. By reversing Barrett's statement in line with this simple observation it can be said that the primary meaning of /ančápa/is 'father-in-law' and secondarily and tenuously, 'grandfather.'

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Descent is today still bi-lateral, and residence is still bi-local with neo-locality as a very common alternate. Murdock in discussing incest taboos and their extensions placed the Cayapa in class B2-M1-P1.

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> B2. Minimal Bilateral Extension.--marriage forbidden or disapproved with all first cousins but permitted with at least some second cousins.
> M1. Matrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend marriage prohibitions further in the female line than in any other.
> P1. Patrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend prohibitions further in the male line than in any other (Murdock 1949: 302-303).

Murdock in this classification went beyond the data presented by Barrett; the Cayapa should have been classified in the category of Normal Bilateral Extension. Kindreds are unreported by Barrett, but are established in our data. There are two terms which may be translated as 'family' or 'kindred,' /pándatála/, /pánda/ 'food, plantain,' /-tála/ 'together,' and /búlutála/. Maximino Mendoza Añapa's father's brother brought him a woman to marry, but Maximino refused, saying that she is /lála búlutalába/ 'we-family-together-with.' The

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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relationship is very distant and the family concerned thought that it would be alright-in fact much to be preferred to her marrying a 'cousin.' Many Cayapa feel, as does Maximino, that there should be a maximum bilateral extension of the incest taboo to the kindred; however, we will present legal material that indicates the beginnings of a narrowing of the incest range. Certainly, Maximino's family were willing to narrow the range.

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Kinship nomenclature.

Father /ápa/
Mother /áma/
Grandfather /aápa/
Grandmother /aáma/
Father's brother /apípi/, /apíku/
Mother's brother /ahčíyu/ m.s., /uhpúyu/ w.s.
Father's brother's son /apiná.tala/ m.s.
/pandekáⁱya/ w.s. /apinatakáⁱya/ w.s.
Father's brother's daughter /apiná.tacúhki/, pandecúhki/
Mother's brother's son /unʸuna.tála/
Mother's brother's daughter /unʸúnʸu/, /unʸuná.tacúhki/
Father's sister /unʸúnʸu/ m.s. /unʸuná?ma/ w.s.
Mother's sister /maŋgúku/
Father's sister's son /unʸuná.tala/
Father's sister's daughter /unʸuna.tacúhki/, /nʸánʸa/ (elder)
Mother's sister's son /maŋguná.tala/
Mother's sister's daughter /maŋgu?náma/, /maŋgunatacúhki/ /nʸánʸa/ (elder) /kaiʸa/ (younger)
Brother /ná.tala/ m.s. /ukúku/ w.s.
Elder brother /unʸáku/
Younger brother /béna/

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the father may buy a meal and some drinks for everyone. The compadres now address each other by the same terms used between compadres in the nail-cutting ceremony. When the child grows up, he calls his god-father by the term /padéna?ápa/ and the god-mother by the term, /padéna?áma/, and the reciprocal is /ihádu/ [/padena, from Spanish padrino 'god-father,' áma 'mother' ápa 'father'/]. Incest taboos, if not present before, are now extended, and the /ihádu/ may not marry any of the children of the god-parents. The relationship is marked by respect from all within it. From time to time as conditions seem to warrant it, the parties to the compadrazgo of the baptism gift each other with meat. Within a family each child will usually have a different set of god-parents from his siblings. This is a reinforcement of previously existing kin ties with a multiplicity of horizontally-extended ritual kin.

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Marriage. The Cayapa say that when one goes to heaven all of the souls there look alike. Everyone is the same height, and they all wear identical clothing. It is impossible to recognize the people

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known to one while living; however, there is one exception, this one being that one's /padéna?ápa/, the god-father of the wedding, who sees the newly arrived soul and calls its name. In heaven one is re-united with the god-father and not the father. This story indicates that the major relationship that is set up is between the bridal couple and the padrinos and not between compadres. The marriage padrinos tend to be of the same generation as the bridal couple, and the feeling is that it is best to select padrinos from within the kindred. Padrinos are always man and wife, so that if one wishes a particular individual to be his padrino, then his wife automatically becomes his madrina. If incest taboos did not apply before, they are now extended, and the children of all of the ritual-kin are forbidden to marry each other.

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Except for remarriage, when it is permissible to choose new padrinos for the new marriage, it would appear that the ties of the marriage compadrazgo could not multiply "to meet the accelerated rate of change." I have the slightest suggestion of evidence that indicates that this may very well be happening. I was

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of the would-be bridegroom notified Arcilio who, in turn, sent Bardonero Cimarrón who is 'family' to the bridegroom to demand that the girl be delivered. Kalía also remonstrated with his mother. Finally, she stated that as long as the girl seemed to be pregnant, she would agree to the marriage.

Not only did the mother flout the authority of the /ún^{y}i/, it is very likely that if she had been strongly adamant, she would perhaps have been whipped, but she would have kept her daughter. The matter of marriage commissions is most intriguing. Clearly, this sort of match-making could not take place in a society in which there were strong corporate bodies, where family extensions were important. In a society as loosely structured as is the Cayapa, the marriage commissions could rove the countryside with a minimum of interference.

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Widows and Widowers. Max Heiman states that widows and widowers never remarry among the Cayapa (Heiman 1931:287). My studies among the Cayapa fail completely to substantiate Heiman's statement. In point of fact, most widows and widowers remarry, the only

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stipulation being that they may not marry a person who has never been married before. There is some feeling that an inexperienced youth should not marry an experienced woman. A widower may marry an unmarried girl if she has been in some way sexually delinquent. In this case, it is felt that she is a sinner and should not be foisted upon an innocent youth. In some instances, as in the following case, the youth is not at all adverse to the advances of a widow.

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A widow marries a single youth. Augustín's mother had been widowed twice. This time she wanted to marry a young man who had never been married. She mentioned this several times to people, including her son. Augustín objected however, on the basis that this was not proper for a widow to do. Rather, he urged that she keep her eye out for a widower. Nevertheless, his mother clandestinely made love to the young man to whom she was attracted and became pregnant by him. She gave birth to a boy whom she immediately killed and then went to the ceremonial center of Punta Venado with her sister and buried the infant. During the next Easter fiesta at Punta Venado, Augustín advised the chief of

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352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
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513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cooking utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunt-
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[273] can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato (corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

MARRIAGE

When a young man or a young woman desires to marry a certain person, all work other than that absolutely necessary, and all social relations with other individuals, are at an end. Such a person sits throughout the day without speaking to anyone, and no matter how much he or she may be addressed or made fun of, etiquette does not permit such a person to respond or even to laugh. 584

It sometimes happens that a young man is desirous of marrying a woman who cares nothing for him. In such a case, if his ordinary endeavors to gain her interest and attention fail, he resorts to the use of certain sweet-scented herbs, the woods of certain trees, and various other objects, which are supposed to have magic power to attract and to give him good luck in such matters. He wears such charms about his person, especially attached to his necklaces. [832]

A young man in love bides his time until the other members of his family have retired for the night, when he takes his canoe and paddles to a point near the house of the young woman he wishes to marry. On nearing her home he sings softly certain magic love-songs and then cautiously approaches the house. He then, according to some informants, attracts her attention by one means or another and endeavors to persuade her to leave the house with him for a time. According to others, he cautiously enters the house and passes a part of the night with her under her own mosquito canopy. In either case they part toward morning, so that the lover is able to return to his own home without the 583 584 [533]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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584 some time, when the young couple announce their desire to marry and obtain the consent of their respective parents. After this, conditions very largely govern their procedure. By some it is said that at present they go immediately to the house of the bride's or the groom's father, or to a new house of their own as soon as one can be built, and there live as man and wife without any
585 special ceremony; indeed the only ceremony celebrated is that of the church on the next annual visit of the Catholic priest. Others maintain that, having obtained the consent of all parties concerned, some time elapses before what may be called the preliminary wedding feast and ceremony. In this interval the young man and his friends must hunt and procure game, which is dried for the feast, and must provide presents for the parents and other relatives of the bride. The bride, on the other hand, provides certain of the other foods, such as plantains and corn, and she and her family make gifts to the family of the groom. There is no exchange of presents between the bride and the groom, however, and there is nothing which can in any way be construed as a purchase of the bride. Finally the relatives and friends of the contracting couple assemble, and a feast of from one to two or three days is held. At this feast the young couple are brought in and are given each ten lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails by the chief. This whipping is considered as a consummation and legalization of their
585 marriage, so far as civil procedure is concerned. It
177 seems probable that this custom is a survival of aboriginal times and that the marriage ceremony has not been so

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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[585]

In 1959-60, in the Cayapa area generally, and particularly in the Punta Venado region, the custom of remaining sitting in silence was apparently no longer in vogue, except during the actual wedding celebration, when the groom does indeed sit off to one side in silence. However, the technique of nightly visitation is still a culturally approved method, but only one of several.

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Stealing a Woman. Some men prefer to "steal a woman" for wife. This is called /súpu taŋgahímu/, /súpu/ "woman" and /támu/ "to steal." Lorenzo Martín, commonly called /pičendé/, "a kind of crested bird" [a nick name he detested], preferred this approach to marriage. According to him, he met his first wife while canoeing along the river. They were both alone, and after some minutes of conversation, he proposed

marriage, and she accepted. Lorenzo claimed that he never consulted the girl's mother [her father was dead], as he was ashamed and afraid of her. Because Lorenzo's parents were dead, he moved into his mother-in-law's house. After several years the young couple was married by the Catholic priest in Punta Venado.

After the death of his first wife, Lorenzo lived in his mother-in-law's house for about five years. He stated that after his wife died, her mother told him that he was no longer her son-in-law. Thereafter, apparently she either did not prepare his food or did not do so properly. Lorenzo says that he did not argue with her but continued living there for five years, nevertheless!

One night Lorenzo attended a party given at the home of Antonio Largo. He saw his present wife there for the first time and was immediately attracted to her. While the men and women are somewhat separated at fiestas, the women serve the men guarapo /wápu/, a fermented sugar cane drink, and at these times some conversation may be had. Lorenzo told her that he wanted her to come away with him "immediately,"

and she agreed. Now, with a new wife, neither he nor his mother-in-law wanted to live under the same roof. Feelings of anger and/or disapproval on the part of parents and kin of the dead spouse to the remarriage of the surviving spouse are not uncommon among the Cayapa. There is some feeling that the death may have been caused by the survivor.

An interesting point emerges that is part of a general Cayapa theme: Lorenzo waited about five years before remarrying, and apparently the motivation lay not so much in his sexual needs, as in his appetite for food. His mother-in-law was not preparing his meals properly. It should be kept in mind that, by Cayapa standards, a man who is capable of /súpu taɔgahímu/,[1] who can actually walk up to a woman and propose to her, is deserving of envy, awe, and admiration. This means that such a man is sexually forward and aggressive. Many, if not most, Cayapa men are very hesitant and uncertain about sex and marriage. While chastity is not particularly valued, men in their twenties who claim to have had no sexual intercourse are not uncommon. Women, on the other hand, lose their virginity much

587 [578] [761] 583 831 831 [836] [584]

[1] [See "to steal a woman" - ANALYST]

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earlier by way of the custom of night courtship described above. These affairs need not end in marriage, and both parties are free to seek greener pastures. It is the decided impression of the writer that the Cayapa women are the sexual initiators generally and that they are visited by a comparatively small number of sexual activists among the men.

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Arranged Marriages. Most men do not have the brashness of character required to steal a woman, and many are not able to carry through a successful night courtship. For them, therefore an arranged marriage is necessary. One way of arranging a marriage is for the father of a young man or woman to ask one of the tribal officials to find a spouse for his offspring. If the official does not know of anyone immediately available, he will make inquiries at whatever fiesta he happens to attend. There is no charge for this service.

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This sort of match-making was attempted unsuccessfully at a fiesta that I attended at Sapallo Grande in 1960. The fiesta was a combined affair, honoring the dead and celebrating a recent marriage.

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during the whole affair. The commission then took the girl to Alipio's house which was not too distant. After a few days, Alipio and Carmelina hid in a small shelter or rancho up a small stream. Meanwhile, the mother went to see her brother, the chief, to advise him of the event. After several days, he left with some of his male relatives, looking for the couple. They were found in Alipio's house. Arcilio punished both of them with ten lashes. Afterwards he brought Carmelina back to her mother's house, but she protested that she wanted to remain with Alipio. Alipio claimed that he had not sent for Carmelina to be brought to him because "she is crippled and not a good worker." [694]

[On this point, the informant, Pedrito Añapa, says that Alipio is not a good worker himself and cannot make high-grade canoes.] [696]

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About a week later, Alipio's younger brother 'stole' Carmelina, and they went into hiding up an estuary, for some time. Everyone was looking for them. Alipio eventually found them and brought them to his house, whereupon they all became drunk. One result of this drunkenness was an attack by Alipio

on his brother. A few days later, the /ún^{y}i/ found them and removed Carmelina to his house, and from there she was sent to a man from the Río Onzole. In the meantime, Carmelina's brother became enamored of Alipio's sister. He 'stole' her, and they hid for a week, but were caught by Alipio when they came out of the monte. He took his sister home, declaring that she still had a lot of work to do around the house, such as making fans for sale on the coast. The young man 'stole' her again, apparently keeping her for a considerable time, at least sufficient for it to become clear that the woman was now pregnant, and so they remained together. At Punta Venado, during one of the fiestas, the /ún^{y}i/ ordered them to be whipped twenty lashes.[4]

Carmelina was crippled, and yet she was eagerly sought after by two men, in marked contrast to Chapiro's crippled wife. The choice of marriage partners for both Alipio and Chapiro had been considerably restricted, due to their poor work habits. Alipio's brother posed something of a problem. It is not known that he was lazy also, but certainly the reputation of his

301 The women's clothes are much simpler and scantier than the
291 men's. They simply consist of a piece of cotton cloth dyed blue, black or red, about two yards long, which is tightly wrapped around the lower part of the body and is tied at the waist with flax cord. The upper part of the body, up to the waist, and legs, from the feet to the knees, remain totally uncovered. By way of ornaments they wear long strings of tiny colored beads around the wrists and long, colored bead necklaces around the neck, as well as self-made mother-of-pearl amulets and some of the more well-to-do women even wear strings of silver coins. Bead necklaces are also
[584] worn in large numbers by young men during the period of their betrothal. In other words the women's wardrobes are not a serious worry to the husbands. Up to their sixth year, children run about completely naked apart from some bead or button ornaments likewise hung on them.

481 The men walk ahead of their wives, a long leaf-shaped paddle
562 in one hand and a small net-like basket containing as little as
482 possible in the other, while the heavily laden women trot behind them with short, swaying steps, along with the children. Even from their visits to town one can observe that the woman has been given the role of the load and work-horse.

482 On her back the woman carries a heavily laden basket which is strapped around her forehead, while the youngest child sits thrust out in riding position on her hip, with the mother's arm holding him tightly. In her other hand she usually carries a bundle and a cooking pot.

574 One of their first visits in town is at the local priest's. The
797 latter claims that the Cayapa are Catholics. But this is not true.
301 Probably they only go to the priest because he seeks to prove the blessings of the Catholic Church by means of small presents and holy coins, which, one must admit, do look very pretty worn around the neck. At home they have their own cult.

481 Their happiness is apparent when they leave the vicarage, be-
198 cause they have again received presents. They amble down the business streets, curious, amazed and admiring as they go from one shop to the other. "Chindo, Kachindo, compadre?" the gutter-snipes call after them. (The first two words are in the Cayapa language, the third is Spanish; the sentence means: "Where'ye going, fellow?") "Caminando, viendo, comprando, compadre"
[191] ("going for a walk, seeing, buying, brother") the men answer politely, but in very poor Spanish.

437 They have sold the new small canoes, tree bark mats
[501 (damajaguas), palm-leaf fans, rubber and rolls of liana (these are
295 used in the construction of bamboo huts to tie up the palm-leaves
283] on the [284] roofs and for some other purposes in lieu of string),
which they have brought from the villages and with the cash they
have earned they now make their small purchases. They have
few wants and do not need much: a few feet of cotton cloth, a
chopping knife, some salt, a small mirror, glass beads, fish hooks,
[311] powder and small shot for the old muzzle-loader which a few of
them may own. This would be all their heart desires. It is little,
even very little, and yet it takes long, even very long, until they
have made their choice and finally decided to buy. First they
talk it over among themselves in their guttural and sonorous lan-
guage and then they start bargaining, and then they count out their
money slowly and cautiously; finally having managed to get the
[342] desired goods, they packed them into the nearly full basket car-
ried by the wife. The women and girls timidly hide behind their
576 menfolk. When spoken to, they do not answer, although they
571 understand sufficient Spanish. Their jealous menfolk have strictly
[341] forbidden them to enter into conversation with men of other races
or tribes. They draw back bashfully. But if the husband is not
present, only the mother or brother, the women become very
loquacious, especially when their tongue has been untied by a
small present--a mirror, necklace or something of the kind. And
they are happy beyond words if you caress their little child, who
looks like a Japanese baby painted brown, and has a friendly smile
even for a stranger. It is amusing to watch the women meeting a
fashionably dressed lady in one of the shops; then they surround
her laughing, amazed and admiring, but they do not appear to be
jealous of the lace dresses worn by European women. The men,
on the other hand, do not honor even the most beautiful and most
elegant white lady with so much as a glance.

[42 The Cayapa girls are pretty from the age of 12 to 16 years,
302 their bodies somewhat plump, but still with a beautiful shape.
● 584 Sometimes young men and women can be seen with red and black
streaks and dots on their faces, chest, arms and legs; this is a
sign that they are engaged.

505 Once their business in town is finished they prepare for the re-
turn journey to their villages. "Adios compadre, adios comadres,"
and chattering and laughing, happy and content, they hurry to
the shore where their canoes are moored. On their way they

352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
942 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cook-
ing utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunt-
622 ing and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who
rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
796 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes
sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not
interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful
Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

589 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
583 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father
turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the
young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible,
consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They
will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price
for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from
what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted
with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
611 family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows,
i.e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to
kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting
feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take
place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who
will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but
also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these.
It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to
undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique
will administer a hundred blows (well-counted on fingers and toes)
with the whip. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but
bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his
teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the
test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
878 can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will
be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato
(corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
915 ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

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[415] they are by bringing along "Mates" and "Calabazas," i.e. bowls and pitchers made of the rind of pumpkin-like fruit, into which they put the greatest part of the food and drink offered in order to carry them home. Only when everybody has eaten until he is ready to burst and the majority are rather drunk, the wedding draws to a close. The young couple is finally left alone and may go to their hut. But before the couple are allowed to enjoy their love to the full, they must pass through a long cruel (because it is continent) trial period. They live and sleep together under their
[286] common mosquito-net made of cotton with red flowers, but not as husband and wife, but as brother and sister, and they are not allowed to touch each other for an entire year. They must remain pious, chaste and abstemious, no matter how difficult it may be for them. The purpose is to steel the virtue of abstemiousness and the strength of will. Only when this period of fasting and trial is over, may they succumb to the ecstasies of love. Woe to those
684 who cannot withstand and secretely attempt to taste of the forbidden fruit before the end of the trial year—if discovered they pay for their crime with their lives or have to seek refuge immediately in another territory which cannot be reached by the punishing arm of their strict rulers. Only once I had occasion to watch how a fiancé, who was violently in love, gingerly and furtively with trembling hands touched the arm and naked breast of his betrothed.

302 During this year of betrothal they use red and black plant juices
● 584 to paint their faces, chests, arms and legs with streaks and dots. This custom corresponds to our engagement announcements and wedding rings.

846 Immediately after the birth of a baby, the young mother gets
[515] up from her bed, goes to the river and bathes. Bathing in the river is one of the Cayapas' passions. Each and everyone of them take at least two or even three baths per day. The young mother has barely left her child when the grandmother cleans it up a bit, puts it down again; and then the father lies down with it, staying in bed with the child from three to five weeks, letting his wife nurse him, just as though he were the woman in child-bed, who had gone through the pains of childbirth and was in need of recuperating and nursing care. The young mother, on the other hand, does her usual work already an hour after delivery, attending to her daily chores as though nothing had happened. This strange custom is connected with their religious concepts and their fear of evil spirits

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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585 marriage, so far as civil procedure is concerned. It
177 seems probable that this custom is a survival of aboriginal times and that the marriage ceremony has not been so

instances, it was done with a joking air. There was some laughter as the Cayapa were whipping themselves, but it was restrained. As the official went about looking for more people, they kept stating, "Everyone has to be whipped, everyone." This practice very likely was brought in by Catholic missionaries at a very early period.

In general, the description of a fiesta given by Barrett applies, with one major exception. The passion play described by Barrett was no longer being performed. In its place a group of fiesteros set up a marimba, small hand drums and several bass drums in a small rancho between the church and the main house of the chief. During the evening of Easter Sunday, they played with such gusto that sometime between one and two in the morning the structure collapsed. Concurrently with all of these activities, the chief dispensed justice, marriages were arranged, marriages were celebrated, Negro funerals were conducted, fisticuffs were engaged in, people drank, also passed out, woke up, and the band played on. This continued for six days and nights.

harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several canoes in Esmeraldas. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is now undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

main classes of officials. First, there is the /ún^{y}i/ or gobernador; second, there is the /kása ún^{y}i/ or gobernador nueveo; and third, there are those officials called /č$\acute{a}^{i}$tala/. This term may derive from /čači/ 'people' and /-tala/ 'together,' that is, an official who gathers people together. Those officials who are called capitán or /tónde/, the latter from teniente, and the secretario, seem to be /č$\acute{a}^{i}$tala/ and are listed on the official roles in the provincial capital of Esmeraldas. Regardless of Spanish title, the /ča^{i}tala/ are not functionally distinct. That is, the duties of all of the officials are the same: to help arrange marriages and to settle disputes. At the ceremonial center they may as a group try a case while the /ún^{y}i/ listens to the proceedings and comes to a decision. In addition to these officials, there are individuals who are called policeman and who are available at the request of any of the officials. Their duties include the bringing in of culprits for trial as well as aiding in the maintenance of a modicum of order at the fiestas.

The /ún^{y}i/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[P.123]

CHAPTER III

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Children are important to the Cayapa and are welcomed because it is essential that a man or a woman have children who can perform a boda or memorial feast for the deceased parent(s) several years after death. The spirit of the dead parent would be unhappy and vexed, if this were not done. In addition, as we have discussed, the family is economically important. There is ample motivation for the Cayapa to begin a family and a variety of methods are available.

> When a young man or a young woman desires to marry a certain person, all work other than that absolutely necessary, and all social relations with other individuals, are at an end. Such a person sits throughout the day without speaking to anyone, and no matter how much he or she may be addressed or made fun of, etiquette does not permit such a person to respond or even to laugh. . . A young swain then bides his time until the other members of his family have retired for the night, when he takes his canoe and paddles to a point near the house of the young woman he wishes to marry. On nearing her home he sings softly certain magic love-songs and then cautiously approaches the house. He then, according to some informants, attracts her attention by one

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Stealing a Woman. Some men prefer to "steal a woman" for wife. This is called /súpu taŋgahímu/, /súpu/ "woman" and /támu/ "to steal." Lorenzo Martín, commonly called /pičendé/, "a kind of crested bird" [a nick name he detested], preferred this approach to marriage. According to him, he met his first wife while canoeing along the river. They were both alone, and after some minutes of conversation, he proposed

and she agreed. Now, with a new wife, neither he nor his mother-in-law wanted to live under the same roof. Feelings of anger and/or disapproval on the part of parents and kin of the dead spouse to the remarriage of the surviving spouse are not uncommon among the Cayapa. There is some feeling that the death may have been caused by the survivor.

An interesting point emerges that is part of a general Cayapa theme: Lorenzo waited about five years before remarrying, and apparently the motivation lay not so much in his sexual needs, as in his appetite for food. His mother-in-law was not preparing his meals properly. It should be kept in mind that, by Cayapa standards, a man who is capable of /súpu taŋgahímu/,[1] who can actually walk up to a woman and propose to her, is deserving of envy, awe, and admiration. This means that such a man is sexually forward and aggressive. Many, if not most, Cayapa men are very hesitant and uncertain about sex and marriage. While chastity is not particularly valued, men in their twenties who claim to have had no sexual intercourse are not uncommon. Women, on the other hand, lose their virginity much

[1] [i.e. "to steal a woman" - ANALYST]

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earlier by way of the custom of night courtship described above. These affairs need not end in marriage, and both parties are free to seek greener pastures. It is the decided impression of the writer that the Cayapa women are the sexual initiators generally and that they are visited by a comparatively small number of sexual activists among the men.

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Arranged Marriages. Most men do not have the brashness of character required to steal a woman, and many are not able to carry through a successful night courtship. For them, therefore an arranged marriage is necessary. One way of arranging a marriage is for the father of a young man or woman to ask one of the tribal officials to find a spouse for his offspring. If the official does not know of anyone immediately available, he will make inquiries at whatever fiesta he happens to attend. There is no charge for this service.

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This sort of match-making was attempted unsuccessfully at a fiesta that I attended at Sapallo Grande in 1960. The fiesta was a combined affair, honoring the dead and celebrating a recent marriage.

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It was sponsored by Marianito Añapa of the Río Camerones who is a member of the Sapallo Grande section. The marriage was for one of his sons. During the festivities it was noticed that Ciro Añapa, a young man in his twenties, was very drunk and he seemed to be having a difficult time with Trivinio Balsor who is one of the policía of the Punta Venado section. Trivinio was also very drunk. From time to time, Ciro would break out in tears and loud sobs while Trivinio spoke to him. After a while, Ciro pushed Trivinio away from him and went to another part of the room where he continued to cry and sob for a long time. All that had happened was that Trivinio had told Ciro that he had a girl waiting whom he could have in marriage. Ciro kept protesting that he was too young and that he wanted to finish the fourth grade at the school in Encanto. The sequence of events leading to this lacrimose scene began with the girl's father having spoken to an official of the Sapallo Grande section, who in turn had spoken to Trivinio.

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Sometimes the father of a marriageable girl will ask an official to deliver her to a specific man

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whom he fancies as a son-in-law. As an instance, Gerardo Perdomo of Encanto asked the late /únʸi/, Arcilio, to deliver his daughter to Camilio Blanco during an Easter fiesta at Punta Venado. Camilio was most reluctant when approached by Arcilio. He said that he was too young in the first place, and in the second place, he did not want to get married anyway. The /únʸi/ pointed out that all of Camilio's siblings had died unmarried and that he could too. At this point Camilio agreed to marry Gerardo's daughter.

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Occasionally a man's kinfolk will decide that he has been too long a bachelor or a widower. When someone hears of an available woman in any of the Cayapa sections, one or two men go to speak to the woman's family. If the parents agree to let their daughter marry the man under discussion, she leaves at once with the match-makers, taking only her clothing and ornaments. They then bring the woman to the home of the unsuspecting groom-to-be. The man may refuse the profferred one; in this case, the men who brought her will try to deliver her to someone else. If she fails again to be accepted, they will return her to her family

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who will be most annoyed and an argument most certainly will follow. If the prospective bridegroom is doubtful, the men talk to him earnestly of the pleasures of married life while the woman, very wisely, says nothing, but sits very still with downcast eyes--"very still and very quiet." Most often she is accepted.

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Many times a man has a definite woman in mind for marriage but is not at all sure that he can get her by means of any of the techniques so far discussed. Then, too, it may be that another person has a particular woman in mind for a certain man, and, similarly, is not too sure that he can bring off the marriage. In either case a commission is formed, consisting of two Indians who are usually related to the man under consideration and two Negroes. The Indian members of the commission are not paid except with a few drinks. The Negroes receive some money and two or three gallons of home-distilled rum which, as Barrett once correctly remarked, "is clear in color and vile in taste."

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The Indians on the commission are first to enter the house of the prospective bride. They present

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their case to the family, and if refused, they then point out that two Negroes are waiting in the canoe. This means that the commission will fight, if need be, to get the girl. [For the Cayapa, the Negro is a threatening figure, both in fact and in fancy.] At this point, agreement may be reached between the commission and the girl's family, or a fight may develop. In either event, so far as is known to the writer, a commission always gets its woman.

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Problems in Courtship and Marriage. Many men among the Cayapa are reluctant to take the initiative in romantic affairs, but from time to time one finds among them men like Chapiro of the Río Camerones, who seems to delight in amorous peccadillos and adventures. Chapiro has the reputation of preferring married women with whom it is said he would make love, while the husband slept only inches away on the same bedding. He pretended to be the husband and apparently deceived the wives with a large measure of success for a time.

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Chapiro caught in flagrant delicto. One night while pretending to be Pablo Añapa, Chapiro was caught

of the case were clear, and a witness was present. It is of interest that Pablo's wife seems to have convinced everyone of her innocence in the affair and that she had been truly hoodwinked. Chapiro's reputation was of course, well known, and guilt was held to be his alone. Even though justice prevailed, Chapiro was disgruntled and left without drinking. This in itself would be sufficient to mark him as a deviant, for Basurco's observations are still very much applicable.

> . . . leur seul vice est de rendre un culte trop fréquent à Bacchus, auquel ils font des libations d'ichcala, ou eau-de-vie de canne, qu'ils fabriquent eux-mêmes . . . (Basurco 1894:406).

In marked contrast to many Cayapa men, Chapiro has always been more interested in sexual pursuits than in drinking and the married men in the area were beginning to view him as a real threat. In instances like this it is felt that the best way to remove the threat is to marry him off, forcibly, if need be. In the case of Chapiro events came to a head after he had seduced Gabriel's daughter.

The Seduction of Gabriel's daughter. Chapiro was

The pressure lantern remained in Gabriel's house. About two weeks later when the lantern had not been returned to him, Chapiro went looking for it at night in Gabriel's house, but he couldn't find it. He kept asking for the lantern, and eventually, after two or three months, it was returned to him.

The lack of interest on the part of the young woman, coupled with Chapiro's poor reputation, apparently led Gabriel to make it clear to Chapiro that he did not want him as a son-in-law. A year or two later, the /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio, died and Gabriel became the chief. Gabriel now began to consider Chapiro's threat to his daughter, who was now married. He ordered Lorenzo Añapa and Aurelio Añapa, two of the /cá$^{v/i}$tala/, to go up to Sapallo Grande during Christmas and to bring back a wife for Chapiro. They found a woman who was lame and not very eagerly sought after as a marriage partner, inasmuch as she could not work effectively in the monte. They brought her to Chapiro's house and presented her to him. He refused to take her, but Lorenzo said that if he did not take the girl, he would beat him. Chapiro then agreed to

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marry her. In 1960 he seemed happy with his wife, especially since she gave birth to a boy, and since his marriage he apparently has stayed close to home.

It may be that the choice of a crippled wife for Chapiro was deliberate and with malice aforethought. Chapiro's reputation, however, extended beyond the sexual sphere, and he was known to be lazy and a poor worker. Most women would have refused him as a husband anyway. What is important, however, is the fact that the solution worked, and that Chapiro was effectively removed from circulation. It should be mentioned for the record that when he was queried about Chapiro's wife, Lorenzo Añapa reported, with what appeared to the writer to be no small measure of satisfaction, "She can't work very well in the fields because of her bad leg."

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For the Cayapa, marriages are not all made in heaven, and many times legal difficulties both attend and follow a marriage. The parents of Chapiro's bride did not object to her marriage at all; however, as women are economically useful, some families that lack one or another of the parents attempt to keep the

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

girl at home as long as possible. This may lead to disputes and hard feelings.

Carmelina, a crippled girl, is taken by a sacrilege commission over the protests of her mother. The late chief, Arcilio, had a sister's daughter named Carmelina who was crippled in one leg. She lived with her mother and younger brother, near Playa Grande. One night a commission of two Negroes and two Indians came to take the girl to Alipio Cisarrón who also lived near Playa Grande. First, the two Indians came into the house leaving the two Negroes in the canoe. They spoke with the mother, but she did not want the girl to get married "as she was badly crippled." The two Indians pointed out that they had two Negroes with them, but the mother was adamant. The Indians then called in the Negroes who were named José Isidro and Añano Vallejo, both of Playa Grande. The four men came into the house and removed the girl by force. She fell outside of the house and began to cry, but they picked her up and placed her in the canoe, still crying. All the while, the mother kept shouting at the men, but the girl's brother remained silent, as he had been

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during the whole affair. The commission then took the girl to Alipio's house which was not too distant. After a few days, Alipio and Carmelina hid in a small shelter or rancho up a small stream. Meanwhile, the mother went to see her brother, the chief, to advise him of the event. After several days, he left with some of his male relatives, looking for the couple. They were found in Alipio's house. Aurilio punished both of them with ten lashes. Afterwards he brought Carmelina back to her mother's house, but she protested that she wanted to remain with Alipio. Alipio claimed that he had not sent for Carmelina to be brought to him because "she is crippled and not a good worker." On this point, the informant, Pedrito Ampa, says that Alipio is not a good worker himself and cannot make high-grade canoes.

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About a week later, Alipio's younger brother "stole" Carmelina, and they went into hiding up an estuary, for some time. Everyone was looking for them. Alipio eventually found them and brought them to his house, whereupon they all became drunk. One result of this drunkenness was an attack by Alipio

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4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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on his brother. A few days later, the /un³l/ found them and removed Carmelina to his house, and from there she was sent to a man from the Río Onzole. In the meantime, Carmelina's brother became enamored of Alipio's sister. He 'stole' her, and they hid for a week, but were caught by Alipio when they came out of the monte. He took his sister home, declaring that she still had a lot of work to do around the house, such as making faro for sale on the coast. The young man 'stole' her again, apparently keeping her for a considerable time, at least sufficient for it to become clear that the woman was now pregnant, and so they remained together. At Punta Venado, during one of the fiestas, the /un³l/ ordered them to be whipped twenty lashes.

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Carmelina was crippled, and yet she was eagerly sought after by two men, in marked contrast to Chapiro's crippled wife. The choice of marriage partners for both Alipio and Chapiro had been considerably restricted, due to their poor work habits. Alipio's brother posed something of a problem. It is not known that he was lazy also, but certainly the reputation of his

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brother did not give him any advantage. The reluctance of some families to part peacefully with their unmarried female members stems in part from economic factors. Even though Carmelina was crippled, she was still of great assistance to her mother. Similarly, Alipio hoped to realize some profit from his sister's handiwork before permitting her to marry. As Carmelina's mother did not object to her daughter's marriage to the man from the Río Onzole, it can be assumed that he was more desirable as a son-in-law than either Alipio or his brother. She probably realized that she would not be able to prevent her daughter from leaving home much longer since the girl had made it clear, after her brief sojourn with Alipio, that she wanted a man—any man.

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The marriage commission as a device for arranging marriages is apparently very common although it is not always enfunctional. Quite often more problems are raised than are settled by the commission's attempt at match-making as witnessed in the following case.

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Romulo appeals to a White official. Romulo lived with his wife and children, as well as with a dependent woman relative named Inez Cimarrón; this relative had been divorced by her husband because all of their children had died soon after birth. She had gone to live with Romulo and his wife immediately after the divorce. Some time later, a commission composed of two Negroes named Nikola Ayovi and Aurelio Caruso, and an Indian named Dámian Largo, came up from Playa Grande at the request of Averticio Largo, a 'cousin' of Dámian. Averticio was a widower [and so could only marry a widow or a divorcee], and he specifically asked the commission to bring Inez for him. The members of the commission had been given a few gallons of rum for this favor. Romulo, however, refused to give the woman up, claiming that he needed her to watch the house and children when he and his wife were out working, since they had no other relations. The Negroes replied that they would use force if need be. At this, Romulo went for his machete, but, as he was ill at the time, he could not fight effectively. The woman was removed, crying, from the

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house and brought to Averticio. The next day, the Teniente Político, a national official of Borbón, came down the river from Telembí. He was hailed by Romulo who explained the happening to him. They both then went up to Playa Grande where a party was in progress in Averticio's house. The official took the woman back and fined the two Negroes sixty sucres each, but Dámian Largo was not fined. Averticio pointed out to the official that he had sent the commission in good faith and had not asked for the use of force. Inez also made it clear that she did not want to marry Averticio because he was too old.

Of interest here is the fact that Romulo appealed to a non-Indian official who is not ordinarily approached by the Cayapa in matters of this kind. Doubtless, it was the fortuitous juxtaposition of circumstances that brought the Teniente Político into view while Romulo's anger was still at its height. The official's decision was not completely just. In the first place, he clearly favored the Indians over the Negroes and consequently he did not fine the Indian member of the commission. In the second place,

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Averticio lied when he said that he had not asked for the use of force by the commission. Mens rea marked Averticio's actions and he was an accessory before and after the fact. By requesting the two Negroes for the commission he gave tacit approval to the use of force. If Romulo had complained to an Indian official, the latter would have been unable to deal legally with the Negroes, and he would have restricted his investigation to Averticio and Dámian. When Negroes are involved, and feelings are running high among the aggrieved Cayapa, self-help may be resorted to, as the following case demonstrates.

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Perdomo fights for his sister. Perdomo lived with his wife, mother, and sister in a house up the Río Camerones. One night a commission composed of the usual two Indians and two Negroes came to the house. The two Indians spoke first. They had come to deliver Perdomo's sister to Manuel Largo of Playa Grande. Perdomo and his mother refused. [Manuel was said to be very ugly, thin, and weak.] Following this refusal, the two Negroes came in to take the girl forcibly. She began to cry whereupon Perdomo went for his machete

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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and threatened the Negroes. One of them answered that he was willing to fight, and at this, Perdomo backed down. The commission then left with the girl. They brought her to Manuel Largo who hid with her in the house of José Mina, one of the Negro members of the commission.

Two days later Perdomo managed to gather together ten kinsmen and friends, and they all left in two canoes, taking the girl's mother along. A Negro told them where the girl was hidden, and they headed straight for José Mina' house. They argued a great deal with the two Negroes, but the commissioners claimed that everything was all right; "after all the girl was not marrying a relative." The argument waxed hotter, and finally machetes began to swing. This all took place in front of the house, while from within the house the girl could be heard crying and pleading for rescue. As the fighting began, the girl's mother began crying, telling the men not to fight, or they would kill each other. This had no effect. The Negro woman shouted that if they kept on fighting, they would all be fined. At this, tempers cooled, the fighting ceased, and the Indians returned home without the girl.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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Indians returned home without the girl. Several days later, Manuel Largo took his reluctant bride up a small nearby stream to hide, since he feared a return of the girl's family. The girl apparently entertained no such hopes anymore, and when they had gone a short distance upstream, she told Manuel to go on up ahead and wait for her as she wanted to defecate. When he was gone from view, she ran through the monte and later that day she arrived at the house of Juanito Cimarrón of Pichiyaco. Even though Juanito was not related to her, he arranged for one of his sons to return her to her home; nothing more was ever done about this incident.

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If Manuel Largo was indeed small, thin, and ugly, then Perdomo's sister would view the arrangement with something less than enthusiasm. If Manuel was indeed weak, then the family in general could join the girl in her refusal. A man who is weak certainly would not be a very good provider for the wife, and, as a man is expected to help his in-laws when needed, he would not be of much use to them. The material presented so far indicates that a woman has a great deal to say as to whether or not she will marry and/or to whom. A

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determined woman will usually have her way, and many Cayapa women are determined:

Earlier, in the case of Carmelina, we saw that the relatives of the /únʸi/ were not immune from being manhandled by a commission. In the following case we shall see an instance in which the very authority of the /únʸi/ was flouted.

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Mother removes her daughter from the bridegroom's home. Several years ago Kalía wanted to send his sister to marry a man on the Río Camerones. The mother objected, saying that the girl was much too young. They all later went as guests to a baile de casamiento, that is, a wedding feast celebrated usually a year or two after a man and woman have been living together as man and wife. The late /únʸi/, Arcilio, was asked by the prospective bridegroom's brother to deliver the girl, and this was done. The girl's mother said nothing at the time, but when she returned to the Río Camerones, she marched into the bridegroom's house and took her daughter home with her. The bridegroom's mother protested, but that was all. The elder brother

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of the would-be bridegroom notified Arcilio who, in turn, sent Bardonero Cimarrón who is 'family' to the bridegroom to demand that the girl be delivered. Kalía also remonstrated with his mother. Finally, she stated that as long as the girl seemed to be pregnant, she would agree to the marriage.

Not only did the mother flout the authority of the /ún^{y}i/, it is very likely that if she had been strongly adamant, she would perhaps have been whipped, but she would have kept her daughter. The matter of marriage commissions is most intriguing. Clearly, this sort of match-making could not take place in a society in which there were strong corporate bodies, where family extensions were important. In a society as loosely structured as is the Cayapa, the marriage commissions could rove the countryside with a minimum of interference.

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Widows and Widowers. Max Heiman states that widows and widowers never remarry among the Cayapa (Heiman 1931:287). My studies among the Cayapa fail completely to substantiate Heiman's statement. In point of fact, most widows and widowers remarry, the only

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Polygyny. Max Heiman stated that "Die Dayapa leben in sehr harmonischer Ehe, Vielweiberei . . . gibt es bei ihnen nicht" (Heiman 1931:286). If the situation of pristine monogamy were true in 1931 or earlier in 1909, when Barrett reported nothing in the way of polygyny, it was certainly not true in 1960. To account for the change, we can look towards the expanding money economy that began to envelop the Cayapa several decades ago. Between 1931 and 1960, an economic factor of tremendous magnitude developed in Ecuador. Bananas began to be commercially valuable and in the boom period of the late 1940's and early 1950's the best prices were always to be had near the coast, and it was from the coastal areas that most of the following cases came.

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Cristobal uses his brother as a pawn to get a second wife. Cristobal, who lived at Viche, was a brujo or 'witch.' He came up from the coast one time to cure Margarita of an illness. She was single at the time. During the night while the curing session was going on, Cristobal seduced his patient. Later he asked her father to let him deliver her to his brother in Viche and the father agreed. When they arrived at Viche, it appeared

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that the brother was much too young, whereupon Margarita agreed to marry Cristobal even though he was already married. They were subsequently married by a priest. Santian, Cristobal's brother, resented this and complained to the /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio. Margarita claimed that the charges were not true and that she had, indeed, been delivered to Santian and was living with him. Arcilio ordered Cristobal and Margarita to receive twenty lashes. The sentence was minimal because they claimed "never to have embraced." Then they were told that they would receive two hundred lashes if they made love from then on. When they returned to Viche from Punta Venado, Margarita lived with Santian for about four months; following this, Cristobal took her back. The brothers had harsh words but did not exchange blows. Cristobal's two wives appeared to live together amicably. About a year later the father of the first wife took his daughter back with him. She had been crippled for some time, and people were saying that Cristobal had bewitched her. When her father died soon afterwards, Santian accused his brother of having killed him. Cristobal's first wife confirmed this. However, Cristobal and Margarita denied the charge. When the /ún^{y}i/ asked

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352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
412 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cooking utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunt-
622 ing and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
796 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

584 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
583 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible, consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
[411] family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows, i. e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these. It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique will administer a hundred blows (well-counted on fingers and toes) with the ship. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
[273] can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato (corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
[415] ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

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[415] they are by bringing along "Mates" and "Calabazas," i.e. bowls and pitchers made of the rind of pumpkin-like fruit, into which they put the greatest part of the food and drink offered in order to carry them home. Only when everybody has eaten until he is ready to burst and the majority are rather drunk, the wedding draws to a close. The young couple is finally left alone and may go to their hut. But before the couple are allowed to enjoy their love to the full, they must pass through a long cruel (because it is continent) trial period. They live and sleep together under their
[286] common mosquito-net made of cotton with red flowers, but not as husband and wife, but as brother and sister, and they are not allowed to touch each other for an entire year. They must remain pious, chaste and abstemious, no matter how difficult it may be for them. The purpose is to steel the virtue of abstemiousness and the strength of will. Only when this period of fasting and trial is over, may they succumb to the ecstasies of love. Woe to those
684 who cannot withstand and secretely attempt to taste of the forbidden fruit before the end of the trial year—if discovered they pay for their crime with their lives or have to seek refuge immediately in another territory which cannot be reached by the punishing arm of their strict rulers. Only once I had occasion to watch how a fiancé, who was violently in love, gingerly and furtively with trembling hands touched the arm and naked breast of his betrothed.
302 During this year of betrothal they use red and black plant juices
584 to paint their faces, chests, arms and legs with streaks and dots. This custom corresponds to our engagement announcements and wedding rings.

846 Immediately after the birth of a baby, the young mother gets
[515] up from her bed, goes to the river and bathes. Bathing in the river is one of the Cayapas' passions. Each and everyone of them take at least two or even three baths per day. The young mother has barely left her child when the grandmother cleans it up a bit, puts it down again; and then the father lies down with it, staying in bed with the child from three to five weeks, letting his wife nurse him, just as though he were the woman in child-bed, who had gone through the pains of childbirth and was in need of recuperating and nursing care. The young mother, on the other hand, does her usual work already an hour after delivery, attending to her daily chores as though nothing had happened. This strange custom is connected with their religious concepts and their fear of evil spirits

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

[611] There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane [293] of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was *imposed on* [797] aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

But the soul is believed to linger after death, and the methods used to encourage its departure are strictly aboriginal. A young couple's marriage may not be consummated until solemnized by the visiting padre, but the admonitions of the village chief to both bride and groom reinforce the authority of native jurisdiction. The annual Easter whipping of the whole community is also native.

Barrett could find no clear-cut creation story. The universe is believed to be made up of three superimposed worlds, with human life centered on the middle one. Men share this middle world with many spirits, some malevolent and other benevolent, all of whom are busy affecting human happiness and goals.

Sometimes the spirits must be exorcised, as when they cause illness. For this a shaman is called, and, with the cooperation of neighbors, he drives out the spirits amid much singing, smoking, and sprinkling. The shaman also may suck out the cause of illness.

Almost anyone can become a shaman by undergoing intensive training and acquiring a set of spirit helpers. There seems to be no "predestination" for this career, though Barrett was apparently unable to get enough information on this point. Like the chief, the shaman is not a full-time professional.

Because of his magic control of spirit powers, the shaman can be a force for evil as well as for good. It is he who causes illness and eventually death. There is a great deal of similarity between the behavior and the paraphernalia of the *Cayapa* shaman and that of the Highland medicine man.

THE COLORADO

The *Colorado*, or, as they prefer to call themselves, *Tsatchela* or *Tatchila* Indians, share with the *Cayapa* the distinction of being the last surviving aboriginal group in the Lowlands of western Ecuador. The two groups know about each other and even occasionally visit back and forth; but they speak mutually unintelligible languages, and their ways of life are quite distinct.

In contrast to the *Cayapa*, the *Colorado* are rapidly disappearing. Their territory and their numbers have been shrinking constantly, and one can easily foresee the time when the group will become extinct. They have not been able to withdraw before the pressure of "civilization," and they have been incorporated to a large degree into the Highland plantation system known as concertaje. The area they occupy on the upper reaches of several affluents of the Esmeraldas and Daule Rivers in the western part of Pichincha Province has been an area of heavy colonization in recent decades. During World War II an all-weather road was opened which increased the area's accessibility to colonization from the Highlands.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

583 knowledge of his family. These visits are repeated for
584 some time, when the young couple announce their desire to marry and obtain the consent of their respective parents. After this, conditions very largely govern their procedure. By some it is said that at present they go immediately to the house of the bride's or the groom's father, or to a new house of their own as soon as one can be built, and there live as man and wife without any
●585 special ceremony; indeed the only ceremony celebrated is that of the church on the next annual visit of the Catholic priest. Others maintain that, having obtained the consent of all parties concerned, some time elapses before what may be called the preliminary wedding feast and ceremony. In this interval the young man and his friends must hunt and procure game, which is dried for the feast, and must provide presents for the parents and other relatives of the bride. The bride, on the other hand, provides certain of the other foods, such as plantains and corn, and she and her family make gifts to the family of the groom. There is no exchange of presents between the bride and the groom, however, and there is nothing which can in any way be construed as a purchase of the bride. Finally the relatives and friends of the contracting couple assemble, and a feast of from one to two or three days is held. At this feast the young couple are brought in and are given each ten lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails by the chief. This whipping is considered as a consummation and legalization of their
585 marriage, so far as civil procedure is concerned. It
177 seems probable that this custom is a survival of aboriginal times and that the marriage ceremony has not been so

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

greatly modified by intrusive religious ideas as have many other features of Cayapa culture. With the coming of the priest, on the occasion of his annual visit, the regular church marriage rite is performed. At this ceremony there is further chastising of the contracting parties by the chief or by some one delegated by him.

On the occasion of the annual visit of the priest to one of the Cayapa pueblos, usually in August or September, a fiesta of from one to three weeks is held, during which it is customary for couples who have been married between the time of the priest's last visit and the present occasion to celebrate a marriage feast. Should it be inconvenient to celebrate the marriage feast at this particular time, it may be held at any other gathering of the people at the village, or it may even be deferred until the next annual visit of the priest. These marriage feasts are the occasion of much merrymaking. Quantities of food, rum, and tobacco are provided, and the whole village celebrates for a day or two. During the forenoon of the first day, a table, made by spreading upon the floor of the large assembly and dance hall of the chief's house a covering of hoja blanca, is filled with all kinds of food, among them being one special dish of eggs, prepared much after the manner of scrambling. At this feast a most exceptional departure from the rule of the separation of the sexes at public gatherings is observed. At all other feasts, men and boys only are permitted to enter the room in which the feast is held, but on this occasion the bride and her godmother are present. The mother of the bride, however, does not enter. Another interesting feature of this feast is that,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

585 other than the bridegroom and his godfather, and the bride and her godmother, all of those seated at the table are the heads of families. At the head of the table are seated the chief and three or four others of the principal officials. Along the side of the table and immediately to the right of these officials are seated, in order, the godfather of the groom, the groom, the bride, and the godmother of the bride. The rest of the places on both sides and at the foot of the table are occupied by the heads of the families attending the feast. It should be noted that this godfather of the groom and this godmother of the bride are not usually the same as the godfather and the godmother arising from the baptismal relationship above described, but are usually persons somewhat older than the contracting parties and act as sponsors for the two, much as do the groomsman and the bridesmaid among civilized peoples.

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585 One of these wedding feasts witnessed in 1908 proceeded as follows: After the usual church invocation, which is always pronounced at any feast, the chief took up the bowl of scrambled eggs above mentioned and personally served a spoonful to each of the four parties most closely concerned with the marriage—first to the groom, next to the bride, then to the groom's godfather, and finally to the bride's godmother. All those at the table were then at liberty to partake of the other foods of the feast. In addition to the abundance of dried meats and other foods with which the table was laden, pottery plates containing a mush made of ripe plantains and meat were served, one to each person. Everyone ate freely, except the bride and groom, who throughout

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the morning had remained one in one room and one in another, each specially dressed for the occasion, and each with a cloth carefully bound so as to cover the mouth. The groom was attended by his godfather, the bride by her godmother, and neither conversed with any other persons. The same silence and covering of the mouth were maintained throughout the feast, and indeed throughout the remainder of the day. Toward the end of the feast, one of the officials delivered an extended address in which he exhorted the bride and groom to live peacefully and helpfully together, and outlined the paths each should follow in order to insure model married life for themselves and a useful career to the community. He especially warned the groom that under no circumstances had he any right or privilege in chastising the bride, but that in case she were to become remiss in any of her duties he was bound to report the matter to the chief or to some other official, whose duty it was to see that she was properly punished. Likewise he was warned that remissness on his part would also be met by the officials with severe castigation.

The feast being ended with the usual benediction, and the floor having been cleared, dancing was next in order. Practically all dancing among the Cayapa consists, as is elsewhere described, of a kind of shuffling step back and forth along a line in the middle of the dance floor. A single couple only participate in one of these sets, the man dancing backward, followed by the woman, and vice versa.

A feature of special note in connection with the wedding dance is the order in which the participants came

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

upon the floor. First, the godfather of the groom, who at the same time is master of ceremonies, danced with the bride; next the groom danced with the godmother of the bride; and finally the chief, followed in order of rank by the other officials, danced with the bride. The groom danced but once during the day, whereas the bride was kept dancing almost constantly. She, however was relieved from time to time by some other member of her family, who danced in her place for a few minutes. During all this time the groom sat at one end of the dance hall with his mouth covered, and conversed with no one except his godfather, and rarely with him. During the intervals between dances the bride sat likewise in silence in an adjoining room. The dancing was kept up during the entire afternoon and night, with a single brief intermission. During this intermission the bride and groom put on new clothing and were decked with pendants and necklaces of silver coins, and with garlands of the yellow flowers so much used by the Cayapa for decorating the images of saints in the church.

After donning this finery, the groom resumed his place at the end of the hall and the bride continued her dancing, which lasted till nearly morning. With the coming of night, light, as usual, was provided in the dance hall by means of candles, small kerosene torches, and native torches (ni'lyū). Throughout the entire period the dance had been the simple one used by the Cayapa, but finally there was danced what is called the "San Juan," a recent importation from the mountain region which appears to be more or less, if not entirely, of Spanish origin.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

585 535 In the particular ceremony witnessed on the occasion referred to, at about four o'clock in the morning, four couples danced the "San Juan." The men and the women formed two lines, at the head of which respectively were the groom and the bride; next came the godfather of the groom and the godmother of the bride, while the other couples were those who chanced to be selected for the dance. The music for this is very different from that for the ordinary dance. The marimba was not used at all, and the players of the drums and rattles did not station themselves at the end of the hall near the marimba, but each took his instrument and marched in time to the music up and down and across the hall (pl. CXXVIII). As the musicians and others thus proceeded about the hall, each man exchanged instruments, or hats or other articles of apparel, with whomsoever he met, the latter having no option in this exchange, his duty and privilege being to grasp the instrument or article of apparel from the man whom he next met. Notwithstanding this riot of fun and jollity among the musicians, they played in unison, and the dancers were able to keep their time and step perfectly.

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The dance itself proceeded as follows: The two lines, one of men and one of women, danced up to each other and passed to the opposite side of the hall in such manner that each man passed between two women, and vice versa. Having arrived at the wall, they faced about, passed back again, and crossed until this had been done three times and the two lines were left facing each other and in their original positions, one near each side of the room. Next each one of the eight

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

585 danced alone and in turn along a serpentine path in and
535 out of the two lines; that is to say, beginning with the bridegroom, who was at the head of the line of men, the dance proceeded as follows: He danced to the opposite side of the room, around back of the first of the women; then to the men's side of the room and around back of the first man; back again to the line of women and around back of the second woman; then to the men's line, and so on until he had completed this dancing across and back, passing each time around one member of the line, and finally had danced up the middle of the hall and had returned to his place. He was followed in the same manner by the woman opposite him, who in turn was followed by the man next in order, and so on, alternating until all the eight performers had danced in this serpentine manner and had returned to their places. Next, the first couple danced in the same manner, the man being closely followed by the woman. When they had returned to their places, the two lines danced across the room and back in the manner first described. Next, the second couple performed this movement and were followed by the dance of the lines across the room and back. The same cycle was repeated in the case of each of the two remaining couples. Finally, the eight dancers joined hands and circled three times to the right and three times to the left, there being meanwhile one drummer within the circle while the remainder of the musicians continued their
585 riotous march up and down the hall. After this, the men led the bridegroom and the women led the bride to their mosquito canopy, which had been put up in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the adjoining room, and placed the two under it. They were followed to the canopy by the musicians and by all the spectators, the former playing their rattles, beating their drums, and whacking sticks most noisily, and all calling and shouting and making every manner of fun. Having been thus escorted to their mosquito canopy, the ceremony was ended, and the bride and groom were at liberty to remove their finery, appear in their usual dress, and go about without further restriction. 585●

The Cayapa maintain that not only at present, under the influence of the Catholic Church, but also in aboriginal times, marriage between near relatives was strictly forbidden. Even marriage between remote cousins is prohibited. This relationship of cousin, however, is regarded in a way somewhat different from that of civilized peoples. Further in case of the death of a man or his wife, the survivor is prohibited from marrying any other member of his or her family. 582

Divorce is now strictly prohibited, and the Cayapa maintain that it was unknown even before they came under church influence. It is also held that even before the establishment of the church among them the family relations were as sacred and the family ties as binding as at the present time. Divorce, however, is only a theoretical prohibition. As a matter of fact it does occur at the present time, although very rarely. A man or a woman leaving his or her spouse is, if apprehended, severely punished by the Cayapa officials and every effort is made to force reconciliation. Although sometimes these efforts are successful, cases are known 586 586 684

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

These are placed on a table specially provided for the purpose in the center of the church, and a particular blessing is given these by the priest during the service. They are then usually taken to the convento as a gift to the priest, or they may be taken back to the feasting table. 796

During his entire stay the priest is provided by the Cayapa with an abundance of all kinds of native foods. Every morning quantities of plantains, yuca, fruits, game, and fish are taken to the convento, and in every way the Cayapa see that he is abundantly supplied. In addition, of course, he is paid in money by them for the various masses and special services which he conducts.

Boda

In the strictest sense of the term, a boda is a marriage feast or ceremony. Among the Cayapa, however, it has attained in addition a more general signification, being applied to any gathering at which there is feasting and dancing, but which is without special church services such as are held in the fiestas. A boda therefore usually includes, besides the ordinary feasts proper, other special feasts known as ofrendas, which are really feasts for the dead. In addition there are usually held certain simple church services which do not require the presence of a priest. Usually a number of bodas are held during the course of the year. Each in a way is a personal or family festival, and is almost always given by one, or not more than two, families. They are all practically alike in their essential features. A detailed description of one will give an adequate idea of all. 796 585 765 796

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Benjamin Paul, working on compadrazgo in Middle America, abstracted two basic principles of the institution; namely, the intensification of previously existing relationships, and the extension or creation of new ones (Paul 1942:56-57). Mintz and Wolf see the variations of the principles of intensification and extension that mark the areal spread of ritual co-parenthood to be a reflection of socio-cultural change and economic mobility (Mintz and Wolf 1950:358).

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> In cases where the community is a self-contained class, or tribally homogeneous, compadrazgo is prevailing horisontal (intra-class) in character. In cases where the community contains several interacting classes, compadrazgo will structure such relationships vertically (inter-class). Last, in a situation of rapid social change compadre mechanisms may multiply to meet the accelerated rate of change (Mintz and Wolf 1950:364).

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Barrett's report of his 1909 field trip among the Cayapa indicates that only baptism and marriage were marked by compadrazgo (Barrett 1925:318, 324, 326). We are not given any information by Barrett about the identity of the god-parents, except inferentially, that they were Indian and not Negro. Neither are we told about the identities of the god-parents of successive

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the father may buy a meal and some drinks for everyone. The compadres now address each other by the same terms used between compadres in the nail-cutting ceremony. When the child grows up, he calls his god-father by the term /padéna?ápa/ and the god-mother by the term, /padéna?áma/, and the reciprocal is /ihádu/ [padena, from Spanish padrino 'god-father,' áma 'mother' ápa 'father']. Incest taboos, if not present before, are now extended, and the /ihádu/ may not marry any of the children of the god-parents. The relationship is marked by respect from all within it. From time to time as conditions seem to warrant it, the parties to the compadrazgo of the baptism gift each other with meat. Within a family each child will usually have a different set of god-parents from his siblings. This is a reinforcement of previously existing kin ties with a multiplicity of horizontally-extended ritual kin.

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Marriage. The Cayapa say that when one goes to heaven all of the souls there look alike. Everyone is the same height, and they all wear identical clothing. It is impossible to recognize the people

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known to one while living; however, there is one exception, this one being that one's /padéna?ápa/, the god-father of the wedding, who sees the newly arrived soul and calls its name. In heaven one is re-united with the god-father and not the father. This story indicates that the major relationship that is set up is between the bridal couple and the padrinos and not between compadres. The marriage padrinos tend to be of the same generation as the bridal couple, and the feeling is that it is best to select padrinos from within the kindred. Padrinos are always man and wife, so that if one wishes a particular individual to be his padrino, then his wife automatically becomes his madrina. If incest taboos did not apply before, they are now extended, and the children of all of the ritual-kin are forbidden to marry each other.

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Except for remarriage, when it is permissible to choose new padrinos for the new marriage, it would appear that the ties of the marriage compadrazgo could not multiply "to meet the accelerated rate of change." I have the slightest suggestion of evidence that indicates that this may very well be happening. I was

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never able to collect cases or to gather actual names, but some of my informants said that they had heard of people occasionally taking a new set of marriage padrinos. The feeling was that this could perhaps be done if the original padrinos gave their permission. In these cases, then, a person could have multiple marriage padrinos. It is most unfortunate that field work exigencies precluded following up these leads. In any event, compadrazgo among the Cayapa has shown itself to be a tremendously flexible instrument of societal ordering.

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Religion. The Cayapa are a religious people who call themselves Catholic and are considered to be Catholic by the Church, albeit, "Children in the Faith." They know nothing of the practice of confession and this is not expected of them by the Church. The basic tenets of Catholicism with respect to baptism, marriage, and burial in the Church are followed faithfully by the Cayapa. Within a few months of birth children are taken to the coastal town of Limones or Esmeraldas for baptism. Most marriages are sanctified by a priest, and within a few weeks to a few months after death a special mass will be paid for by the nearest Kin of the deceased.

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The Cayapa are not theologians, nor are they knowledgeable about Catholic ritual. They recognize this lack, but do not concern themselves over it. They rely for ritual guidance on the priest, and in his absence their Negro neighbors are ever ready to take his place as religious mentors to the Cayapa. The Cayapa recognize that the Negro has greater understanding of the religion, but they also consider that the Negroes are great sinners, while the Cayapa are held to be very moral. For the Cayapa, religion is morality and morality means proper sexual behavior. That the Negroes seldom, if ever, marry is a constant source of scandal for the Cayapa, and that the Cayapa almost always marry in the Church [a few polygynists to the contrary] is a constant source of envy for the Negro women, who feel great personal insecurity in their free unions. The trouble with the world, say the Cayapa, is that there are many sinners in it--people who commit incest, adultery, and take more than one wife. As most Cayapa are moral, they will go to heaven, but Negroes and Whites, who are notorious sinners, will not. After death Negroes will go to the black clouds and

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Whites will go to the white clouds, forever floating between heaven and earth. While the Cayapa believe that they are a moral people, probably everyone has sinned a little and so after death every Cayapa soul is scourged in hell. Periodically the soul is weighed and when the scale tips in favor of the soul over its sins, it goes to heaven.

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The matter of sin and sex so concern the Cayapa that when they were presented by the first missionaries with the account of Adam and Eve, they transformed it by saying that in the beginning Jesus created two men and two women. The women were not created from the ribs or any other part of the men's bodies, and so, everyone was properly nonrelated. From these four beings sprang the human race.

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At irregular intervals, a priest comes up from Limones for Christmas or Easter. He holds a brief service, consecrates marriages, and baptizes children. The Cayapa are very much taken with Catholic imagery and the use of candles. As the writer once watched the priest perform a marriage at Punta Venado, there was a brief contest of wills. The Cayapa wedding party had

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all lined up single file broadside to the altar. There were two bridal couples and the two sets of godparents, each couple clutching a lighted candle. The priest, an Italian, who had just arrived from missionary service in the Congo, told them that candles were not at all needed for the marriage service. The members of the wedding party looked somewhat discomfited, but they maintained their grips on the candles. The priest repeated his admonitions several times. There was no argument, but the Indians just stood there holding their candles in front of them. Finally, the priest, with a generous Italian shrug, said, "If you want to get married with candles, I'll marry you with candles, but you really don't need them." In a small way, Catholic flexibility had met Cayapa rigidity and the priest was beginning his accommodation.

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Easter is the most important holiday for the Cayapa. The day before Easter week, people begin arriving at the ceremonial center and set up housekeeping. The following day, most of the people have arrived. There were no special services, and most of the day was spent in clearing the plaza. The /ʌnʸi/ began the work of

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> means or another and endeavors to persuade her to leave the house with him for a time. According to others, he cautiously enters the house and passes a part of the night with her under her own mosquito canopy . . . These visits are repeated for some time, when the young couple announce their desire to marry and obtain the consent of their respective parents (Barrett 1925:321).

In 1959-60, in the Cayapa area generally, and particularly in the Punta Venado region, the custom of remaining sitting in silence was apparently no longer in vogue, except during the actual wedding celebration, when the groom does indeed sit off to one side in silence. However, the technique of nightly visitation is still a culturally approved method, but only one of several. [585]

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Stealing a Woman. Some men prefer to "steal a woman" for wife. This is called /súpu taŋgahímu/, /súpu/ "woman" and /tímu/ "to steal." Lorenzo Martín, commonly called /pičendé/, "a kind of crested bird" [a nick name he detested], preferred this approach to marriage. According to him, he met his first wife while canoeing along the river. They were both alone, and after some minutes of conversation, he proposed [551]

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marriage, and she accepted. Lorenzo claimed that he never consulted the girl's mother [her father was dead], as he was ashamed and afraid of her. Because Lorenzo's parents were dead, he moved into his mother-in-law's house. After several years the young couple was married by the Catholic priest in Punta Venado.

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After the death of his first wife, Lorenzo lived in his mother-in-law's house for about five years. He stated that after his wife died, her mother told him that he was no longer her son-in-law. Thereafter, apparently she either did not prepare his food or did not do so properly. Lorenzo says that he did not argue with her but continued living there for five years, nevertheless:

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One night Lorenzo attended a party given at the home of Antonio Largo. He saw his present wife there for the first time and was immediately attracted to her. While the men and women are somewhat separated at fiestas, the women serve the men guarapo /wápu/, a fermented sugar cane drink, and at these times some conversation may be had. Lorenzo told her that he wanted her to come away with him "immediately."

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determined woman will usually have her way, and many Cayapa women are determined:

Earlier, in the case of Carmelina, we saw that the relatives of the /ún^{y}i/ were not immune from being manhandled by a commission. In the following case we shall see an instance in which the very authority of the /ún^{y}i/ was flouted.

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Mother removes her daughter from the bridegroom's home. Several years ago Kalía wanted to send his sister to marry a man on the Río Camerones. The mother objected, saying that the girl was much too young. They all later went as guests to a baile de casamiento, that is, a wedding feast celebrated usually a year or two after a man and woman have been living together as man and wife. The late /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio, was asked by the prospective bridegroom's brother to deliver the girl, and this was done. The girl's mother said nothing at the time, but when she returned to the Río Camerones, she marched into the bridegroom's house and took her daughter home with her. The bridegroom's mother protested, but that was all. The elder brother

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Sapallo Grande to find another husband, but Segundo refused to allow her to go. Several years later the second wife's father came down, and the two men had harsh words nearly resulting in physical assault. The girl wanted to return with her father "but Segundo refused, being much stronger, and he knows more Spanish."

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Cristobal, by marrying the second wife in the Church, had placed himself in a position beyond the power of Cayapa law, and he could only be dealt with by Jesus himself. Segundo, it seems, had learned something from his uncle. He had the model of polygyny before him, and the speed with which he left his first wife to find a second well before the customary time for a Church wedding, indicates that he knew exactly what he was doing. The Cayapa consider one to be truly married only when the priest has performed the service. Whether this sophistry can be considered to be part of Cayapa legal thinking remains to be seen. The test will come, when, and if, Segundo visits any of the ceremonial centers during a fiesta.

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The statement " . . . and he knows more Spanish" appears to be something of a non sequitur; however, a man who speaks Spanish fluently to some extent controls

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the adjoining room, and placed the two under it. They were followed to the canopy by the musicians and by all the spectators, the former playing their rattles, beating their drums, and whacking sticks most noisily, and all calling and shouting and making every manner of fun. Having been thus escorted to their mosquito canopy, the ceremony was ended, and the bride and groom were at liberty to remove their finery, appear in their usual dress, and go about without further restriction. 585

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

586 684 in which, in order to escape the wrath of public opinion and castigation by the officials, offenders against the divorce laws have left the Cayapa country entirely and taken up their abode in Colombia or in the interior of Ecuador. The same applies to the laws relating to 582 684 marriage between near relatives. The evasion or the open violation of either the laws of divorce or those governing consanguineal marriage are, however, of such rare occurrence that the laws may be said to operate almost perfectly, and they, together with the laws requiring chastity and fidelity in both sexes, certainly produce a salutary moral effect on the community. In fact, it is most exceptional to find a tribe or a community of the size of the Cayapa in which the ethical standards are so high and so strictly observed.

DEATH

761 753 776 [754] As was stated in speaking of medicine practices, death is ordinarily attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body, whither they find their way by various means. For instance, they may be placed by some malicious shaman in the soul of the individual as it wanders about during sleep, or they may enter directly into the body as one passes some particular spot believed to be infested with these malicious, disease-breeding spirits.

774 775 177 There seems to be a difference of opinion as to the soul. One informant maintained that there are numerous souls, each residing in a different part of the body; that the one in the chest is the largest and most im-

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Romulo appeals to a White official. Romulo lived with his wife and children, as well as with a dependent woman relative named Ines Cimarrón; this relative had been divorced by her husband because all of their children had died soon after birth. She had gone to live with Romulo and his wife immediately after the divorce. Some time later, a commission composed of two Negroes named Nikola Ayovi and Aurelio Caruso, and an Indian named Dámian Largo, came up from Playa Grande at the request of Averticio Largo, a 'cousin' of Dámian. Averticio was a widower [and so could only marry a widow or a divorcee], and he specifically asked the commission to bring Ines for him. The members of the commission had been given a few gallons of rum for this favor. Romulo, however, refused to give the woman up, claiming that he needed her to watch the house and children when he and his wife were out working, since they had no other relations. The Negroes replied that they would use force if need be. At this, Romulo went for his machete, but, as he was ill at the time, he could not fight effectively. The woman was removed, crying, from the

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were involved in the demise of the man and his children. Jesus, they say, never punishes people while they are living, and the fact of having been punished on earth by a tribal official in no way mitigates one's punishment after death. The young man may have been killed by witchcraft, but the Cayapa aver that this is not supernatural punishment, and he probably "just died for whatever reason." 784 775

When asked why widows could only marry widowers, the answer was invariably, "Jesus ordered it that way." According to my informant, the couple was permitted to return to the community because of the children. They were still considered to be living in sin, but they had been punished, and now the matter was in the hands of Jesus. The /ʌnʸʟ/ had applied the law as far as he could. He could do no more. In a way very similar to the cases of polygyny, to be discussed in the next chapter, an innovation had been introduced into the community--a new behavioral pattern was available for emulation! For the Cayapa, the realm of sin seems to be the most fruitful for cultural change. 178 587 588 [789]

<u>Divorce</u>. Divorce is theoretically prohibited 586 795

among the Cayapa. It is forbidden by the Church through the person of the priest, who is seldom seen. Many Cayapa maintain that divorce is not proper. At the present time, divorce is possible for both sexes, but it is much more difficult for a woman to obtain. In one instance, a woman was married to a mental defective and she left him with the full approval of the community. In the case of the crippled Julio Tapuila, his wife was not permitted a divorce even though Julio had been very miserly with her. On the other hand, a man may divorce his wife if she is barren or has too many still-births. In one case, a man beat his wife because she only gave birth to girls; he threatened either to kill her or to throw her out of the home (divorce), if the next child were a girl.

The divorce procedure is quite simple. The woman is simply told to leave! There is usually some grumbling by the woman's parents, but to my knowledge, complaints are never made to any of the officials. Julio Tapuila's case above was complicated by polygyny.

Santiaguño hired a Negro to bring his children back after his wife left him. Santiaguño Aragu's first

wife did not like him, and after several years, she left, taking the children with her. Santiagueño was notified of the event by his brother while he was in the monte, working. He returned immediately and employed Joselino Caisero, the Negro Inspector of the village of Camerones to bring back his children. Joselino was paid one hundred sucres for his work. He located the woman near Sapallo Grande and removed the children. The woman cried bitterly and said that she wanted to return to her husband, but Santiagueño did not want her. He claimed that she had had lovers during the months that she had been gone. She denied this, but to no avail. Santiagueño did not mind losing his wife this way, because she was a nag "bravo y siempre charlando." She was later delivered to a man from the Punta Venado section. Santiagueño soon remarried, but the second wife died, and he then remarried a third time to the ex-wife of Antonio Blanco. Antonio had divorced his wife for being barren. "People said that it was not a nice thing to do, but no one demanded that he be punished."

Clearly the attitudes toward divorce had modified considerably, especially since Barrett's recording of the following case:

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A man refuses to go back to his wife after being punished.

The offenders were, in this case, a man and a woman. The man had deserted his wife and child after abusing them for a considerable time and had assumed relations with a young widow. He had therefore been guilty not only of infidelity and abuse, but also of violating the immutable law forbidding divorce. The woman's crime was somewhat less grave. Being a widow, she had a right to remarry, but she had no claim to the husband of another woman . . . both the offenders were placed in the stocks where they remained during the afternoon . . . About 9 o'clock a gathering assembled in the room, the man was taken from the stocks, and several of the officials, including the chief, made short speeches concerning the pair and their crime . . . Finally the commission of officers who had been sent in the morning to bring the two for punishment was called forth and its leader gave a ritualistic invocation, after which the offending man was brought forward and made to stand before the stocks . . . The chief then administered fifteen strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails . . . The culprit was destined to receive a greater number of strokes, but owing to the chief's infirmity due to a recent gun-shot wound, and to the fact that the culprit proposed to buy partial immunity with rum for the assemblage, he was given his liberty after receiving the punishment noted.

The woman was then brought forward and received ten strokes . . . Her case, however, was different from that of the man, and she was not set at liberty. By living with the man she had signified her desire to marry, hence it was determined to find a husband for her . . . [the following is reported for the next day]. The same pair of culprits . . . were brought in, placed in the stocks, and later castigated. The

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> woman received twenty-five strokes . . . while the man was given between thirty and forty strokes. The whipping of the man was due chiefly to the fact that he still refused to return to his family. The chief and others argued with him and tried again to persuade him to see the error of his way, but he stoutly maintained that he would not return, and the chief finally became so vexed that he gave the culprit a couple resounding slaps on the side of the head and remanded him to the stocks where he remained nearly the rest of the day. Toward evening he was liberated and was not further punished (Barrett 1925:402-407).

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By sheer determination, the culprit placed himself in a position where the chief was unable to cope with him and, in effect, the man was "permitted" to desert his family. His determination had placed him ultra vires [literally, beyond the power] vis à vis the chief and the law. The chief had gone as far as he could with the man, and finally, he could do no more than lose his temper. Barrett records that the culprit later left with his paramour, after she had been delivered in marriage to another.

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why he had delivered Margarita to his brother who was too young for marriage, he remained silent. The punishment was to be fifty lashes each, but since they kept protesting their innocence, the sentence was reduced to twenty lashes each.

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About a year after the death of Cristobal's first father-in-law, a son of the dead man named Gorce Cimarrón went to Colombia to hire a Cholo witch in an attempt to find out who had killed his father. The Cholo reported that Cristobal was the guilty one; so Gorce went to Cristobal's house and accused him of the murder, but Cristobal did not reply. Three days later Cristobal was dead. Several years later, one of Cristobal's brothers, Arcinto, heard of the affair and went looking for a witch. Gorce died a few years later, and his death was said to have been caused by the witch hired by Arcinto. Arcinto still lives in Vicha where he also has two wives. He has never been punished as he never goes to the ceremonial center for fiestas.

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In the space of certainly not more than a decade the above case is found in at least one alternate version.

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Mariano takes a second wife. Mariano lived up the Río Esmeraldas and was married to the daughter of Pedrito Añapa's paternal grandfather. They had three children, two girls and one boy. Mariano went looking for another wife near San José on the Río Cayapas. He had divorced his first wife and her father was very angry over the affair. Consequently, the woman's brother went to talk to Mariano who said that he had taken divorce action because this woman did not work or cook well. He also complained that she was older than he and slightly lame. Mariano was a witch, and he told the first wife's brother that he was going to kill his father. About a year later, the old man did indeed die. Following this, the brothers of the first wife went to Santo Domingo de los Colorados and found a Colorado witch who told them that the death was caused, not by God, but by a man--namely, Mariano. For two hundred and fifty sucres the witch offered to kill Mariano. The price was paid and Mariano died about four months later. The affair ended at this point with no attempts at revenge.

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While there are differences in names and locations and in the length of time leading to the death

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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of the father-in-law, the plot is the same and the kinship relations of the dramatis personae are the same. In both versions, the murdered man's son goes to seek revenge with the aid of foreign witches. The first version reports that Cristobal came up from Viche to cure Margarita, while in the second version, Mariano came up to San José. Margarita who is the wife of Alejandro of Encanto was said to have been the second wife of Cristobal and she was born near San José. While the unity and historicity of the two tales is not certain, it is reasonably sure. It is of some interest that polygyny is not a factor in the second version. In both stories, the first wife leaves the home with apparent reluctance. The second version was told to me by a member of the first wife's family and leads me to believe that the bone of contention that initiated the chain of events which culminated in murder was not polygyny but, rather, the divorce. It is of considerable interest to note that in the first version, Arcinto is said to be still living with two wives in Viche up the Río Esmeraldas and that he has never been punished. Clearly, one can avoid punishment by leaving the community at a distance sufficiently great to make the sending of a commission too expensive.

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the Río Verde. In fact, she said that she planned to go there with her late husband's brother. Her complaint was that the Rosenda household was "sad, bad, much crying and beating." She wanted to leave her husband permanently. According to my informants, this would be a valid divorce, considering the polygynous circumstances, and she could then remarry. She had left Rosenda without her children, because "the father did not send them along," and therefore within a few days she returned home to Rosenda. It was being said at the time that Rosenda was looking for a third wife.

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The area around Cojimíes is a bustling center of the banana trade, and the Cayapa who live there are very well off financially. The people of the San Miguel section are the furthest removed from the banana trade and from time to time go to the coastal areas to work. Sometimes they work for Whites and sometimes for Negroes, but mostly they seek work on Cayapa-owned land. For the first time non-related Cayapa may live and work together and opportunities for liasons are greatly increased. In some instances, as in the following case, they end in a polygynous marriage.

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father, and they argued. Roberto claimed that he needed two wives, and, being a rich brujo, he could afford them. Furthermore, the second wife could supply him with children. Romulo's father replied that Roberto should know well what he was doing in his own heart, and after death, Jesus would punish him.

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The case materials so far presented indicate that the polygynists and would-be polygynists have been wealthy and powerful dissidents. The following case of Segundo Añapa is a contrary instance that portends of major changes to come.

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Poor man attempts polygyny. Julio Tapullo who lived a short distance below Sapallo Grande had a crippled left arm. His wife, María Cimarrón, deserted him for another man named Segundo Añapa. Segundo who lived near Playa Grande on the Río Cayapas was already married to Petrona Cimarrón who was not related to María. Despite the objections of his first wife, he and María lived together for over a month. A 'niece' of Petrona met Aurelio who is one of the /cá·tala/ from the Río Camerones; she met him when he was bringing in bananas for sale directly to the boat at San Antonio.

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She told him the story, and when Aurelio returned home, he notified the /úny̆i/, Gabriel, and the case was brought up at Punta Venado during Christmas of 1960. Julio Tapullo, looking somewhat embarrassed, stood alone off to one side with his crippled left arm, supported by his right arm, laid across his chest. He was dressed in rather shabby clothing. [Most Cayapa try to wear new clothing to a fiesta.] His wife and Segundo stood somewhat apart in the center of a circle composed of about sixty people. Everyone, including the /úny̆i/, was very drunk. Gabriel asked why María had left her husband, and she replied that Julio was not supporting her and that he never bought her cloth and jewelry. Julio flatly denied everything. People in the crowd were saying that Julio could do as much work with his one good arm as most men could do with two. In the discussion between Gabriel and the two culprits it became obvious that they had come into contact quite accidently. Segundo had been out looking for a second wife at the same time that María had left Julio, and they met on the Río Onzole. Gabriel asked Segundo why he had felt he had to look for another wife when he already had three children, but

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Segundo did not reply. In the crowd the murmur went around, "por gusto," for pleasure. [Best translated here as, "for the hell of it."] They both received two hundred and fifty lashes, and as a Cayapa woman does not live by plantain alone, Gabriel advised Julio to spend more money on his wife.

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Again it is seen that Cayapa women are capable of direct action, but much more important, a case of polygyny had been successfully legally quashed. Compare, however, the severity of the sentence with that of Rosenda: two hundred and fifty lashes versus twenty, plus a thirty sucre fine. Cayapa law can handle the "little man." It is almost as if polygyny were becoming quasi-respectable. Gabriel implied that Segundo had no need for another wife, since he had children. The lack of follow-up action directed against the rich and powerful and the severe quashing that Segundo received may signal the formation of a class-structured society wherein polygyny is legally restricted to the wealthy. In any event, the chief in discussing with me all of the on-going cases of polygyny presented above denied his responsibility. He said that even though all of them were living in sin, everything was actually

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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The woman was then brought forward and received ten strokes, or fifty lashes. Her case, however, was different from that of the man, and she was not then set at liberty. By living with the man she signified her desire to marry, hence it was determined that a husband should be found for her. She was therefore placed under a guard of three officers for the night, while the officials set about to find a man who would consent to take her as his wife. She was thus held in custody until January eleventh. Meantime an old man living on the Rio Camarones was found who was willing to marry her. As a matter of fact, her relatives had tried to arrange the same marriage some months before, but as she was unwilling to marry the old man, the priest had refused on his last visit to the village in October, to perform the ceremony. When the boda ended on the afternoon of January tenth the woman was given into the custody of the chief's wife, being held in the chief's house until the following morning, when a commission of three officers called for her and delivered her to the old man who was supposedly destined to become her husband. As a matter of fact, she remained with him only a few days, when she and her paramour stole away to parts unknown.

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Second day. January ninth, 1909

A short service was held as usual in the church, followed by another ofrenda. This was marked by disorder in dividing the food, everyone grabbing for what he considered a proper share. This was in very bad taste, according to Cayapa etiquette, and was loudly condemned by the older men. This misbehavior was prob-

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known to one while living; however, there is one exception, this one being that one's /padéna?ápa/, the god-father of the wedding, who sees the newly arrived soul and calls its name. In heaven one is re-united with the god-father and not the father. This story indicates that the major relationship that is set up is between the bridal couple and the padrinos and not between compadres. The marriage padrinos tend to be of the same generation as the bridal couple, and the feeling is that it is best to select padrinos from within the kindred. Padrinos are always man and wife, so that if one wishes a particular individual to be his padrino, then his wife automatically becomes his madrina. If incest taboos did not apply before, they are now extended, and the children of all of the ritual-kin are forbidden to marry each other.

Except for remarriage, when it is permissible to choose new padrinos for the new marriage, it would appear that the ties of the marriage compadrazgo could not multiply "to meet the accelerated rate of change." I have the slightest suggestion of evidence that indicates that this may very well be happening. I was

marriage, and she accepted. Lorenzo claimed that he never consulted the girl's mother [her father was dead], as he was ashamed and afraid of her. Because Lorenzo's parents were dead, he moved into his mother-in-law's house. After several years the young couple was married by the Catholic priest in Punta Venado.

After the death of his first wife, Lorenzo lived in his mother-in-law's house for about five years. He stated that after his wife died, her mother told him that he was no longer her son-in-law. Thereafter, apparently she either did not prepare his food or did not do so properly. Lorenzo says that he did not argue with her but continued living there for five years, nevertheless!

One night Lorenzo attended a party given at the home of Antonio Largo. He saw his present wife there for the first time and was immediately attracted to her. While the men and women are somewhat separated at fiestas, the women serve the men guarapo [aigue], a fermented sugar cane drink, and at these times some conversation may be had. Lorenzo told her that he wanted her to come away with him "immediately."

and she agreed. Now, with a new wife, neither he nor his mother-in-law wanted to live under the same roof. Feelings of anger and/or disapproval on the part of parents and kin of the dead spouse to the remarriage of the surviving spouse are not uncommon among the Cayapa. There is some feeling that the death may have been caused by the survivor. 587 [578] [761]

An interesting point emerges that is part of a general Cayapa theme: Lorenzo waited about five years before remarrying, and apparently the motivation lay not so much in his sexual needs, as in his appetite for food. His mother-in-law was not preparing his meals properly. It should be kept in mind that, by Cayapa standards, a man who is capable of /súpu taʒgahísu/, who can actually walk up to a woman and propose to her, is deserving of envy, awe, and admiration. This means that such a man is sexually forward and aggressive. Many, if not most, Cayapa men are very hesitant and uncertain about sex and marriage. While chastity is not particularly valued, men in their twenties who claim to have had no sexual intercourse are not uncommon. Women, on the other hand, lose their virginity much 583 831 831 [836] [584]

[See "to steal a woman" - ANALYST]

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of the would-be bridegroom notified Arcilio who, in turn, sent Bardonero Cimarrón who is 'family' to the bridegroom to demand that the girl be delivered. Kalía also remonstrated with his mother. Finally, she stated that as long as the girl seemed to be pregnant, she would agree to the marriage. 584 627

Not only did the mother flout the authority of the /ʌnʸʟ/, it is very likely that if she had been strongly adamant, she would perhaps have been whipped, but she would have kept her daughter. The matter of marriage commissions is most intriguing. Clearly, this sort of match-making could not take place in a society in which there were strong corporate bodies, where family extensions were important. In a society as loosely structured as is the Cayapa, the marriage commissions could rove the countryside with a minimum of interference.

<u>Widows and Widowers</u>. Max Reiman states that widows and widowers never remarry among the Cayapa (Reiman 1931:387). My studies among the Cayapa fail completely to substantiate Reiman's statement. In point of fact, most widows and widowers remarry, the only 587 [114] [582]

stipulation being that they may not marry a person who has never been married before. There is some feeling that an inexperienced youth should not marry an experienced woman. A widower may marry an unmarried girl if she has been in some way sexually delinquent. In this case, it is felt that she is a sinner and should not be foisted upon an innocent youth. In some instances, as in the following case, the youth is not at all adverse to the advances of a widow.

A widow marries a single youth. Augustín's mother had been widowed twice. This time she wanted to marry a young man who had never been married. She mentioned this several times to people, including her son. Augustín objected however, on the basis that this was not proper for a widow to do. Rather, he urged that she keep her eye out for a widower. Nevertheless, his mother clandestinely made love to the young man to whom she was attracted and became pregnant by him. She gave birth to a boy whom she immediately killed and then went to the ceremonial center of Punta Venado with her sister and buried the infant. During the next Easter fiesta at Punta Venado, Augustín advised the chief of

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this incident and asked that his mother be punished. Both the young man and the widow however, suspected that they would be punished, and did not go down to the fiesta. The /ʔuʔi/ sent up a commission composed of one Indian and two Negroes who were ordered to apprehend them. Augustín paid the Negroes twenty sucres each and bought a few bottles of rum for the Cayapa.

The couple were brought before Arcilio and punishment was set at ninety lashes each. In addition, the woman was fined fifteen sucres for burying the infant in Punta Venado and was advised by the /ʔuʔi/ to marry a widower. The young man claimed that the woman was to blame for the illicit relationship and that she was always after him and wanting to marry him. After the official punishment had been meted out, Augustín beat his mother. Several months later the youth ran away to the Río Esmeraldas area with this widow. They remained there for two years. After two or three children were born to them, they returned to the Río Cayapas. This couple was permitted to live together, but later the husband and all of the children died within a year.

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The Cayapa maintain that no supernatural sanctions

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were involved in the deaths of the man and his children. Jesus, they say, never punishes people while they are living, and the fact of having been punished on earth by a tribal official in no way mitigates one's punishment after death. The young man may have been killed by witchcraft, but the Cayapa aver that this is not supernatural punishment, and he probably "just died for whatever reason."

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When asked why widows could only marry widowers, the answer was invariably, "Jesus ordered it that way." According to my informant, the couple was permitted to return to the community because of the children. They were still considered to be living in sin, but they had been punished, and now the matter was in the hands of Jesus. The /kaʔu/ had applied the law as far as he could. He could do no more. In a way very similar to the cases of polygyny, to be discussed in the next chapter, an innovation had been introduced into the community--a new behavioral pattern was available for emulation! For the Cayapa, the realm of sin seems to be the most fruitful for cultural change.

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Divorce. Divorce is theoretically prohibited

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[For examples of unsanctioned polygynous marriages see category 116, pp. 171-188.]

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<u>Divorce</u>. Divorce is theoretically prohibited 586
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The incestuous widow. The widow of the late /ũn^{y}i/, Arcilio, became pregnant by the son of Arcilio's brother, Arcide. They were both sentenced to fifty lashes but the boys' mother complained that this was too much, and that thirty lashes would be sufficient for her son. No one spoke up for the widow, and so she received the full fifty lashes for incest, even though prior to her marriage to the late /ũn^{y}i/ she and the boy were not related.

As sexual matters fall into the realm of sin for the Cayapa, a determined sinner, in the last analysis, can only be handled by God and not by law. The Cayapa are unable to cope effectively with a determined deviant, in most instances. Attitudes towards incest outside of the nuclear family seem to be changing, as illustrated in the following case.

When incest is no longer incest. Lorenzo Añapa of the Río Camerones was married to his /ãpinatsũhki/, 'father's brother's daughter.' They lived together for two months and then left to attend a fiesta at Punta Tigado. Camilio Blanco notified the /ũn^{y}i/, Arcilio, who ordered that they each be whipped forty lashes.

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Lorenzo was then told to give up his cousin, but when they all returned home from the fiesta, he took her back immediately. Meanwhile, a woman was sent down from Sapallo Grande to him, but he refused her, saying that he already had a wife. His wife's father said that he did not mind if Lorenzo married his daughter, and the girl's brother, Nuru, said that he was in favor of the marriage, and added, "they are not very close relatives anyway." Since the family of the girl did not object to this marriage, people did not gossip much, and Arcilio said that he would not punish them again, that "Jesus would know what to do when they died."

[626]

Lorenzo had a reputation for being a good worker, and his cousin's family were happy to keep his economic services within the family. Their insistence that it was all proper and that, as first cousins, they were not closely related anyway was such a strong violation of Cayapa thought regarding incest that the couple were placed beyond the power of the law, ultra vires, and the burden of punishment was shifted to the supernatural. We stated that anyone who witnesses an

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incestuous act performed by strangers or members of his family will make the act known. There is one exception reported. A truly determined deviant as was Pablo Candelabu can get away with repeated incest.

The determined incestuous couple. Pablo Candalabu had been committing incest with his sister, who later gave birth to twins. Pablo took these new-born infants and threw them into the river, but the bodies were found by a Negro who went to the Teniente Político. The police came and arrested Pablo and his sister, resulting in their being fined, as well as jailed for a year. After their release from jail, they came to Encanto, where they continued living together. People gossiped and Pablo's "uncle" Gerardo, went to the Río Onzole, to get him a wife. Three months later they found a husband for his sister in San Miguel. When Pablo's sister later died, her husband did not cry at her funeral, claiming that he did not feel any grief because the woman was really her brother's wife and not his own. He then related at the funeral how once when he was out fishing at night, he came back to the house very quietly with the lamp extinguished and heard Pablo making love

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non-compromise position. Persistence in transgression, however, is tantamount to the defense of new value positions that leads to de facto compromise. The Cayapa judge, with the legal avenues that are open to him, cannot handle a strong personality, that is, one that either develops new values, as the polygynist, or the one that refuses to be deterred from wrongdoing, as in the case of the persistently incestuous couple.

Eventually, de facto compromise may assume the dignity of social acceptance. The affective restraint of the poor would-be polygynist, as opposed to the de facto acceptance of the wealthy polygynists, may lead to the formation of class distinctions: that is, a wealthy man will be permitted to have more than one wife but a poor man will not be permitted to enjoy this privilege. Normally, it would be expected that incest could achieve social acceptance only with great difficulty, but from an examination of the case of Lorenzo Knape (p. 139) it becomes clear that the incest range for some people is narrowing considerably, for in this case the incestuous arrangement has been given the express approval of the families concerned and de facto

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compromise on the part of the /[illegible]/ permits the continuance of this union.

Many things somewhat beyond the ordinary cannot be handled directly, but only by means of de facto compromise or latently. Every society is an action system that in one degree or another utilizes specific innovations for definite ends. Often, the latent functions of an innovation incur more sweeping changes than do the manifest ones. For example, the manifest function of the Indian school was to increase literacy. Its latent function was to increase homosexual behavior. The cultural emphasis for the Cayapa seems to be that of latency, and sweeping changes come about, not because they are sought, but because the socio-psychological matrix of the law can only permit de facto acceptance of threats to basic values.

Cayapa law, in terms of de jure decisions is not at all able to "redefine relations between individuals and groups as the conditions of life change" (Roebel 1954:273). Cayapa culture is not, however, moribund. Extraordinary socio-cultural changes are taking place precisely because the law cannot accommodate

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

neighbor, though occasionally two or three houses may be within sight of one another along the river. In no case, however, is there an approach to communal life, each family forming an individual unit with family property-rights. There is, to be sure, a central government, the head of which is an hereditary chief, or *gobernador*, as he is at present called after the Spanish fashion. The purposes of this central government are strictly those of preserving law and order, settling controversies between individuals, and punishing infringements upon recognized social customs. In no case is there any interference by the central government with property or other recognized family rights and privileges.

A family, as the term is here used, consists of husband, wife, children, and dependents. By dependent is meant not necessarily one who is supported by the others, but one not having a house and a family of his own and who may choose to reside with some family, usually a closely related one. These dependents are usually newly-married sons or daughters, or are parents, grandparents, or other relatives of the head of the house or of his wife.

The daily life of the Cáyapa is a busy routine for all members of the household, especially the women. In addition to the cooking, keeping the house in order, and attending to the wants of the smaller children, the mother of the household is kept busy spinning, weaving cloth, and making baskets, mats, fans, and pots, to say nothing of the work she does in the care of the crops and the gathering of the wild foods.

small temporary shelters called by the Spanish term *ranchos*. In general construction these *ranchos* are similar to the permanent houses, but they may be only a foot or two off the ground. As the property holdings of most Cayapa are scattered, many build second permanent houses at other convenient sites and alternate residences as the farming situation dictates. If relatives have a house in the area already, then a new house need not be built, and shelter is taken with the kin. It is possible for a family to have no permanent abode of its own but rather to shift back and forth between relatives who happen to live near their property. This, however, is a very rare occurrence, and in the few cases recorded, I suspect that it is transitory. A "complete" person "*un hombre completo*" to be fully adult should be master of his own house. Pedrito Ahapa, for example, was living with relatives, but he was bewitched and suffered from many illnesses, and in addition his land was "spoiled" by witchcraft. Despite this, he still felt that the best thing for him to do was to get some land elsewhere, and set up an independent household.

Subsistence Activities. Farming is the main occupation

in-laws grandparents. By reversing Barrett's statement in line with this simple observation it can be said that the primary meaning of /ančápa/ is 'father-in-law' and secondarily and tenuously, 'grandfather.' 601

Descent is today still bi-lateral, and residence is still bi-local with neo-locality as a very common alternate. Murdock in discussing incest taboos and their extensions placed the Cayapa in class B2-M1-F1. 611 591 582 114

> B2. Minimal Bilateral Extension.--marriage forbidden or disapproved with all first cousins but permitted with at least some second cousins.
> M1. Matrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend marriage prohibitions further in the female line than in any other.
> F1. Patrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend prohibitions further in the male line than in any other (Murdock 1949: 302-303).

Murdock in this classification went beyond the data presented by Barrett; the Cayapa should have been classified in the category of Normal Bilateral Extension. Kindreds are unreported by Barrett, but are established in our data. There are two terms which may be translated as 'family' or 'kindred,' /pándatála/, /pánda/ 'food, plantain,' /-tála/ 'together,' and /búlutála/. Maximino Mendoza Añapa's father's brother brought him a woman to marry, but Maximino refused, saying that she is /lála búlutalába/ 'we-family-together-with.' The 612 582

and say that it is because Jesus said that if the world comes to an end while many Cayapa are living, it would be very sad for them: it is therefore necessary for many infants to die. The population figures do indeed indicate that the Cayapa are not reproducing. For the Río Camarones there is an average of 3.5 living children for each woman of childbearing age and almost 17 per cent sterility among the women.-

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Adoption.- Children will be adopted within the kindred, if the parents should die, but there is seldom adoption of non-related children or of illegitimate children. There are a few instances of an illegitimate child's being kept by the mother, but more often she will kill it at birth. The mother may offer the child for adoption, but the general feeling is that such a child having been conceived in sin is non-Christian, and few people want such a child. The Christian thing to do, they feel, is to kill it.

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There is something in the nature of short-term "loans" of children. A child is sometimes sent to live with an "uncle" or other near relative for varying periods of time. In some cases the relatives are

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childless and desire a son or daughter: in other cases the relatives may need extra help on the land. Sometimes the child stays permanently with his kin, returning to his parents for brief periods when requested to do so. In these instances the parent-child relationship is always retained but the child may lose his parental inheritance: however, he presumably has a claim for his patrimony from the estate of the relative with whom he has lived and worked. This will be discussed in greater detail in the legal material that concerns land and its sale or inheritance.

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Childhood. During Cayapa infancy and early childhood the children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training well before the anal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely as illustrated in the following excerpt from the writer's notes:

> . . . Augustin's wife was sitting on the floor by the machine, nursing her child [her seventh] the older boy is sitting next to her and she seems to be taking special pains with the older boy [four years]. She kept her right arm around him, stroking his head while the infant nursed . . . suddenly this picture of maternal love and affection changed radically. The infant

by the children.

Boys are now beginning to be sent to school when they reach seven or eight years of age. The school is located up the Río Camarones at Encante which, in 1960, comprised six houses with a shifting population of about forty. Children from up the river stay with relatives during the school year and go home on weekends and school holidays. This is a most unusual situation, since prior to the introduction of the school, Cayapa children had very little interaction with non-household children, and now new interaction patterns are developing. Education is prized and attendance is regular. Girls remain at home and attend to their household chores. Parents prefer not to send girls to school, despite the urging of the teacher, because "they will write love letters" and, more importantly, they are needed to take care of younger siblings while the parents are out working. Girls begin very early to learn to take care of children, to sweep, to carry water, and to cook. They tend to be quite responsible while taking care of younger siblings, but sometimes they are inclined to be rough. If for example, the

marriage, and she accepted. Lorenzo claimed that he never consulted the girl's mother [her father was dead], as he was ashamed and afraid of her. Because Lorenzo's parents were dead, he moved into his mother-in-law's house. After several years the young couple was married by the Catholic priest in Punta Venado.

After the death of his first wife, Lorenzo lived in his mother-in-law's house for about five years. He stated that after his wife died, her mother told him that he was no longer her son-in-law. Thereafter, apparently she either did not prepare his food or did not do so properly. Lorenzo says that he did not argue with her but continued living there for five years, nevertheless!

One night Lorenzo attended a party given at the home of Antonio Largo. He saw his present wife there for the first time and was immediately attracted to her. While the men and women are somewhat separated at fiestas, the women serve the men guarapo /wápu/, a fermented sugar cane drink, and at these times some conversation may be had. Lorenzo told her that he wanted her to come away with him "immediately."

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1961 SD6 Cayapa SD6

[illegible]

The *Cayapa* economic unit is the virtually self-sufficient, one-family household. Land is owned and worked familially, and there is as much land to be had as the family can clear. If any special rules govern distribution and inheritance, they are not reported by our sources. Also, there seem to be very few provisions for interhousehold cooperation: men will help a neighbor bring down a tree trunk from the hills, but all other activities are evidently left to individual enterprise.

This self-sufficiency does not apply to all spheres of activity. Machetes and rifles are essential in jungle life, and most families make at least one trip a year to the coast for trading and social purposes. In the small Ecuadorean and Colombian towns they find a ready market for rubber, tagua nuts, and other forest products. Cacao is grown specifically for this trade. There is also a limited market for some of their manufactures: canoes, mats, bags, and other basketry. In exchange, the *Cayapa* want metal goods: axes, machetes, shotguns, fishhooks, fish spears, and copper tubing for their distilleries. But they also like beads and mirrors, pearls, coats, and old derby hats. In recent years machine-made muslins and calicoes have been edging out native-made cloth.

The *Cayapa* are not yet incorporated in Ecuadorean economy. Their need for metal goods and trinkets has not yet forced them to work on plantations or in placer gold mines. Their own supply of rum has helped them avoid debts contracted for alcohol, and they have usually retreated into the forest when their self-sufficiency has been menaced. It is improbable that this selective acculturation can last very long.

[illegible]

The basic *Cayapa* social unit is the household. Though there is no definite indication as to size and composition, it appears to be an extended family including normally no more than 10 to 12 people. Chief Antonio Naya's house at Punta Venado could seat some 40-odd people at a feast, but it was unique in size, and the Naya household according to Bassoro (1894) had only 8 to 10 members.

Barrett (1925) presents a detailed chart of kinship terms used by the *Cayapa*. We unfortunately know nothing about the behavior that goes with the terms or about marriage rules. On the face of it the system is a "lineal" one—collateral relatives are separated from lineal ones but are not differentiated among themselves. Thus, the term for uncle applies to both paternal and maternal ones. All terms are highly descriptive. There is no evidence of reciprocal use of terms, but Barrett's chart is not really complete. The system is quite unique and interesting.

The lineal and descriptive nature of the kinship system emphasizes the bilateral character of the *Cayapa* family. There is no clan organization. The extended family household is the truly basic social unit. There is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ethics is very high among the Cayapa themselves, and any case of unfaithfulness, if such were to be discovered among themselves, would be most severely dealt with. About 1897 or 1898 two negroes came to a Cayapa house, drove the men away, and took possession of the premises with the women occupants. On the following day the chief sent down the river a commission which conveyed to the local teniente politico at La Tolita the heads of the negroes, carefully wrapped in leaves of the hoja blanca, as well as the compliments of the chief, and with an explanation as to the reason why the heads had been separated from the bodies. Incidentally the explanation conveyed the intelligence that future offenses of this kind would be punished in like manner. The teniente politico was requested to forward to the governor at Esmeraldas the two heads and the above message, but owing to the rapidity of decomposition in the tropics, it was deemed best to give the governor the benefit of the message only. Fortunately for all parties concerned the governor's reply, it is said, was a complete vindication of the action of the Cayapa. So far as could be learned, no similar crime has been committed since that time.

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DAILY LIFE

The social organization of the Cayapa has a strictly family basis, although according to their own traditions they formerly lived, when at Ibarra and Pueblo Viejo, in village communities. At present each family regularly lives entirely separated from every other family, and usually at a considerable distance from its nearest

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

neighbor, though occasionally two or three houses may be within sight of one another along the river. In no case, however, is there an approach to communal life, each family forming an individual unit with family property-rights. There is, to be sure, a central government, the head of which is an hereditary chief, or *gobernador*, as he is at present called after the Spanish fashion. The purposes of this central government are strictly those of preserving law and order, settling controversies between individuals, and punishing infringements upon recognized social customs. In no case is there any interference by the central government with property or other recognized family rights and privileges.

A family, as the term is here used, consists of husband, wife, children, and dependents. By dependent is meant not necessarily one who is supported by the others, but one not having a house and a family of his own and who may choose to reside with some family, usually a closely related one. These dependents are usually newly-married sons or daughters, or are parents, grandparents, or other relatives of the head of the house or of his wife.

The daily life of the Cayapa is a busy routine for all members of the household, especially the women. In addition to the cooking, keeping the house in order, and attending to the wants of the smaller children, the mother of the household is kept busy spinning, weaving cloth, and making baskets, mats, fans, and pots, to say nothing of the work she does in the care of the crops and the gathering of the wild foods.

is favored. In these cases, it is always the rear of the house that is raised about four or five inches. The rear of the house is the cooking area, and it is here that the firebox is located. A common size for the firebox is four feet by five feet and it is packed with earth to a depth of four to six inches. Three rocks form a pot holder within which a fire is contained. There will generally be one such rock hearth for each related family resident in the house. Behind the kitchen area a bamboo ramp about three feet wide and twenty feet long serves the boys and men as a urinal; a hole about three feet out from the house serves the girls, women and infants.

The gabled roof is pitched at about a forty-five degree angle and is framed by long single lengths of bamboo. The thatch consists of the long leaves of the Tagua palm which may reach a length of fourteen to sixteen feet. From the midrib of the leaf, a series of leaflets extend out for approximately three feet. Two or three months before roofing, the leaves are cut down and collected in the Tagua patch and placed on a low bamboo rack for drying. Sometimes the Tagua patch is a considerable distance behind the house, in which

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

position. She generally controls the finances and is consulted before any major purchase is made. If a large sale is made--for example, that of a canoe--she is on hand to count the money. During fiestas she doles out the money to her husband for rum purchases. It is not at all unusual to see a man, already quite drunk, whine, wheedle, threaten, curse, and coax his wife for a few coins. He usually gets it, but ever so begrudgingly. A man and his wife work the fields together and she is adept in the use of a machete. They seem to be in agreement on most things that involve the house and their children. When a child is punished he never seeks aid and comfort from the other parent. Children were never seen playing one parent off against the other. It is doubtful whether this would ever occur to a child. Similarly, parents do not use their children as foils for their own individual advantages.

If grandparents are residing in the home, they are treated with respect by their children and grandchildren. The grandchildren often call them 'father' and 'mother.' Unless they are bedridden, the grandparents do a full share of work, and they continue working until

the last. The grandmother will often remain behind taking care of the young children while the parents are out working. She may punish the children either by admonition or by slapping them. Generally, there seems to be more roughhouse behavior among the children of the household when the grandparent(s) are present than when are just the parents.

When the in-laws and/or other relatives are resident in the house the same atmosphere tends to prevail. Each nuclear family occupies a section of the house. Sometimes a cubicle is built for sleeping and storing purposes. Meals are prepared separately and consumed individually. No one eats together as a group. The men are served first. One may be in a hammock, another seated on a bench, yet another may be standing off by himself at the front of the house watching the river. They eat where they are. The women and children eat after the men have eaten. They tend to form more of a group because of the proximity of the cooking area and they converse more together while they are eating than the men do.

Newcomers to the household group such as a new son or daughter-in-law, tend to be shy and quiet. In

time this passes. The daughter-in-law is expected to help her mother-in-law when needed, but as both women have to work with and cook for their respective husbands, no onerous burdens are placed on the daughter-in-law. The household has no direction as such. Each nuclear family attends to its own tasks. If asked, they aid in the planting and weeding of the gardens of other co-residents but only if this does not detract from their own work. In temporary work-visits a man works for his in-laws in the following way. A man works with the man who married his sister but not with brothers of his brother-in-law. On the other hand, a man is expected on request, to work for any of the brothers and/or parents of his wife.

Distant kin who may be referred to just as "family" may be resident in the household for varying periods of time, sometimes for years. No special disabilities are entailed and behavior is as described for close kin.

Compadrazgo. The indisputable mark of Iberian contact in the New World is in the social institution

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and never by way of organized groups. There were no political groups, just individuals who occasionally voiced dissatisfaction.

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John Embree in his comparison between Thai and Japanese social systems wrote in terms of close and loose structures:

> Loosely integrated here signifying a culture in which considerable variation of individual behavior is sanctioned (Embree 1950:182) . . . Where social structure is "close"--that is, where the behavior of the people conforms closely to the formal social patterns of human relations . . . it is difficult for an individual to deviate, and reciprocal rights and duties are clearly marked and carried out (Embree 1950:185).

Cayapa social organization is, in these terms, loosely integrated, and Cayapa behavior is marked by individuality but not by individualism. That is, there is no ethic of individualism, rugged or otherwise, held as an ideal, but rather the sociological concomitants of a bi-laterally structured kinship system, lacking corporate kin groupings, coupled with the lack of permanent action groups of any kind, usually preclude social involvements on other than an individual basis. A possible exception to this may be

[592]

found in the household consisting of several related nuclear families, but even here, the group is contingent upon circumstances, variable in personnel and unstable in duration. Members of the household are in constant movement, tending their far flung farm plots, visiting kinfolk, traveling to the cities, and visiting curers.

The lack of corporate involvements for the Cayapa effectively restricts political behavior to periods of turbulence and uncertainty such as occurred after the death of the late /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio Pianchichi, and the installation of his nephew, Gabriel Añapa, as the new governor. It may be, that whenever the office passes out of the direct line from father to son, political disturbances develop which may be exacerbated by personality factors. This seems to have been the case with Gabriel whose involvement in political events will be discussed shortly.

In terms of being a loosely structured society, the Cayapa differ from the Thai as discussed by Embree in an important manner:

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Romulo appeals to a White official. Romulo lived with his wife and children, as well as with a dependent woman relative named Ines Cimarrón; this relative had been divorced by her husband because all of their children had died soon after birth. She had gone to live with Romulo and his wife immediately after the divorce. Some time later, a commission composed of two Negroes named Nikola Ayovi and Aurelio Caruso, and an Indian named Démian Largo, came up from Flora Grande at the request of Averticio Largo, a 'cousin' of Démian. Averticio was a widower [and so could only marry a widow or a divorcee], and he specifically asked the commission to bring Ines for him. The members of the commission had been given a few gallons of rum for this favor. Romulo, however, refused to give the woman up, claiming that he needed her to watch the house and children when he and his wife were out working, since they had no other relations. The Negroes replied that they would use force if need be. At this, Romulo went for his machete, but, as he was ill at the time, he could not fight effectively. The woman was removed, crying, from the

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2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

There is some evidence of patrilineality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, tenientes políticos, alcaldes, comisarios, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indian Braven were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The priest married them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The women do all the spinning and weaving of cloth, but the men sew all garments, not only for themselves but also for the small boys who have not yet learned to sew. This is due largely no doubt to the fact that the single garment worn by the women requires no sewing whatever, while the two garments worn by the men must be sewn.

At a very early age boys begin to learn the arts practised by their elders, hence they are instructed in hunting, fishing, woodworking, and similar useful accomplishments of the men.

It is customary among the Cayapa to arise at dawn, usually between five and five-thirty o'clock, and to retire as soon as darkness comes, or between six-thirty and seven o'clock. These hours vary little throughout the year, owing to the proximity of the equator.

The daily routine is usually about the same throughout the year, varying in event of a fiesta, or boda, which brings the people together at a particular village, from which, after some days of festivities, they return home. Another diversion is going down the river to the settlements. Sometimes this trip is made almost purely for pleasure and to obtain oysters and other sea foods, but more often these pleasure trips are combined with the selling of tagua, cacao, rubber, or plantains, and occasionally logs for lumber.

One of the most characteristic features of the daily life of the Cayapa is the devotion of the members of a family toward one another, especially that of parents toward their children. Few restrictions are placed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

few restrictions are placed

upon the children, and punishment is very rarely necessary. The children usually play together amicably, and the considerate care given by elder children to their young brothers and sisters is especially noticeable. The agriculture practised by the Cayapa requires a great deal of labor in connection with the various crops, especially plantains, sugar-cane, and cacao. In this cultivation the whole family joins, the children, even when very small, cheerfully doing their share in clearing away the weeds and brush that grow so rapidly in the tropics, and in harvesting the crops.

The children have various amusements, though no games in the ordinary sense of the term. They have several kinds of toys. Musical tops, such as those shown in pl. LXXXV, 2–5, made of gourds and certain large nuts, are much used. Wooden dolls of various mammal, bird, and human forms, such as those shown in pl. LXXXIV, are also much used. They have toy canoes varying from a few inches to several feet in length, and toy paddles for use with them. These canoes and paddles they use a great deal, especially when swimming, which is a very common and healthful amusement among both sexes.

The children are trained to this canoe life from infancy, and one of the first toys of a child is a paddle. At a very early age children are instructed in its use, so that even at the age of five or six years a child can take a small canoe and paddle along the river for short distances.

The children also play with small baskets, fans, mats,

Sex, Courtship, and Marriage. 800

Just as there are no special rites marking a boy's 831
entrance into puberty, there are similarly none for a
girl. When the menstrual periods begin, the girl is
not alarmed since she has heard the women speak of this
phenomenon and therefore knows what to expect. Girls
are "ashamed" to tell anyone when the menstrual dis-
charge /suúsa/ /su/ 'vagina', 'usa/ 'blood,' first ap-
pears. In fact, no one likes to talk about it at all, 841
but there are no taboos concerning it. The menstrual
discharge is not considered dangerous in any way, and
the women may eat anything, bathe in the river, work
in the gardens, and engage in sexual intercourse. The
women claim that they experience no cramping, nor other
discomfort during catomenia.

Household. Relations within the family tend to 593
be amiable and affectionate. Husband and wife may joke
with each other and with the children. The children [847]
are taught to respect their parents and other relatives,
but no special behavior is expected for different kinds
of relatives. It is expected however, that siblings
will form an especially intense bond and brother-sister

ties are often very tender. On one occasion while the writer was treating a man for a fever his married sister came in and knelt beside him. She put her mouth close to his ear and whispered to him while she gently stroked his back. It is said that brothers should work together on all things, that they should inherit and work land together.

Parent-child relationships are affectionate and close. Both parents play with their children and indulge them. Often children were brought in to the writer for an injection of penicillin. In these cases if the child cried and stated emphatically that he did not want it, the parents would not insist. Generally boy and girl children are treated much the same in play behavior with the parents and other siblings with one exception. Boy children, up to about the third or fourth year, are often held up at arms-length above the head of the older person who then lowers the child slowly. When the child is within reach, the older person then places his mouth over the child's genitals for a few seconds. This game is never played with girl children.

While husband and wife relationships tend to be affectionate, the woman is often in a near dominant

position. She generally controls the finances and is consulted before any major purchase is made. If a large sale is made--for example, that of a canoe--she is on hand to count the money. During fiesta she doles out the money to her husband for rum purchases. It is not at all unusual to see a man, already quite drunk, whine, wheedle, threaten, curse, and coax his wife for a few coins. He usually gets it, but ever so begrudgingly. A man and his wife work the fields together and she is adept in the use of a machete. They seem to be in agreement on most things that involve the house and their children. When a child is punished he never seeks aid and comfort from the other parent. Children were never seen playing one parent off against the other. It is doubtful whether this would ever occur to a child. Similarly, parents do not use their children as foils for their own individual advantages.

If grandparents are residing in the home, they are treated with respect by their children and grandchildren. The grandchildren often call them 'father' and 'mother.' Unless they are bedridden, the grandparents do a full share of work, and they continue working until

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at work and that the land is spoiled. The Indian will then sell the land for the best price offered but will often take a lower price to avoid selling to the Negro held to be responsible for the withdrawal.

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Sometimes, boys and young men are given sections of land as advance inheritances which they work as they wish, and their work validates their claim to the inheritance. Generally, only those children who have consistently helped the parents work the land are entitled to inherit. Ill will between parents and children need not enter into consideration at all. Marianico Añapa, for example, a son of Marianito Añapa of the Río Camarones, as a very young child was sent to live with his mother's brother in Bolona on the coast, possibly to get him away from an influenza epidemic in the inland area. He stayed with his uncle for many years and helped him work the land; later he set some out for himself. He used to return to his parents' home for visits of varying lengths of time, but the main attraction for him, however, seems to have been the school at Encanto. When needed, he helped his father work the land; however, he will not inherit any of the land because he said that it had all been promised to his brothers. Since he

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spent the greater part of his life living and working with his uncle presumably he will inherit land from the uncle. His rights to such an inheritance, however, are still legally ambiguous, as the following reported dispute indicates.

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A conflict of the principle of inheritance by work-validation and the principle of inheritance by kinship. Some years ago when tagua was still selling well, Romulo Añapa and Trivinio "owned" some land jointly. Trivinio's mother had been the legal owner of the land originally. The manner of kinship between Romulo and Trivinio is not known. Trivinio was lazy and "never" worked the land, whereas Romulo helped Trivinio's parents. After the death of Trivinio's parents, Romulo agreed to sell all of the land for about eight hundred sucres to Marianito Añapa "who is somewhat related." Meanwhile, Trivinio sold half of the land to Sanchi, his /ɛ̃in^{y}a/, 'sister's son.'

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One day, a widow related to Romulo and Sanchi built a small rancho on the section of land that Sanchi believed was his by purchase. He threw the old woman off the land and she went crying to Romulo, who became

who discussed land problems with the author. His arm described a broad arc over the Río Tayuyas flowing before us as he said, "The Cayapa think that they own the land, but they just hold it by our grace." It is small wonder indeed, that the Cayapa rumor mill creates innumerable variations on this basic theme.

As we have noted, it is generally agreed that the right of ownership is validated by working the land. Often a group of brothers will work the land together, which is regarded as an ideal situation as brothers should be together, just as the term for brother, /bá.tala/, means 'some together.' The actual working of the land imposes little problem concerning ownership, but for a stand of rubber trees that requires no maintenance at all, a problem is posed.

Rubber trees are divided into three parts for three brothers. Buru Cimarrón and his brother Segundo, came to blows at a party held at the school house in Encanto. Their father had owned a piece of land just below the rapids, up the Río Cameronas, on which were some rubber trees. Buru wanted to tap some of the rubber, but Segundo had arrived at the site first and made

off with the latex. Huru claimed that the land was his, as he was the eldest son, and Segundo agreed to leave the untapped trees for Huru. But they are three brothers, and the /ʃʷ^{y}ʟ/, to avoid further fighting, divided the land three ways among them. 423 685 593

<u>The rubber poacher keeps most of the profits.</u> Espíritu Santo had a piece of land on which was a stand of about fifteen rubber trees. Chapiro tapped them without permission and collected about fifty pounds of rubber. He turned the rubber over to his brother, Bertram, who went to Colombia with Pablo Añapa and two Negroes, Estupinián and Manuel Caisero. Bertram sold the rubber for Chapiro. Huru Cimarrón had noticed that the trees were tapped and told people that Ciro had done the poaching. But Santiagueño, Ciro's brother, had seen Chapiro skulking in the vicinity and told people that the trees had, in truth, been tapped by Chapiro. Huru's wife, who is Espíritu's sister, became very angry with Chapiro and said that if she were a man, she would beat him up. Some time later at a party in <u>Encanto</u>, Espíritu approached Chapiro and asked how much he had gained by the sale. Chapiro did not argue, and 685 627 423 [439] [177]

846 and demons; on the other hand it also aims at inducing the father to identify himself intimately with the child. Obviously the women, for whom these customs do not provide the least amount of consideration, quickly lose their earlier beauty and after a few years, they wilt and become horridly ugly.

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[689] white or black men or those of any other race, are killed without pity. In fact they are even forbidden to enter into innocent conversation with such men under threat of severe penalty. If one of the spouses dies, they do not remarry, remaining faithful to the
[764] dead. The dead are only buried when the corpse is already in a state of decomposition and when the pestilent smell has become unbearable.

574 While the villagers and inhabitants of other races in these parts
648 are very hospitable and will always offer hospitality to travelers, no matter how poor they are, even without expecting any remuneration, the Cayapa are an exception to this rule. They fear strangers on account of their women, who are not always safe from them; but most particularly they hate the Negroes who have repeatedly attacked their women forcibly. For this reason it is not easy to obtain shelter in Cayapa villages. As they have frequently also been robbed and mistreated by Negroes, they leave their huts as soon as a Negro settles in the neighborhood, and keep on withdrawing further inland. Thus they have already completely disappeared from the banks of the Santiago River and the lower course of the Cayapa River.

135 There still is a lot of gold in their region, as indeed there are
316 small layers of alluvial gold in all these rivers. But these Indians, with the exception of a few, more modern minded, and the renegades, do not collect it, nor do they wear gold ornaments. On the
[301] other hand none of them would tell a stranger where the yellow metal could be found, even if he were offered a fortune for his secret. From the Cayapa point of view gold is an accursed thing, which brought the white and the black devils into the country and was responsible for their being pushed back into the interior and
[648] robbed of their dominion. The Negroes, however, are their sworn enemies because they have too often had to suffer bitter injustice from them.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Gayapa SD6

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A FAMILY GROUP

PLATE XXIII GAYAPA INDIANS

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child being cared for can walk, it may be dragged along by one hand at a much too rapid pace, and it drags rather than runs behind. If the parents should see this the older girl is reprimanded and occasionally slapped.

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Adolescence. There are no special rites marking a boy's entrance into puberty. At adolescence the boy is not considered to be ready to assume the responsibility of adulthood. His training is much more protracted than that of the girls. For example, he must attain skill in canoe workmanship, and this may not be fully achieved until late teen age. He may be given a piece of land of his own to work, but even so, he must help his parents in their work, on demand. The criteria used to determine a boy's readiness for marriage are the following: he must be skillful in cutting his own canoe; he must acquire sufficient land to support a family; he should own a shotgun. The young man himself is often reluctant to assume new responsibilities despite the expectations of his adult associates. This will be discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with Sex, Courtship, and Marriage.

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the last. The grandmother will often remain behind taking care of the young children while the parents are out working. She may punish the children either by admonition or by slapping them. Generally, there seems to be more roughhouse behavior among the children of the household when the grandparent(s) are present than when are just the parents.

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When the in-laws and/or other relatives are resident in the house the same atmosphere tends to prevail. Each nuclear family occupies a section of the house. Sometimes a cubicle is built for sleeping and storing purposes. Meals are prepared separately and consumed individually. No one eats together as a group. The men are served first. One may be in a hammock, another seated on a bench, yet another may be standing off by himself at the front of the house watching the river. They eat where they are. The women and children eat after the men have eaten. They tend to form more of a group because of the proximity of the cooking area and they converse more together while they are eating than the men do.

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Newcomers to the household group such as a new son or daughter-in-law, tend to be shy and quiet. In

time this passes. The daughter-in-law is expected to help her mother-in-law when needed, but as both women have to work with and cook for their respective husbands, no onerous burdens are placed on the daughter-in-law. The household has no direction as such. Each nuclear family attends to its own tasks. If asked, they aid in the planting and weeding of the gardens of other co-residents but only if this does not detract from their own work. In temporary work-visits a man works for his in-laws in the following way. A man works with the man who married his sister but not with brothers of his brother-in-law. On the other hand, a man is expected on request, to work for any of the brothers and/or parents of his wife.

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Distant kin who may be referred to just as "family" may be resident in the household for varying periods of time, sometimes for years. No special disabilities are entailed and behavior is as described for close kin.

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Compadrazgo. The indisputable mark of Iberian contact in the New World is in the social institution

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marry her. In 1960 he seemed happy with his wife, especially since she gave birth to a boy, and since his marriage he apparently has stayed close to home.

It may be that the choice of a crippled wife for Chapiro was deliberate and with malice aforethought. Chapiro's reputation, however, extended beyond the sexual sphere, and he was known to be lazy and a poor worker. [illegible]omen would have refused him as a husband anyway. What is important, however, is the fact that the solution worked, and that Chapiro was effectively removed from circulation. It should be mentioned for the record that when he was queried about Chapiro's wife, Lorenzo Añapa reported, with what appeared to the writer to be no small measure of satisfaction, "She can't work very well in the fields because of her bad leg."

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For the Cayapa, marriages are not all made in heaven, and many times legal difficulties both attend and follow a marriage. The parents of Chapiro's bride did not object to her marriage at all; however, as women are economically useful, some families that lack one or another of the parents attempt to keep the

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4 Altschuler E-9 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

girl at home as long as possible. This may lead to disputes and hard feelings.

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Carmelina, a crippled girl, is taken by a marriage commission over the protests of her mother. The late chief, Arcilio, had a sister's daughter named Carmelina who was crippled in one leg. She lived with her mother and younger brother, near Playa Grande. One night a commission of two Negroes and two Indians came to take the girl to Alipio Cimarrón who also lived near Playa Grande. First, the two Indians came into the house leaving the two Negroes in the canoe. They spoke with the mother, but she did not want the girl to get married "as she was badly crippled." The two Indians pointed out that they had two Negroes with them, but the mother was adamant. The Indians then called in the Negroes who were named José Isidro and Añano Vallejo, both of Playa Grande. The four men came into the house and removed the girl by force. She fell outside of the house and began to cry, but they picked her up and placed her in the canoe, still crying. All the while, the mother kept shouting at the men, but the girl's brother remained silent, as he had been

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brother did not give him any advantage. The reluctance of some families to part peacefully with their unmarried female members stems in part from economic factors. Even though Carmelina was crippled, she was still of great assistance to her mother. Similarly, Alipio hoped to realize some profit from his sister's handiwork before permitting her to marry. As Carmelina's mother did not object to her daughter's marriage to the man from the Río Onzole, it can be assumed that he was more desirable as a son-in-law than either Alipio or his brother. She probably realized that she would not be able to prevent her daughter from leaving home much longer since the girl had made it clear, after her brief sojourn with Alipio, that she wanted a man--any man.

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The marriage commission as a device for arranging marriages is apparently very common although it is not always eufunctional. Quite often more problems are raised than are settled by the commission's attempt at match-making as witnessed in the following case.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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Polygyny. Max Heinan stated that "Die Cayapa leben in sehr harmonischer Ehe. Vielweiberei . . . gibt es bei ihnen nicht" (Heinan 1931:286). If the situation of pristine monogamy were true in 1931 or earlier in 1909, when Barrett reported nothing in the way of polygyny, it was certainly not true in 1960. To account for the change, we can look towards the expanding money economy that began to envelop the Cayapa several decades ago. Between 1931 and 1960, an economic factor of tremendous magnitude developed in Ecuador. Bananas began to be commercially valuable and in the boom period of the late 1940's and early 1950's the best prices were always to be had near the coast, and it was from the coastal areas that most of the following cases came.

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Cristobal uses his brother as a pawn to get a second wife. Cristobal, who lived at Viche, was a brujo or 'witch.' He came up from the coast one time to cure Margarita of an illness. She was single at the time. During the night while the curing session was going on, Cristobal seduced his patient. Later he asked her father to let him deliver her to his brother in Viche and the father agreed. When they arrived at Viche, it appeared

that the brother was much too young, whereupon Margarita agreed to marry Cristobal even though he was already married. They were subsequently married by a priest. Santian, Cristobal's brother, resented this and complained to the /ʌnʸi/, Arcilio. Margarita claimed that the charges were not true and that she had, indeed, been delivered to Santian and was living with him. Arcilio ordered Cristobal and Margarita to receive twenty lashes. The sentence was minimal because they claimed "never to have embraced." Then they were told that they would receive two hundred lashes if they made love from then on. When they returned to Viche from Punta Venado, Margarita lived with Santian for about four months; following this, Cristobal took her back. The brothers had harsh words but did not exchange blows. Cristobal's two wives appeared to live together amicably. About a year later the father of the first wife took his daughter back with him. She had been crippled for some time, and people were saying that Cristobal had bewitched her. When her father died soon afterwards, Santian accused his brother of having killed him. Cristobal's first wife confirmed this. However, Cristobal and Margarita denied the charge. When the /ʌnʸi/ asked

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why he had delivered Margarita to his brother who was too young for marriage, he remained silent. The punishment was to be fifty lashes each, but since they kept protesting their innocence, the sentence was reduced to twenty lashes each.

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About a year after the death of Cristobal's first father-in-law, a son of the dead man named Gorce Cimarrón went to Colombia to hire a Cholo witch in an attempt to find out who had killed his father. The Cholo reported that Cristobal was the guilty one; so Gorce went to Cristobal's house and accused him of the murder, but Cristobal did not reply. Three days later Cristobal was dead. Several years later, one of Cristobal's brothers, Arcinto, heard of the affair and went looking for a witch. Gorce died a few years later, and his death was said to have been caused by the witch hired by Arcinto. Arcinto still lives in Vicha where he also has two wives. He has never been punished as he never goes to the ceremonial center for fiestas.

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In the space of certainly not more than a decade the above case is found in at least one alternate version:

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Mariano takes a second wife. Mariano lived up the Río Esmeraldas and was married to the daughter of Pedrito Añapa's paternal grandfather. They had three children, two girls and one boy. Mariano went looking for another wife near San José on the Río Cayapas. He had divorced his first wife and her father was very angry over the affair. Consequently, the woman's brother went to talk to Mariano who said that he had taken divorce action because this woman did not work or cook well. He also complained that she was older than he and slightly lame. Mariano was a witch, and he told the first wife's brother that he was going to kill his father. About a year later, the old man did indeed die. Following this, the brothers of the first wife went to Santo Domingo de los Colorados and found a Colorado witch who told them that the death was caused, not by God, but by a man--namely, Mariano. For two hundred and fifty sucres the witch offered to kill Mariano. The price was paid and Mariano died about four months later. The affair ended at this point with no attempts at revenge.

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While there are differences in names and locations and in the length of time leading to the death

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of the father-in-law, the plot is the same and the kinship relations of the dramatis personae are the same. In both versions, the murdered man's son goes to seek revenge with the aid of foreign witches. The first version reports that Cristobal came up from Vichu to cure Margarita, while in the second version, Mariano came up to San José. Margarita who is the wife of Alejandro of Encanto was said to have been the second wife of Cristobal and she was born near San José. While the unity and historicity of the two tales is not certain, it is reasonably sure. It is of some interest that polygyny is not a factor in the second version. In both stories, the first wife leaves the home with apparent reluctance. The second version was told to me by a member of the first wife's family and leads me to believe that the bone of contention that initiated the chain of events which culminated in murder was not polygyny but, rather, the divorce. It is of considerable interest to note that in the first version, Arcinto is said to be still living with two wives in Vichu up the Río Esmeraldas and that he has never been punished. Clearly, one can avoid punishment by leaving the community at a distance sufficiently great to make the sending of a commission too expensive.

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sending of a commission too expensive.

Polygyny defended as the right of the wealthy. Rosendo was tried by the late [Lic.] Arcilio. He responded to Arcilio's statement that "Jesus never ordered man to have two wives" by saying that the devil told him to get a second wife. He also pointed out that he was a very rich man and could well afford to maintain two women and that he needed two wives to help him cultivate all of his banana fields. Fifty lashes were ordered, but Rosendo protested and he was only given twenty lashes. Because of the reduction in the number of lashes, he was fined thirty sucres. [It is also said that he threatened to kill one of the officials before being sentenced.] The woman received fifty lashes and that same day was given to a man from Rosalia Grande. Later that day, the woman and her new husband were overtaken by Rosendo at San Antonio just a few miles above Punta Verde. Rosendo told the groom that he was the woman's husband, that he had been drunk and had never ordered her sent away. The man from Rosalia Grande "was somewhat stupid," and handed her over. That night, Rosendo and his wife slipped down the river past

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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Punta Venado and went up the Río Onzole. They were never punished again.

A brief alternate version of the above case has it that Rosenda was never punished "because he is an evil man who can afford to kill people by witchcraft. He also owns a revolver." Another statement was recorded from Gerardo of Encanto, who said that Rosenda had been punished with twenty lashes and fined thirty sucres. He then got rid of the second wife, but he took her back within a year. "People gossip but nothing more can be done, as he has been punished."

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This case was recorded on September 16, 1960. On the eleventh of September, Rosenda's first wife came up to Encanto to visit with the mother of the Cisarrón brothers. She is 'family' with the mother but not with the sons. She had come up from the Río Onzole alone and had told Rosenda that she was ill and wanted to look for a brujo. For this, she felt that she needed one hundred sucres, but Rosenda would not give her more than forty. The woman was very angry about Rosenda's lack of concern for her "illness." She told the people in the Cisarrón house that she wanted to leave her husband and go to her father on

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the Río Verde. In fact, she said that she planned to go there with her late husband's brother. Her complaint was that the Rosenda household was "sad, bad, much crying and beating." She wanted to leave her husband permanently. According to my informants, this would be a valid divorce, considering the polygynous circumstances, and she could then remarry. She had left Rosenda without her children, because "the father did not send them along," and therefore within a few days she returned home to Rosenda. It was being said at the time that Rosenda was looking for a third wife.

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The area around Cojimíes is a bustling center of the banana trade, and the Cayapa who live there are very well off financially. The people of the San Miguel section are the furthest removed from the banana trade and from time to time go to the coastal areas to work. Sometimes they work for Whites and sometimes for Negroes, but mostly they seek work on Cayapa-owned land. For the first time non-related Cayapa may live and work together and opportunities for liasons are greatly increased. In some instances, as in the following case, they end in a polygynous marriage.

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Renando loses his right and his second wife in a fight. Renando Añapa lives in Cojimíes. He had three sons by his wife. One day a man from the San Miguel section came down with his daughter to work, and moved into Renando's house. [No information was available as to names and possible relationships.] Renando began making love to the man's daughter, and finally he declared her to be his second wife. They lived thus for about five months. Eventually, during a party held just for visiting, where only guitars and not the traditional Cayapa instruments gave the musical background, Perdomo, a visiting official from the Sapallo Grande section, spoke to him about the affair. Renando became annoyed and accused Perdomo of committing adultery with his sister-in law, making him as much a sinner as himself. The upshot of this incident was that Perdomo ordered that Renando and his second wife receive one hundred lashes each. Soon after the punishment, the two men came to blows. After the party, Renando, his two wives, and the father of the second wife left for Quinendé, a long distance off into the interior. There they went to the house of a 'cousin' of the second wife. Renando and the cousin fought about the polygynous

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marriage, and the cousin aided by another man, soundly trounced Renando. After this, they sent the second wife to another Cayapa in Quinendé. That same day Renando and his first wife left to return to Cojimíes.

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The party held "for visiting" is worth noting because Cayapa never just visit among themselves. A new pattern is developing in the coastal regions where groups of unrelated Cayapa are brought together in a live-work arrangement that is quite foreign to the traditional patterns. "Guitars formed the musical background"--an indicator of the newly developing situation. It must also be noted that Renando was a member of the Punta Venado and the official who ordered him whipped was from the Sapallo Grande section, and the second wife, who was also whipped, was from the San Miguel section. The official did not have the second wife sent away, and it can only be surmised that there were no single men locally available for her. Renando was not able to keep the second wife simply because he was not strong enough to do so. It is becoming abundantly clear that the Cayapa cannot come to grips with a determined wrong-doer. The following case illustrates this in terms of polygyny.

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Cristobal marries his second wife in the Church. Cristobal Tapullo of Muisne had two wives. The first one only had one live birth, a daughter. The second wife is Carmelina de la Cruz from Sapallo Grande, and it is said that he married her in the Church. Carmelina knew that Cristobal was married when she went to him for the first time. The two wives were very angry with each other, but they never used more than verbal abuse, and Cristobal never attempted to interfere in their quarrels. Cristobal had gone to fiestas with both wives, but nothing was ever done about it, because he had married the second wife in the Church. Cristobal's /apín^{y}a/, 'brother's son,' Segundo Tapullo, also had two wives. He lived in Muisne in his own house. About six months after his first wife came to live with him, he went to a fiesta at Sapallo Grande to look for a second wife. He told the /ún^{y}i/ that he was not married [in point of fact, he had not married his first wife in the Church], and that he wanted a wife. A wife was found for him, and he took her back to Muisne. When the second wife saw the first wife, she was very angry and wanted to return home, but she could not do so as the distance was too great. People wanted her to go to

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Sapallo Grande to find another husband, but Segundo refused to allow her to go. Several years later the second wife's father came down, and the two men had harsh words nearly resulting in physical assault. The girl wanted to return with her father "but Segundo refused, being much stronger, and he knows more Spanish."

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Cristobal, by marrying the second wife in the Church, had placed himself in a position beyond the power of Cayapa law, and he could only be dealt with by Jesus himself. Segundo, it seems, had learned something from his uncle. He had the model of polygyny before him, and the speed with which he left his first wife to find a second well before the customary time for a Church wedding, indicates that he knew exactly what he was doing. The Cayapa consider one to be truly married only when the priest has performed the service. Whether this sophistry can be considered to be part of Cayapa legal thinking remains to be seen. The test will come, when, and if, Segundo visits any of the ceremonial centers during a fiesta.

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The statement " . . . and he knows more Spanish" appears to be something of a non sequitur; however, a man who speaks Spanish fluently to some extent controls

events in the outside world of commerce and government. For example, because of Segundo's ability to speak Spanish proficiently, he served as a threat to his father-in-law. One can visualize him doing nothing more than shouting at the old man in Spanish with the result that his father-in-law would be completely terrorized. Segundo could describe the dire straits in which the old man would find himself if Segundo went to the authorities, and the old man would unquestionably believe him.

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Trivinio Cortes claimed that a man named Cristobal Sandoval of Muisne has two wives, as does Cristobal's brother. It may very well be that Cristobal Tapullo and Cristobal Sandoval are one and the same. In any event, Trivinio claims "they have both been punished but permitted to keep the second wives because who would take care of the children?" "In the old days, the man and woman were burned to death, as people were very angry. Nowadays, they do not get very angry about such things." While people do not demand that the culprits be burned, they do get upset and on occasion even non-kin will attempt to take matters into their own hands, as in the following case.

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A neighbor threatens to beat up a polygynist. Roberto Cimarrón, a brujo, had two wives. They lived a short distance above San José on the Río Cayapas. The women lived in separate houses several hundred feet apart connected by a small path. One day Roberto became intoxicated while he was curing a patient, and his first wife, who also was drunk, scolded him for having taken a second wife. Roberto had also married the second wife in the Church. He and his first wife came to blows, and Roberto eventually threw her into the river from which she was rescued by a passing Negro. Later, when sober, she went over to the second wife's house and assaulted her. In turn, after this attack the children of the second wife assailed the childless first wife. Roberto hid the second wife in the home of a Negro for about two weeks. His first wife knew what was happening and she was very angry. Eventually, Roberto moved the first wife into a small nearby rancho. The family of the first wife never complained, but the father of Romulo Añapa who was not related to any of the principles said that if Roberto did not get rid of the second wife, he himself would beat him up. Later, when inebriated, Roberto came over to the house of Romulo's

father, and they argued. Roberto claimed that he needed two wives, and, being a rich brujo, he could afford them. Furthermore, the second wife could supply him with children. Romulo's father replied that Roberto should know well what he was doing in his own heart, and after death, Jesus would punish him.

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The case materials so far presented indicate that the polygynists and would-be polygynists have been wealthy and powerful dissidents. The following case of Segundo Añapa is a contrary instance that portends of major changes to come.

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Poor man attempts polygyny. Julio Tapullo who lived a short distance below Sapallo Grande had a crippled left arm. His wife, María Cimarrón, deserted him for another man named Segundo Añapa. Segundo who lived near Playa Grande on the Río Cayapas was already married to Petrona Cimarrón who was not related to María. Despite the objections of his first wife, he and María lived together for over a month. A 'niece' of Petrona met Aurelio who is one of the /cá·tala/ from the Río Camerones; she met him when he was bringing in bananas for sale directly to the boat at San Antonio.

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She told him the story, and when Aurelio returned home, he notified the /ún^{y}i/, Gabriel, and the case was brought up at Punta Venado during Christmas of 1960. Julio Tapullo, looking somewhat embarrassed, stood alone off to one side with his crippled left arm, supported by his right arm, laid across his chest. He was dressed in rather shabby clothing. [Most Cayapa try to wear new clothing to a fiesta.] His wife and Segundo stood somewhat apart in the center of a circle composed of about sixty people. Everyone, including the /ún^{y}i/, was very drunk. Gabriel asked why María had left her husband, and she replied that Julio was not supporting her and that he never bought her cloth and jewelry. Julio flatly denied everything. People in the crowd were saying that Julio could do as much work with his one good arm as most men could do with two. In the discussion between Gabriel and the two culprits it became obvious that they had come into contact quite accidently. Segundo had been out looking for a second wife at the same time that María had left Julio, and they met on the Río Onzole. Gabriel asked Segundo why he had felt he had to look for another wife when he already had three children, but

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Segundo did not reply. In the crowd the murmur went around, "por gusto," for pleasure. [Best translated here as, "for the hell of it."] They both received two hundred and fifty lashes, and as a Cayapa woman does not live by plantain alone, Gabriel advised Julio to spend more money on his wife.

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Again it is seen that Cayapa women are capable of direct action, but much more important, a case of polygyny had been successfully legally quashed. Compare, however, the severity of the sentence with that of Rosenda: two hundred and fifty lashes versus twenty, plus a thirty sucre fine. Cayapa law can handle the "little man." It is almost as if polygyny were becoming quasi-respectable. Gabriel implied that Segundo had no need for another wife, since he had children. The lack of follow-up action directed against the rich and powerful and the severe quashing that Segundo received may signal the formation of a class-structured society wherein polygyny is legally restricted to the wealthy. In any event, the chief in discussing with me all of the on-going cases of polygyny presented above denied his responsibility. He said that even though all of them were living in sin, everything was actually

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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all right because these cases had been "settled" previously by the late /ũn^{y}i/, Arcilio.

The omnipresent theme seems to be that a truly determined wrong-doer cannot be handled within the legal framework, and his punishment is shifted to the realm of the supernatural. This results in a de facto acceptance of the illegal act that may be very productive of greater change ultimately leading to de jure acceptance in terms of legal decisions.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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solution and serves to exclude the chief from entangling alliances with one party as opposed to the other. Whether this serves to enhance the position of the chief in his role as third person in the legal process, is not clear. Aubert (1963) believes that mediating decisions foster independence for the third party office, as well as increased prestige. Structurally, the office of /ún^{y}i/ is an independent one that does not permit the formation of alliances with groups that are virtually impossible to form anyway, given the social and psychological structure of Cayapa culture.

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In the legal materials dealing with land it is seen that all of the parties to the dispute were in complete agreement as to the nature of land and its ownership. Conflict does not involve different value positions on the part of the disputants but rather individuals are competing for scarce goods that embody shared cultural values. Polygyny among the Cayapa represents a mixture of competing interests, as in land disputes, and also some lack of agreement as to what the basic issues and values are. Women are valued goods, in a sense, that at present are in scant supply. A compromise solution, as in land disputes, is not

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possible to reach, inasmuch as the religious element of sin is also a factor, and the /ún^{y}i/ cannot condone sin. He must condemn the parties involved in the polygynous marriage. The dispute does not involve a conflict of interests, as in the land cases, but rather new values that markedly conflict with traditional values. The individuals holding the new values refuse to accept an aligned decision, that is, a decision based in effect on an "alliance" with the believers of the traditional values. Ultimately, if the unilateral decision against polygyny cannot be enforced, it is superseded by de facto compromise. Thus, if the parties have been punished once but persist in their sinful behavior, further punishment is left to God, and the polygynous union may continue.

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For cases of incest and adultery, the conflict of interest, although present, is minimal. In addition, conflicting values are not an issue, as no one seriously presents a new value position that encourages incest and adulterous behavior. The nature of incest and adultery is such that a compromise solution, while not impossible perhaps, is improbable. In these cases, where sinful behavior is at issue, the official can adopt a unilateral

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596 EXTENDED FAMILIES--incidence of extended families; prevailing type or types (e.g., matrilocal, avunculocal, patrilocal, and bilocal extended families, fraternal joint families); size and composition; domicile (e.g., compound, single large dwelling); locus of authority; rule of succession (e.g., matrilineal, patrilineal, succession by a younger sibling); collective or individual ownership of dwelling, land, food stores, and household equipment; economic cooperation; routine activities; collective responsibility; cohesive and fissive tendencies; etc. See also:

Property and inheritance 42
Kin relationships 602
Lineages 613
Clans 618
Collective liability 672
Ancestor worship 769

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

ECONOMICS

The *Cayapa* economic unit is the virtually self-sufficient, one-family household. Land is owned and worked familially, and there is as much land to be had as the family can clear. If any special rules govern distribution and inheritance, they are not reported by our sources. Also, there seem to be very few provisions for interhousehold cooperation: men will help a neighbor bring down a tree trunk from the hills, but all other activities are evidently left to individual enterprise.

This self-sufficiency does not apply to all spheres of activity. Machetes and rifles are essential in jungle life, and most families make at least one trip a year to the coast for trading and social purposes. In the small Ecuadorean and Colombian towns they find a ready market for rubber, tagua nuts, and other forest products. Cocoa is grown specifically for this trade. There is also a limited market for some of their manufactures: canoes, mats, fans, and other basketry. In exchange, the *Cayapa* want metal goods: axes, machetes, shotguns, fishhooks, fish spears, and copper tubing for their distilleries. But they also like beads and mirrors, pearls, vests, and old derby hats. In recent years machine-made muslins and calicoes have been edging out native-made cloth.

The *Cayapa* are not yet incorporated in Ecuadorean economy. Their need for metal goods and trinkets has not yet forced them to work on plantations or in placer gold mines. Their own supply of rum has helped them avoid debts contracted for alcohol, and they have usually retreated into the forest when their self-sufficiency has been menaced. It is improbable that this selective acculturation can last very long.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The basic *Cayapa* social unit is the household. Though there is no definite indication as to size and composition, it appears to be an extended family including normally no more than 10 to 12 people. Chief Antonio Napa's house at Punta Venado could seat some 40-odd people at a feast, but it was unique in size, and the Napa household according to Basurco (1894) had only 8 to 10 members.

Barrett (1925) presents a detailed chart of kinship terms used by the *Cayapa*. We unfortunately know nothing about the behavior that goes with the terms or about marriage rules. On the face of it the system is a "lineal" one—collateral relatives are separated from lineal ones but are not differentiated among themselves. Thus, the term for uncle applies to both paternal and maternal ones. All terms are highly descriptive. There is no evidence of reciprocal use of terms, but Barrett's chart is not really complete. The system is quite unique and interesting.

The lineal and descriptive nature of the kinship system emphasizes the bilateral character of the *Cayapa* family. There is no clan organization. The extended family household is the truly basic social unit. There is

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente politico, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

position. She generally controls the finances and is consulted before any major purchase is made. If a large sale is made--for example, that of a canoe--she is on hand to count the money. During fiestas she doles out the money to her husband for rum purchases. It is not at all unusual to see a man, already quite drunk, whine, wheedle, threaten, curse, and coax his wife for a few coins. He usually gets it, but ever so begrudgingly. A man and his wife work the fields together and she is adept in the use of a machete. They seem to be in agreement on most things that involve the house and their children. When a child is punished he never seeks aid and comfort from the other parent. Children were never seen playing one parent off against the other. It is doubtful whether this would ever occur to a child. Similarly, parents do not use their children as foils for their own individual advantages.

If grandparents are residing in the home, they are treated with respect by their children and grandchildren. The grandchildren often call them 'father' and 'mother.' Unless they are bedridden, the grandparents do a full share of work, and they continue working until

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the last. The grandmother will often remain behind taking care of the young children while the parents are out working. She may punish the children either by admonition or by slapping them. Generally, there seems to be more roughhouse behavior among the children of the household when the grandparent(s) are present than when are just the parents.

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When the in-laws and/or other relatives are resident in the house the same atmosphere tends to prevail. Each nuclear family occupies a section of the house. Sometimes a cubicle is built for sleeping and storing purposes. Meals are prepared separately and consumed individually. No one eats together as a group. The men are served first. One may be in a hammock, another seated on a bench, yet another may be standing off by himself at the front of the house watching the river. They eat where they are. The women and children eat after the men have eaten. They tend to form more of a group because of the proximity of the cooking area and they converse more together while they are eating than the men do.

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Newcomers to the household group such as a new son or daughter-in-law, tend to be shy and quiet. In

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597 ADOPTION--extent to which children are adopted or exchanged; motives and procedure; status of adopted children; reciprocal relations of adoptive parents and adopted children; relations between adoptive siblings; special types of adoption (e.g., adoption of adults, posthumous adoption; ceremonial adoption); etc. See also:

Guardianship	[illegible]	Care of orphans	[illegible]
Adoption of slaves	[illegible]	Fostering	[illegible]
Artificial kin relationships	[illegible]	Status of children	[illegible]
Adoption of captives	[illegible]		

and say that it is because Jesus said that if the world comes to an end while many Cayapa are living, it would be very sad for them; it is therefore necessary for many infants to die. The population figures do indeed indicate that the Cayapa are not reproducing. For the Río Cameronese there is an average of 3.5 living children for each woman of childbearing age and almost 17 per cent sterility among the women.- 163 842 [775]

Adoption. Children will be adopted within the kindred, if the parents should die, but there is seldom adoption of non-related children or of illegitimate children. There are a few instances of an illegitimate child's being kept by the mother, but more often she will kill it at birth. The mother may offer the child for adoption, but the general feeling is that such a child having been conceived in sin is non-Christian, and few people want such a child. The Christian thing to do, they feel, is to kill it. 597 848 [612] [847] [783]

There is something in the nature of short-term "loans" of children. A child is sometimes sent to live with an "uncle" or other near relative for varying periods of time. In some cases the relatives are 597 591 428

childless and desire a son or daughter; in other cases the relatives may need extra help on the land. Sometimes the child stays permanently with his kin, returning to his parents for brief periods when requested to do so. In these instances the parent-child relationship is always retained but the child may lose his parental inheritance: however, he presumably has a claim for his patrimony from the estate of the relative with whom he has lived and worked. This will be discussed in greater detail in the legal material that concerns land and its sale or inheritance.

Childhood. During Cayapa infancy and early childhood the children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training well before the zonal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely as illustrated in the following excerpt from the writer's notes:

> . . . Augustin's wife was sitting on the floor by the marimba, nursing her child (two months) the older boy is sitting next to her and she seems to be taking special pains with the older boy (four years). She kept her right arm around him, stroking his head while the infant nursed . . . suddenly this picture of maternal love and affection changed radically. The infant

came close to our house. He cried out, wailing in the Cayapa manner, "Here is the house of Don Miltón where we used to go together; it gives me pain to think that we will no longer go there, ay . . ." At this he passed by our house, and we could hear him call out landmarks that were familiar to him and to his wife--landmarks that they would no longer see together. Finally he moved out of sight and out of hearing. We were quite disturbed over this, not only because she was a friend, but also because we had an ample supply of antivenom and had not been notified of the snakebite when we might have helped her. People were saying that Aurelio did not hire effective brujos. They said that the ones he hired were known to be ignorant of snakebite curing. Aurelio had been married for about ten years and had no children. His wife gave birth once prematurely, and the child died; ever since this, unfortunately, she had been sterile. This was a great sadness to them, for they wanted children very much. When I asked others why Aurelio had never adopted children, the answer always was, "He wants his own blood."

Funerals tend to begin late in the afternoon,

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

768 there would be no other reason for returning to it, since when the corpse is taken away all property which the relatives do not care to abandon completely is removed from the house at the same time.

In large measure the property of the deceased is destroyed or disposed of by the surviving relatives. [764] Some of his property, along with some of their own, is usually buried with the corpse. The greater part of the remainder of the property of the dead, and also frequently much of that of the relatives, is thrown into the river, given to other persons, or sold. Ordinarily one or two articles, as for instance a manta or an adz formerly belonging to the deceased, is kept by near relatives, but often there seems to be a definite desire to destroy all evidences of the life of the deceased and to get rid of any articles that would recall him to their minds.

KINSHIP

•601 The terms of relationship among the Cayapa are as follow:

Ascending Relationship

English	Cayapa	Equivalent
father	a′pa	
mother	a′ma	
grandfather	antc-a′pa	antc-father
grandmother	antc-a′ma	antc-mother
uncle	yapī′pī, apī′pī, apī′kū	a′pī-a′pa
older than parent	apa-karī′we	father-karī′we
	apīkū-rūkū′we	father-kū-old-man
younger than parent	ka′ī-apīpī	little-father-pī

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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uncle's son	apī-na′ʃala	father-brother
uncle's daughter	apī-na′ʃa-tsu′kkī	father-brother-sister
aunt[16]	mañgō′kō	
older than parent	mañgū′kū-cimbū′we	aunt-old-woman
younger than parent	karī′-mañgūkū	karī-aunt
aunt's son	mañgō-na′ʃala	aunt-brother
aunt's daughter	mañgō-naʃa-tsu′kkī	aunt-brother-sister

The terms for each of the corresponding ascending relationships through the father and the mother are identical.

COLLATERAL RELATIONSHIP

ENGLISH	CAYAPA	EQUIVALENT
brother	naʃa′la	
elder brother	ūnya′kō	
younger brother	bē′ña	
brother's son	apī′-nya	father-son
brother's son's son	apī′-nya-na	father-son-son
brother's son's daughter	apī-nya-na′ma	father-son-daughter
brother's daughter	apī′-na′ma	father–daughter
brother's daughter's son	apī-na′ma-na	father-daughter-son
brother's daughter's daughter	apī-na′ma-nama	father-daughter-daughter
sister	tsu′kkī	
elder sister	tsu′kkī	

[16] From one informant was obtained the term a'tciū, said to signify both aunt and uncle, and there was also obtained the term *unyunyu*, said to signify aunt. No verification could be obtained for either of these terms, which, combined with the fact that they are so at variance with the whole system of relationship, make them both seem very doubtful.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

younger sister	kai-in-tsu'kkī	little-my-sister
sister's son	atcī'-nya	atcī-son
sister's son's son	atcī-nya'-na	atcī-son-son
sister's son's daughter	atcī-nya-na'ma	atcī-son-daughter
sister's daughter	ūpū-na'ma	ūpū-daughter
sister's daughter's son	ūpū-na'ma-na	ūpū-daughter-son
sister's daughter's daughter	ūpū-na'ma-nama	ūpū-daughter-daughter

DESCENDING RELATIONSHIP

ENGLISH	CAYAPA	EQUIVALENT
child	ka'ilya	
son	na	
elder son	awē'-na	big-son
younger son	ka'i-na	little-son
daughter	na'ma	
elder daughter	awē-na'ma	big-daughter
younger daughter	kai-na'ma	little-daughter
grandchild[17]	pa'nya	
great grandchild	tyū'ī-panya	tyūī-grandchild

RELATIONSHIP THROUGH MARRIAGE

ENGLISH	CAYAPA	EQUIVALENT
husband	iñ ru'kū	my-old-man
wife[18]	iñ ci'mbū	my-old-woman
father-in-law	antc-a'pa	antc-father

[17] Under ordinary circumstances the simple term pa'nya is used to designate all grandchildren, but there is an indication that more specific terms exist. These terms, according to the particular informant from whom they were obtained, appear to be as follow: son's son, lyūpū-na-pa'nya, or na-na'-mīabe; son's daughter, na-sūpū-nama-na'-mīabe; daughter's son. nama-na'-mīabe; daughter's daughter, sū'pū-nama-pa'nya, nama-sū'pū-nama-na-mīabe, or na-i'ñ-nama.

[18] The term iñ-tsa'kī was also said to signify wife, but the connection appears to be somewhat doubtful.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

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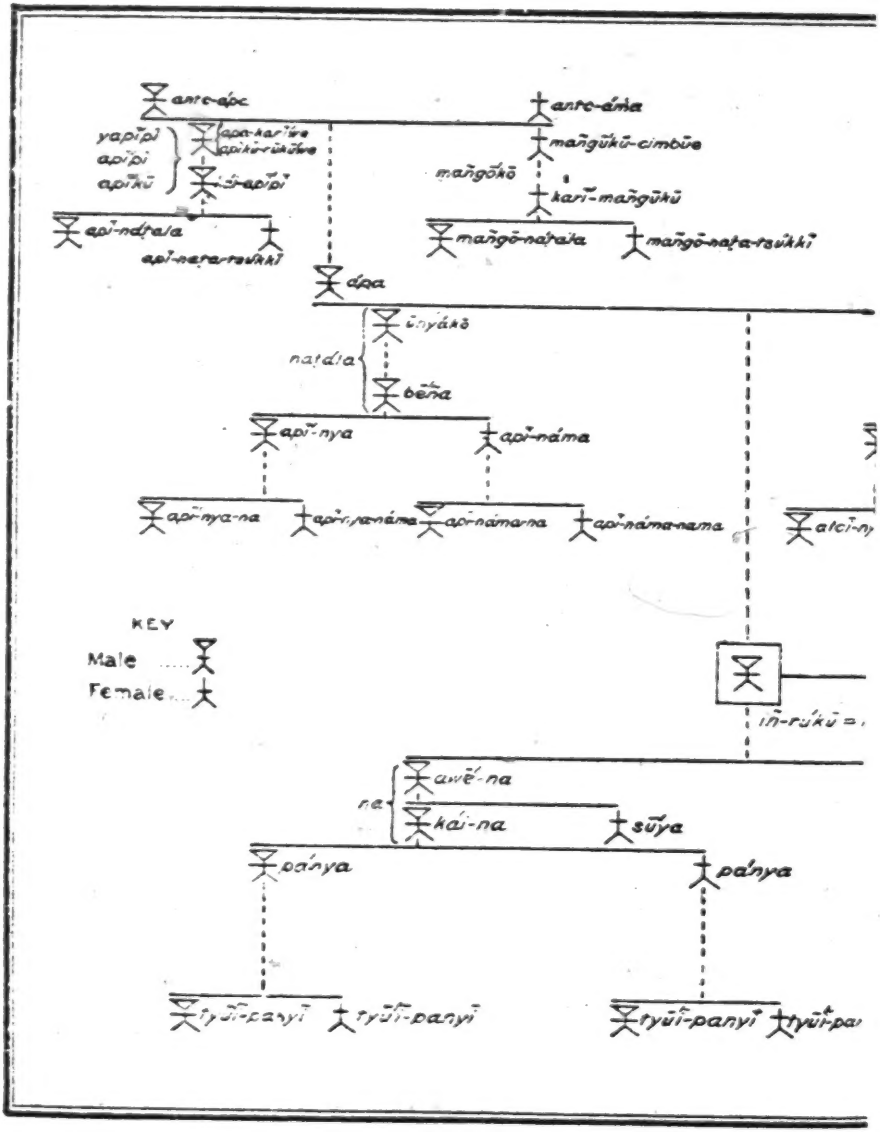

[p. 336(A)]

KINSHIP

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

PL. CXXIX

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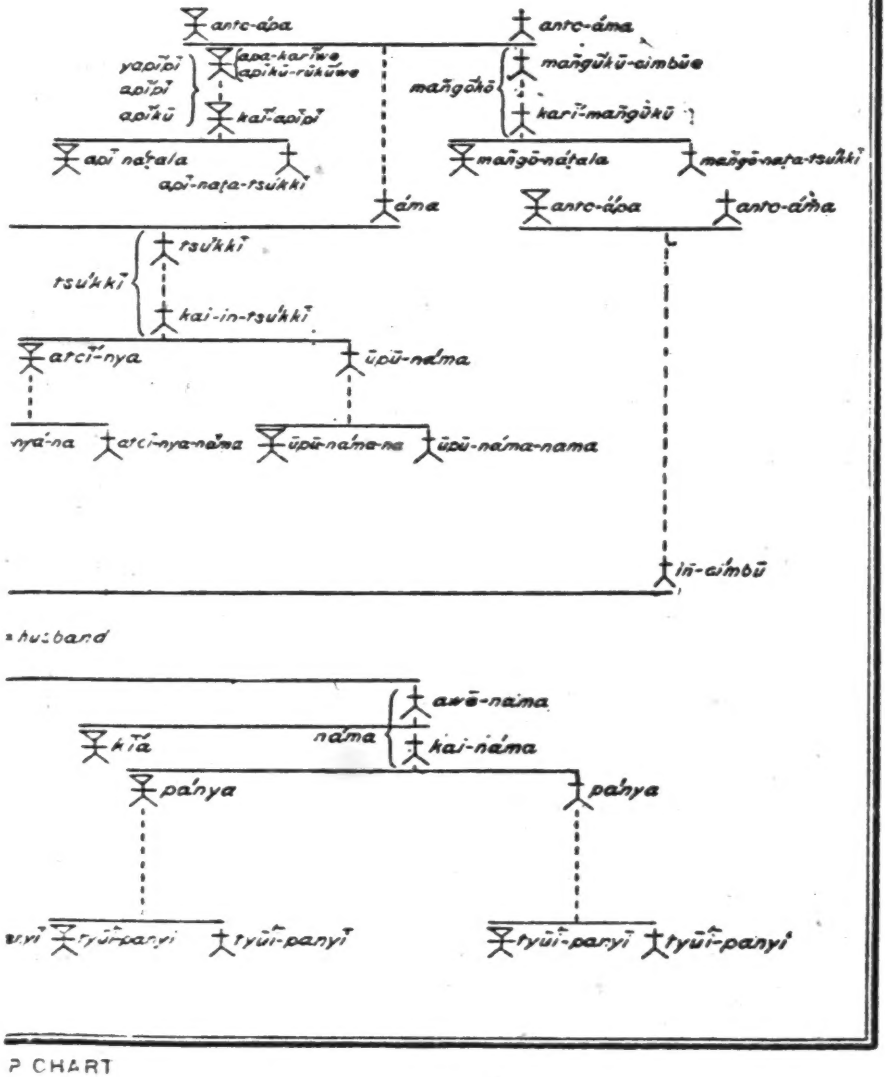

P CHART

[p. 336 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

601

mother-in-law	antc-a'ma	antc-mother
mother-in-law (term of derision)	a'ia	
son-in-law	kī'a	
daughter-in-law	sū'ya	

In pl. CXXIX is given a kinship chart showing graphically the principal relationships among the Cayapa.

Composition of Terms

QUALIFYING TERMS

All terms of relationship are preceded by the possessive pronoun, which varies according to the relationship of the person in question to the speaker, to the person spoken to, or to the person spoken of. Thus, in the singular these possessives are iñ, nyū, and ya, signifying my, thy, and his respectively. The full possessive forms are iñ-tcī, nyū-tcī, and ya-tcī, but the -tcī is usually dropped when these terms are used in this connection. The plurals are almost never heard in ordinary use. These, in their full forms, are la-tcī, nyū-tcī, and ya-tcī. In here dealing with the terms of relationship the possessive pronouns are systematically omitted in order to simplify the tabulation and discussion of the terms.

It is a notable fact that, though this possessive relationship between the person in question and the speaker, the person spoken to, or the person spoken of, is always expressed, no other possessive relationship appears in any of the terms. For example, my sister's daughter's daughter is always preceded by the first person posses-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

•601 sive, iñ, to establish clearly the relationship of the speaker to the person spoken of, but within the term itself there appear no possessive elements whatsoever. When literally translated, therefore, the term signifies my-sister-daughter-daughter. All other terms which present analogous combinations of elements have similar forms. The only possible exception to this is the term for younger sister kai-in-tsu′kkī, little-my-sister.

In various terms the words son and daughter appear as qualifying elements, being compounded with other terms of relationship. In many of these cases, however, the terms with which these qualifying elements are combined appear to bear no resemblance to those primary terms indicating the same relationship. For instance, brother's son and brother's daughter are apī′-nya and apī-na′ma respectively, but brother is nata′la. The differences in the case of sister's son and sister's daughter are even more striking. These are atcī′-nya and ūpū-na′ma respectively, while the term sister is tsu′kkī. Thus none of these terms shows on its face even a similar form to that of the corresponding simple term for brother or sister.

The words father and mother also appear in the capacity of qualifiers in the terms antc-a′pa and antc-a′ma, signifying primarily grandfather and grandmother, and secondarily father-in-law and mother-in-law.

Elements indicative of size are used in certain terms, especially those in the descending series, as, elder and younger son, which are awē′-na and ka′i-na respectively, literally big son and little son.

The words old-man and old-woman are elements of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

certain terms. Husband and wife are simply my old man and my old woman, iñ ru′kū and iñ ci′mbū respectively. Uncle and aunt elder than the parent through whom the relationship exists are respectively apīkū-rükū′we (also given as apa-karī′we) and mañgū′kū-cimbū′we, signifying uncle old-man and aunt old-woman respectively.

As is frequently the case, the relationships existing between the children of brothers and sisters is conceived to be the same as that of brother and sister. In this case, however, it is not considered as a simple brother and sister relationship, but the term indicates the person through whom it is traced. Thus, uncle's son and aunt's son are apī-na′*t*ala and mañgō-na′*t*ala respectively, signifying literally father-brother and aunt-brother. It seems possible that the first part of this term aunt, which in full is mañgō′kō, may have been derived from mother, a′ma, just as the basal element of the term uncle is clearly derived from father, a′pa. In the case of aunt, however, the term is now so complex, and the term mother, on the other hand, is so simple, that it is difficult to establish clearly this derivation. If such a derivation is assumed, then the term aunt's son is equivalent to mother-ñgō (untranslatable)-brother.

When the terms uncle's daughter and aunt's daughter, however, are considered, it is found that these are formed by the simple addition of the term sister to the terms signifying uncle's son and aunt's son. These are then literally father-brother-sister and mother-ñgō-brother-sister.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

MODIFYING CONCEPTS

601 The sex of the individual spoken of is indicated in all terms except grandchild and great-grandchild. The sex of the person through whom the relationship to the speaker is traced is carefully maintained in the terms of relationship in the collateral line, and there is some evidence that at times terms bearing somewhat of the quality are used in the descending line, though ordinarily the one simple term indicating grandchild is used for all grandchildren and the one term great-grandchild for all great-grandchildren. In the ascending line, on the other hand, no account whatever is taken of the sex of the individual through whom the relationship in question exists. That is to say, all the relatives through the mother are the same as those through the father. In short, this entire phase of the Cayapa kinship system may be summed up in the statement that (1) the respective relatives traced through the father and through the mother are the same, that (2) the respective relatives traced through the brother differ from those traced through the sister, and that (3) all descendants beyond sons and daughters have the same respective designations.

A rather unusual condition is shown in the terms of the collateral line. First of all the three terms brother, elder brother, and younger brother are entirely different each from the other, while the comparable terms for sister show the opposite condition, being formed on the same base. The terms for sister and for elder sister are in fact identical, while that for younger sister

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

is formed by the simple addition of the term signifying "little." 601

Proceeding to the terms for brother's children and grandchildren we find them built up on a single basal element, a′pī, which is entirely unrelated to any of the three terms naɬa′la, ūnya′kō, and bē′na, signifying brother. It is evidently related to the term uncle, the root of which is a′pī, which in turn appears to be the phonetically altered a′pa, father.

A different condition, however, is found when the analogous relationships through the sister are considered, for here enters what may be regarded as a double sex feature. Sister's son and sister's son's son and daughter are formed on the basal element a′tcī, with the addition respectively of the terms signifying son, son-son, and son-daughter. However, when the term sister's daughter and the terms for her two children are reached, it is found that they are formed on an entirely new basal term, ū′pū, which fact may be considered as indicative of a double sex distinction in the basal term. That is to say, while in the first instance the basal element a′tci is evidently employed with the signification of daughter of the sister of the speaker, it may be employed only when the following elements with which it is combined are those relating to the son of this daughter. If, on the other hand, it is desired to mention in these following elements the daughter of this daughter, a different basal term, ū′pū, is employed. Furthermore, there is no apparent connection between either of these two basal elements and the term tsu′kkī, indicating

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

•601 sister. It therefore seems fair to assume that these features of sex which appear in the elements that follow the basal element in these terms may perhaps react on this basal element itself in such manner as to alter it. However, it must be borne in mind that a similar condition does not obtain in the analogous terms that indicate the descendants of the brother of the speaker. Here the basal element is the same in all terms indicating these descendants, though it differs entirely from the three terms for brother.

There are two modes of indicating relative age—one is by the use of augmentatives and diminutives, the other by the use of terms signifying "old-man" and "old-woman." The latter are used in only two terms each. Old-man appears as a part of the term signifying uncle older than parent, apīkū-rūkū′we (also given as apa-karī′we), and in the term husband, iñ ru′kū, signifying literally my old-man. Old-woman likewise appears in the corresponding two terms, aunt older than parent, mañgū′kū cimbū′we, and in the term wife, iñ ci′mbū, literally my old-woman. In only one instance are terms entirely different from the basal one used to indicate relative age. This is in the case of brother, which is na*ɬ*a′la, while elder brother is ūnya′kô and younger brother is bē′ña.

The augmentative a′wę̄, meaning big, is used to indicate elder in only two terms, those for son and daughter. The diminutive ka′i, meaning small, is used to indicate younger in the terms for son, daughter, sister, uncle, and possibly aunt.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

601

The various terms of relationship in which the element of age enters are as follows:

ENGLISH	CAYAPA
brother	na/a'la
elder brother	ūnya'kō
younger brother	bē'ña
sister	tsu'kkī
elder sister	tsu'kkī
younger sister	kai-in-tsu'kkī
uncle	yapī'pī, apī'pī, apī'kū
older than parent	apa-karī'we apīkū-rūkū'we
younger than parent	ka'i-apīpī
aunt	mañgō'kō
older than parent	mañgū'kū cimbū'we
younger than parent	karī'-mañgūkū
son	na
elder son	awē'-na
younger son	ka'i-na
daughter	na'ma
elder daughter	awē-na'ma
younger daughter	kai-na'ma

In all cases the terms of relationship employed by the women are the same as those used by the men.

From the table of analyses of the terms of relationship it will be seen that in most respects these terms among the Cayapa are fairly simple. They comprise a limited series of fundamental terms on which as bases the rest are built up by combination with qualifying elements bearing certain definite relations to these basal elements. The two important conccpts which enter into these qualifying terms are sex and age, of which the latter is the more important.

[P. 34]

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship. The eliciting of kinship terminology among the Cayapa proved to be extremely difficult and time consuming. Many informants professed to be ignorant of many of the terms and clearly preferred to use Spanish nomenclature; however, sufficient data were collected to illustrate a major structural shift from Barrett's 1909 recording to the writer's 1960 notes. At present, the writer is unable to account for this shift in terms of Barrett's material and his own, as the residence and marriage patterns remain basically the same in the reports of the two investigators; however, there is some indication that new terminological forms were just beginning to come into the language in 1909. It is also known that the Cayapa tribe has undergone a process of fission, changing from one unit in 1809 to three in 1909 and four by 1960. We lack most of the vital details, but it is a reasonable assumption that changes in residence either went along with or followed the formation of the new groups.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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> It is in respect to residence that changes in economy, technology, property, government, or religion first alter the structural relationships of related individuals to one another, giving an impetus to subsequent modifications in forms of the family. . . . and in kinship terminology (Murdock 1949:202).

[114]

Murdock analyzed Barrett's kinship data and concluded that the Cayapa possess a bi-Eskimo system and that there is an incipient transition toward normal Hawaiian reflected in alternative niece and cousin terms. (Murdock 1949:228 table 61). My own data reveal an Iroquois type cousin terminology as defined by Murdock (Murdock 1949:223)! Barrett records /maŋgúku/ (written phonemically by the writer) for both the father's sister and the mother's sister. My own data show /maŋgúku/ to be restricted to the mother's sister, while the term /un^{y}ún^{y}u/ is used for the father's sister. Similarly, in Barrett's material the father's brother is equated with the mother's brother under three alternative terms: /apíku/, /apípi/, /yapípi/, whereas we recorded these terms only for the father's brother, while the mother's brother is called /ahčíyu/. The terms, /un^{y}ún^{y}u/ 'father's sister' and /ahčíyu/ are discussed by Barrett:

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From one informant was obtained the term a'toiú, said to signify both aunt and uncle, and there was also obtained the term unyunyu, said to signify aunt. No verification could Be obtained for either of these terms, which, combined with the fact that they are so at variance with the whole system of relationship, make them both seem very doubtful (Barrett 1929:335 note 16).

The terms that seemed deviant and doubtful in 1909 had become systematic by 1960! Barrett also recorded that the Cayapa equated the paternal cross-cousin with the maternal cross-cousin. In 1960, cross-cousins are equated and parallel-cousins are distinguished. Barrett recorded 'grandfather' as /ancápa/ whereas this writer recorded it as /ápa/. Barrett also used the term, /ancápa/, as meaning 'father-in-law,' which agreed with my recording. Terms used between in-laws are not recorded by Barrett, but I recorded /ancaʔtála/ as a reciprocal term for the two fathers-in-law. It would appear that the best translation for /anc-/ is 'in-law,' and /-tála/ is glossed as 'together.' Barrett's recording of 'grandfather' as /ancápa/ is an anomoly when compared to/ápa/, since /a/ means 'big' and /apa/ 'father.' One purpose of marriage for the Cayapa is to have children, and these children make the respective

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in-laws grandparents

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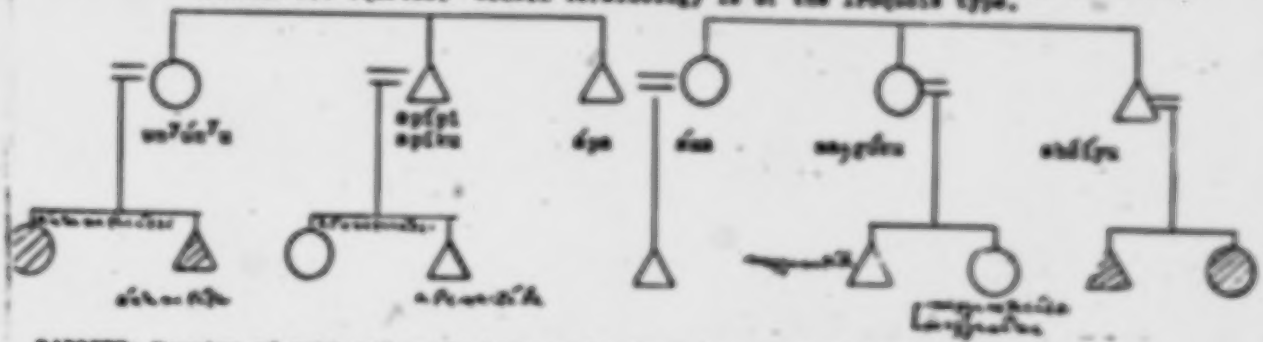
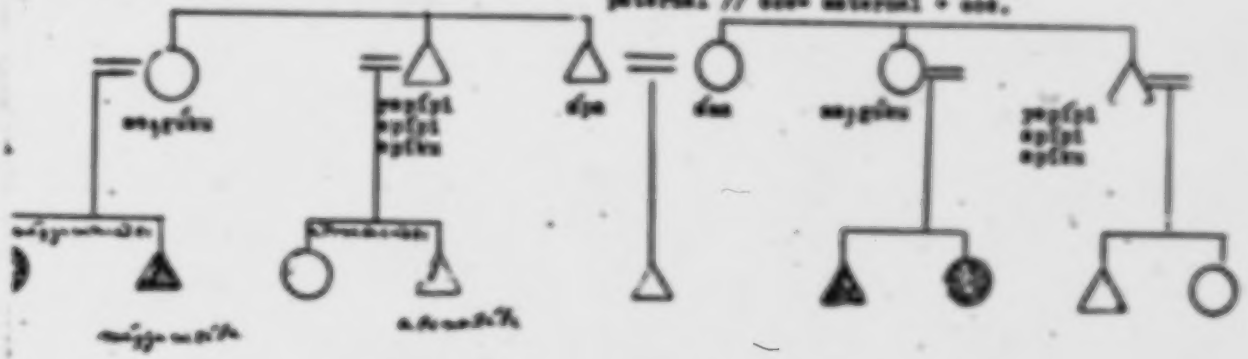
ALTSCHULER: Distinction between paternal and maternal aunt and uncle terminology and cross-cousins are equated. Cousin terminology is of the Iroquois type.



BARRETT: Merging of aunt and uncle terms and paternal + cos = maternal // cos.
paternal // cos= maternal + cos.



4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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in-laws grandparents. By reversing Barrett's statement in line with this simple observation it can be said that the primary meaning of /ambápa/ is 'father-in-law' and secondarily and tenuously, 'grandfather.'

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Descent is today still bi-lateral, and residence is still bi-local with neo-locality as a very common alternate. Murdock in discussing incest taboos and their extensions placed the Cayapa in class B2-M1-P1.

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> B2. Minimal Bilateral Extension.--marriage forbidden or disapproved with all first cousins but permitted with at least some second cousins.
> M1. Matrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend marriage prohibitions further in the female line than in any other.
> P1. Patrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend prohibitions further in the male line than in any other (Murdock 1949: 301-303).

Murdock in this classification went beyond the data presented by Barrett: the Cayapa should have been classified in the category of Normal Bilateral Extension. Kindreds are unreported by Barrett, but are established in our data. There are two terms which may be translated as 'family' or 'kindred,' /pándatála/, /pánda/ 'food, plantain,' /-tála/ 'together,' and /bílutála/. Maximino Mendoza Ámapa's father's brother brought him a woman to marry, but Maximino refused, saying that she is /íála bílutalába/ 'we-family-together-with.' The

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relationship is very distant and the family concerned thought that it would be alright-in fact much to be preferred to her marrying a 'cousin.' Many Cayapa feel, as does Maximino, that there should be a maximum bilateral extension of the incest taboo to the kindred; however, we will present legal material that indicates the beginnings of a narrowing of the incest range. Certainly, Maximino's family were willing to narrow the range.

601

Kinship nomenclature.

Father /ápa/
Mother /áma/
Grandfather /aápa/
Grandmother /aáma/
Father's brother /apípi/, /apíku/
Mother's brother /ahčíyu/ m.s., /uhpúyu/ w.s.
Father's brother's son /apiná.tala/ m.s.
/pandekáⁱya/ w.s. /apinatakáⁱya/ w.s.
Father's brother's daughter /apiná.tacúhki/, pandecúhki/
Mother's brother's son /unʸuna.tála/
Mother's brother's daughter /unʸúnʸu/, /unʸuná.tacúhki/
Father's sister /unʸúnʸu/ m.s. /unʸuná?ma/ w.s.
Mother's sister /maŋgúku/
Father's sister's son /unʸuná.tala/
Father's sister's daughter /unʸuna.tacúhki/, /nʸánʸa/ (elder)
Mother's sister's son /maŋguná.tala/
Mother's sister's daughter /maŋgu?náma/, /maŋgunatacúhki/ /nʸánʸa/ (elder) /kailʸa/ (younger)
Brother /ná.tala/ m.s. /ukúku/ w.s.
Elder brother /unʸáku/
Younger brother /béna/

601

Brother's son /apínʸa/ m.s /unʸúna/ w.s.
Brother's son's son /apínʸapánʸa
Sister /cúhki/
Sister's son /ahčínʸa/ m.s., /maŋgú?na/ w.s.
Sister's daughter /upuná?na/
Son /na/
Daughter /náma/
Grandchild /pánʸa/
Husband /rúku/
Wife /činbu/
Father-in-law /ančápa/
Mother-in-law /ančáma/
Son-in-law /kía/
Daughter-in-law /súya/
Wife's brother /ʸámi/
Sister's husband /nʸámi/ m.s. /unʸúnʸurúku/ w.s.
Wife's sister /máŋgu/, /unʸúnʸu/
Father's sister's daughter's son /apiná.tala/
Mother's brother's wife /unʸuná.tasúya/
Husband's sister's son /unʸuna.taapíku/
Husband's mother's sister's husband /nʸámi/ (doubtful)
Wife's sister's son's wife /náŋgu/
Wife's brother's son /nʸamí?na/
Father's brother's daughter /nʸaminá?na/
Father's brother's da. da. husband /nʸámi/
Wife's mo. fa. br. son /nʸámi/
Father's br. da. da. /pánde cúhki/
Mother's fa. br. son /pánde káⁱya/
Father's fa. br. dz. son /lúca?bulu pánde/
Mother's fa. br. so. son /lúca?bulu pánde/
Father's fa. br. daughter /pánde cúhki/
Father's br. so. son (w.s.) /lúca?bulutála/, /pánde káⁱya/
Mother's mo. br. son /apiná.tala/
Daughter's husband's father /ančа?tála/
Mother's sister's husband (m.s.) /mučáču/, /unʸúnʸurúku/(w.s.)
Wife's sister's son /mučá?na/
Wife's sister's husband /nʸaŋdála/
Wife's brother's wife /cuhkihútu/
Father's sister's husband /mučácu/
Father's fa. br. so. son /apiná.tapánʸa/
Father's father's brother /čapíku/
Father's si. so. wife /únʸuna.tasúya/
Husband's mo. br. son /pánde apápi/
Father's si. so. son /únʸuna.tapánʸa/

601

Father's si. so. da. /uhpuná?ma/
Father's mo. br. son /uhpúyu/ w.s., /ahčíyu/ m.s.
Mother's br. son's wife /súya/
Husband's fa. si. son /apípi/
Mother's br. son's son /apínʸa/ m.s.
Father's father's si. son /apíku/ m.s.
Mother's br. so. daughter /unʸunátacúhki/

842

Pregnancy and Birth. The Cayapa understand that there is a connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy but believe that repeated intercourse is necessary for conception. A woman is known to be pregnant when the menstrual period ceases and the areolae and nipples /čukápa/ become enlarged and darker. There do not seem to be any abnormal food cravings nor are there any food taboos. There is some feeling of "shame" concerning pregnancy, and a woman never tells her husband or anyone else that she is pregnant. It will soon be obvious to everyone anyway.

843

[262]

[152]

The woman continues her normal routine until she is well advanced in her pregnancy, at which time she remains in the house where she eventually gives birth. Children have been born at fiestas, and I was a partial witness to such a birth at a fiesta at Sapallo Grande. The party was an ofrenda given by Marianito Añapa in honor of his parents, who had died

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[769]

time this passes. The daughter-in-law is expected to help her mother-in-law when needed, but as both women have to work with and cook for their respective husbands, no onerous burdens are placed on the daughter-in-law. The household has no direction as such. Each nuclear family attends to its own tasks. If asked, they aid in the planting and weeding of the gardens of other co-residents but only if this does not detract from their own work. In temporary work-visits a man works for his in-laws in the following way. A man works with the man who married his sister but not with brothers of his brother-in-law. On the other hand, a man is expected on request, to work for any of the brothers and/or parents of his wife.

Distant kin who may be referred to just as "family" may be resident in the household for varying periods of time, sometimes for years. No special disabilities are entailed and behavior is as described for close kin.

Compadrazgo. The indisputable mark of Iberian contact in the New World is in the social institution

584

whom he fancies as a son-in-law. As an instance, Gerardo Perdomo of Encanto asked the late /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio, to deliver his daughter to Camilio Blanco during an Easter fiesta at Punta Venado. Camilio was most reluctant when approached by Arcilio. He said that he was too young in the first place, and in the second place, he did not want to get married anyway. The /ún^{y}i/ pointed out that all of Camilio's siblings had died unmarried and that he could too. At this point Camilio agreed to marry Gerardo's daughter.

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Occasionally a man's kinfolk will decide that he has been too long a bachelor or a widower. When someone hears of an available woman in any of the Cayapa sections, one or two men go to speak to the woman's family. If the parents agree to let their daughter marry the man under discussion, she leaves at once with the match-makers, taking only her clothing and ornaments. They then bring the woman to the home of the unsuspecting groom-to-be. The man may refuse the prefferred one; in this case, the men who brought her will try to deliver her to someone else. If she fails again to be accepted, they will return her to her family

[578]

position. She generally controls the finances and is consulted before any major purchase is made. If a large sale is made--for example, that of a canoe--she is on hand to count the money. During fiestas she doles out the money to her husband for rum purchases. It is not at all unusual to see a man, already quite drunk, whine, wheedle, threaten, curse, and coax his wife for a few coins. He usually gets it, but ever so begrudgingly. A man and his wife work the fields together and she is adept in the use of a machete. They seem to be in agreement on most things that involve the house and their children. When a child is punished he never seeks aid and comfort from the other parent. Children were never seen playing one parent off against the other. It is doubtful whether this would ever occur to a child. Similarly, parents do not use their children as foils for their own individual advantages.

If grandparents are residing in the home, they are treated with respect by their children and grandchildren. The grandchildren often call them 'father' and 'mother.' Unless they are bedridden, the grandparents do a full share of work, and they continue working until

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the last. The grandmother will often remain behind taking care of the young children while the parents are out working. She may punish the children either by admonition or by slapping them. Generally, there seems to be more roughhouse behavior among the children of the household when the grandparent(s) are present than when are just the parents.

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When the in-laws and/or other relatives are resident in the house the same atmosphere tends to prevail. Each nuclear family occupies a section of the house. Sometimes a cubicle is built for sleeping and storing purposes. Meals are prepared separately and consumed individually. No one eats together as a group. The men are served first. One may be in a hammock, another seated on a bench, yet another may be standing off by himself at the front of the house watching the river. They eat where they are. The women and children eat after the men have eaten. They tend to form more of a group because of the proximity of the cooking area and they converse more together while they are eating than the men do.

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Newcomers to the household group such as a new son or daughter-in-law, tend to be shy and quiet. In

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Newcomers to the household group such as a new son or daughter-in-law, tend to be shy and quiet. In

time this passes. The daughter-in-law is expected to help her mother-in-law when needed, but as both women have to work with and cook for their respective husbands, no onerous burdens are placed on the daughter-in-law. The household has no direction as such. Each nuclear family attends to its own tasks. If asked, they aid in the planting and weeding of the gardens of other co-residents but only if this does not detract from their own work. In temporary work-visits a man works for his in-laws in the following way. A man works with the man who married his sister but not with brothers of his brother-in-law. On the other hand, a man is expected on request, to work for any of the brothers and/or parents of his wife.

Distant kin who may be referred to just as "family" may be resident in the household for varying periods of time, sometimes for years. No special disabilities are entailed and behavior is as described for close kin.

Compadrazgo. The indisputable mark of Iberian contact in the New World is in the social institution

583

marriage, and she accepted. Lorenzo claimed that he never consulted the girl's mother [her father was dead], as he was ashamed and afraid of her. Because Lorenzo's parents were dead, he moved into his mother-in-law's house. After several years the young couple was married by the Catholic priest in Punta Venado.

[591]

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After the death of his first wife, Lorenzo lived in his mother-in-law's house for about five years. He stated that after his wife died, her mother told him that he was no longer her son-in-law. Thereafter, apparently she either did not prepare his food or did not do so properly. Lorenzo says that he did not argue with her but continued living there for five years, nevertheless!

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One night Lorenzo attended a party given at the home of Antonio Largo. He saw his present wife there for the first time and was immediately attracted to her. While the men and women are somewhat separated at fiestas, the women serve the men guarapo /wápu/, a fermented sugar cane drink, and at these times some conversation may be had. Lorenzo told her that he wanted her to come away with him "immediately."

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time this passes. The daughter-in-law is expected to help her mother-in-law when needed, but as both women have to work with and cook for their respective husbands, no onerous burdens are placed on the daughter-in-law. The household has no direction as such. Each nuclear family attends to its own tasks. If asked, they aid in the planting and weeding of the gardens of other co-residents but only if this does not detract from their own work. In temporary work-visits a man works for his in-laws in the following way. A man works with the man who married his sister but not with brothers of his brother-in-law. On the other hand, a man is expected on request, to work for any of the brothers and/or parents of his wife.

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Distant kin who may be referred to just as "family" may be resident in the household for varying periods of time, sometimes for years. No special disabilities are entailed and behavior is as described for close kin.

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Compadrazgo. The indisputable mark of Iberian contact in the New World is in the social institution

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

either carried far into the hills and there deposited in some lonely, out-of-the-way spot, or it is placed to dry in the upper part of the house for about a month, when it may be thrown away in a place where no one is likely to find it. When the umbilicus finally sluffs from the body, it is kept in the house for a month or so and also thrown away in some secluded spot.

This great care that no one shall come upon either the umbilical cord or the afterbirth is apparently not due to fear that the child or a member of its immediate family will be injured if either should be found, but it is claimed that the magic effect upon a person encountering either would be very serious, and might even result in death. No evidence could be obtained that would point to the use of either the umbilicus or the placenta by shamans or others for bringing about magic spells or other malevolent effects.

Immediately after its birth, the child is bathed in warm water and its entire face is painted with red achote, but neither the child nor the mother is obliged later to undergo any purification or other ceremony.

NAMES

According to their profession of the Roman Catholic faith the Cayapa baptize their children for the first time within a few days after birth. This first rite is performed by a man and a woman, special friends of the family, who are selected by the parents. If the child is a boy, he is held by the man who is to become his godfather while the woman who is to become his godmother

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

baptizes him with a tumbler of water as she gives him his name, which is almost invariably the given name of the godfather. If a girl, the child is held by the godmother, baptized by the godfather, and given the name of the godmother.

A child may be, and usually is, called by its first baptismal name, but sooner or later in its babyhood some act or circumstance connected with its life will appeal to the members of the family as particularly ludicrous or interesting. Its name is thereupon changed, it being called by the name of this act or circumstance to the almost total exclusion of its baptismal name. At the first opportunity the child is baptized by a priest, and then receives from him its true Christian name, which is usually that of the patron saint of the day upon which the child was born. Some months, however, may elapse before this second christening, since it is possible to have such a baptism only when a priest makes a visit to the region or when a part of the family has occasion to go to Esmeraldas or to some other point where a priest resides. In spite of the fact that the child may now have two Christian names, it almost invariably happens that some nickname given to it in the nature of a joke clings to it, perhaps for the rest of its life, and always at least until after marriage. This nickname may at any time be changed according as some new propensity is displayed by the child, or some new incident occurs which appeals to its associates or to the family.

Such a nickname persists usually until the person becomes a father or a mother, when the name is immediately changed and the person is no longer known by his or

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

585 other than the bridegroom and his godfather, and the bride and her godmother, all of those seated at the table are the heads of families. At the head of the table are seated the chief and three or four others of the principal officials. Along the side of the table and immediately 585 608 to the right of these officials are seated, in order, the godfather of the groom, the groom, the bride, and the godmother of the bride. The rest of the places on both sides and at the foot of the table are occupied by the heads of the families attending the feast. It should be noted that this godfather of the groom and this godmother of the bride are not usually the same as the godfather and the godmother arising from the baptismal relationship above described, but are usually persons somewhat older than the contracting parties and act as sponsors for the two, much as do the groomsman and the bridesmaid among civilized peoples.

585 One of these wedding feasts witnessed in 1908 proceeded as follows: After the usual church invocation, which is always pronounced at any feast, the chief took up the bowl of scrambled eggs above mentioned and personally served a spoonful to each of the four parties most closely concerned with the marriage—first to the groom, next to the bride, then to the groom's godfather, and finally to the bride's godmother. All those at the table were then at liberty to partake of the other foods of the feast. In addition to the abundance of dried meats and other foods with which the table was laden, pottery plates containing a mush made of ripe plantains and meat were served, one to each person. Everyone ate freely, except the bride and groom, who throughout

time this passes. The daughter-in-law is expected to help her mother-in-law when needed, but as both women have to work with and cook for their respective husbands, no onerous burdens are placed on the daughter-in-law. The household has no direction as such. Each nuclear family attends to its own tasks. If asked, they aid in the planting and weeding of the gardens of other co-residents but only if this does not detract from their own work. In temporary work-visits a man works for his in-laws in the following way. A man works with the man who married his sister but not with brothers of his brother-in-law. On the other hand, a man is expected on request, to work for any of the brothers and/or parents of his wife.

Distant kin who may be referred to just as "family" may be resident in the household for varying periods of time, sometimes for years. No special disabilities are entailed and behavior is as described for close kin.

Compadrazgo. The indisputable mark of Iberian contact in the New World is in the social institution

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

608 ●
177
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of ritual co-parenthood called Compadrazgo. Historically and basically it is concerned with the ritual induction into the Catholic Church of an individual through the rites of baptism, confirmation, and marriage. The god-parent stands in the role of sponsor, and in effect gives assurance of good faith on the part of the unbaptized, the unconfirmed, and the betrothed. Compadrazgo relationships are held to be sacred, and the incest taboo is extended to those involved in the ritual co-parenthood and to their descendents. Wherever found, compadrazgo seems to have been accepted with gusto, and there are innumerable variations on the basic theme outlined above. Such flexibility is indeed noteworthy. Mintz and Wolf discuss some of the reasons for the success of this social institution:

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> Compadrazgo, once accepted by a social grouping, can be moulded into the community way of life by many means. It is a two-way social system which sets up reciprocal relations of variable complexity and solemnity. By imposing automatically, and with a varying degree of sanctity, statuses and obligations of a fixed nature, on the people who participate, it makes the immediate social environment more stable, the participants more interdependent and more secure (Mintz and Wolf 1950: 355).

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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Benjamin Paul, working on compadrazgo in Middle America, abstracted two basic principles of the institution; namely, the intensification of previously existing relationships, and the extension or creation of new ones (Paul 1942:56-57). Mintz and Wolf see the variations of the principles of intensification and extension that mark the areal spread of ritual co-parenthood to be a reflection of socio-cultural change and economic mobility (Mintz and Wolf 1950:358).

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178

> In cases where the community is a self-contained class, or tribally homogeneous, compadrazgo is prevailing horizontal (intra-class) in character. In cases where the community contains several interacting classes, compadrazgo will structure such relationships vertically (inter-class). Last, in a situation of rapid social change compadre mechanisms may multiply to meet the accelerated rate of change (Mintz and Wolf 1950:364).

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Barrett's report of his 1909 field trip among the Cayapa indicates that only baptism and marriage were marked by compadrazgo (Barrett 1925:318, 324, 326). We are not given any information by Barrett about the identity of the god-parents, except inferentially, that they were Indian and not Negro. Neither are we told about the identities of the god-parents of successive

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children in the same family--are they the same or different? Between 1909 and 1960 the population pattern of the Cayapa area has altered radically, and the socio-economic changes have been even more marked. If Minta and Wolf are correct, we should expect to find as a result of rapid change, a multiplicity of compadres, and as the Negroes and the Cayapa form two classes, if not castes, we should expect a vertical extension of compadrazgo ties to include Negroes. The evidence presented by Barrett indicates that they were tribally homogeneous in his time, and compadrazgo was apparently horizontal. Despite the fact that there is no data to support me, I feel that the horizontal extension of ritual kinship during the time of Professor Barrett's study among the Cayapa was primarily, if not entirely, to reinforce previously existing kinship ties. At the present time, the Cayapa do indeed follow the pattern predicted by Minta and Wolf, but the socio-economic causative factors are not as clear-cut as these authors believe them to be; still, they may be discerned in the Cayapa data and we can see the beginnings of a class structured society reflected in some of the legal decisions that deal with polygyny.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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At the present time the Cayapa, in common with most rural Ecuadorians, practice a ceremony of nail cutting that has ritual significance in the sense that god-parents are selected for the child, and the extension of ritual kinship follows as for the rites of baptism and marriage. This ceremonial occasion which is called simply /tyákikáru/, is a very minor ceremony that may be performed at almost any age from a few months to perhaps six years, or it may never be performed. Almost invariably the god-parents for this occasion are Negro. As Negroes are in political and economic control of the region, we can say that this is a vertical extension of ritual kinship. The Indian seldom asks a Negro to assume this obligation. Quite the contrary. Negroes generally ask the father of the child if he would like to enter into compadrazgo.

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The actual ceremony is very simple. Only the participants are present as a rule. The nails are cut by the god-father, and the parings are placed in a glass of rum which is then drunk by the compadres. Small presents, such as a bottle of rum, some food, soft drinks, and tobacco, are exchanged. Thereafter, the

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852

relationship of greatest importance is that between the compadres and not between the /kumbatápa/ and /kumbatámu/, that is 'god-father' and 'god-mother,' and the god-child or /ihádu/. The compadres refer to each other as /kopáre/ or /komáre/. The relationship thus set up is utterly without sanction from the Church, and in point of fact, the parties, if they are Negro and Indian, do not feel that they are actually tied to each other ritually.

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Quite often the Negro who asks to be permitted to cut the child's nails is a travelling merchant who, from time to time, visits the area. It is to his advantage to have an Indian compadre as this assures him of a place to eat and to sleep in his travels. Similarly, if the Negro lives near a town, the Cayapa compadre will visit him occasionally. Indians going to Esmeraldas, for example, may stay for several days in the home of a Negro compadre. Very often the Negro asks to cut the nails of a Cayapa child for pecuniary reasons so that, for example, the banana merchants seek to extend their compadre ties to as many banana growers as they can. Sometimes the Negro attempts to establish previously

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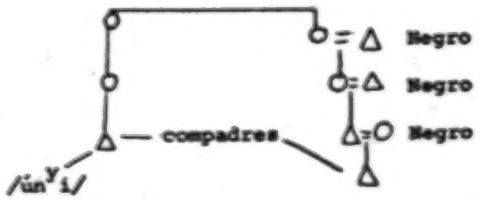
existing kinship ties by means of the nail-cutting ceremony with a Cayapa child. As an example, one Negro who is distantly related to the 'únʸi/ of the Punta Venado section asked if he could be his <u>compadre</u>. The manner of relationship is as follows:



The /únʸi/ says that he does not know the name of this Negro kinsman and <u>compadre</u> who lives by the ocean near Punta Bajo on the other side of <u>Limones</u> at the mouth of the <u>Río Cayapas</u>. He came up one day in his canoe, bringing fish, green coconuts, clams, and other small gifts. He asked if he could cut the nails of one of the children, and the /únʸi/ agreed, and the Negro cut the nails of the daughter, Maria Agrecaria. The /únʸi/ gave his new <u>compadre</u> gifts of sugar cane, plantain, and chontadura. Since then, the /únʸi/ had visited his <u>compadre</u> about ten times in a four- or five-year period, and in return

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he has been visited about four times. There is no work at all involved in these visits, which are said to be purely social.

Sometimes an Indian will ask to be a compadre so that, for example, the /únYi/'s daughter, Maria Rosa had her nails cut by the father-in-law of the /ún^{y}i/'s eldest brother's daughter. She lived in Río Onzole area. Her daughter was ill on occasion, and her father-in-law came up to the Río Camerones to ask Gabriel who was not yet the /ún^{y}i/ to come and cure the child. He went down with his family and stayed for about one week. While there a brother-in-law of his niece asked if he could cut the nails of his daughter. When asked why the man had asked to do this, Gabriel replied, "Because he likes me very much." In this case we find a reinforcement of a previously existing relationship. Most children have their nails ceremonially cut, and each child in a family has different god-parents. The picture is one of a multiplicity of compadres extended vertically and horizontally. The emphasis in ceremonial nailcutting is primarily vertical and generally involves Negroes. Indians who seek compadrazgo are usually related

[177]

distantly by marriage and who, for one or another reason, seek to intensify a weak relationship. The important relationship is between the compadres and not between the sponsor and the child.

Baptism. Every infant must be baptized as soon as possible by the priest. The god-parents chosen for this occasion are always Indian. Although some say that it is best to choose them from within the family, others claim that it is best to choose non-relatives. There are no strong feelings one way or another; however, most of my material indicates a bias in favor of having relatives as compadres of the baptism. A statistical treatment is not possible as my data center primarily on the Río Camerones region and not on the Punta Venado group as a whole.

For the baptism the parents, the god-parents, and the infant go to Limones. The ceremony which is done in the Catholic manner by the priest costs ten sucres which is paid by the father of the child. The priest is usually presented with a gift, such as a fan or a basket, made by the Cayapa. At this time no presents are exchanged between the compadres, although

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the father may buy a meal and some drinks for everyone. The compadres now address each other by the same terms used between compadres in the nail-cutting ceremony. When the child grows up, he calls his god-father by the term /padéna?ápa/ and the god-mother by the term, /padéna?áma/, and the reciprocal is /ihádu/ [padena, from Spanish padrino 'god-father,' áma 'mother' ápa 'father']. Incest taboos, if not present before, are now extended, and the /ihádu/ may not marry any of the children of the god-parents. The relationship is marked by respect from all within it. From time to time as conditions seem to warrant it, the parties to the compadrazgo of the baptism gift each other with meat. Within a family each child will usually have a different set of god-parents from his siblings. This is a reinforcement of previously existing kin ties with a multiplicity of horizontally-extended ritual kin.

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Marriage. The Cayapa say that when one goes to heaven all of the souls there look alike. Everyone is the same height, and they all wear identical clothing. It is impossible to recognize the people

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known to one while living; however, there is one exception, this one being that one's /padéna?ápa/, the god-father of the wedding, who sees the newly arrived soul and calls its name. In heaven one is re-united with the god-father and not the father. This story indicates that the major relationship that is set up is between the bridal couple and the padrinos and not between compadres. The marriage padrinos tend to be of the same generation as the bridal couple, and the feeling is that it is best to select padrinos from within the kindred. Padrinos are always man and wife, so that if one wishes a particular individual to be his padrino, then his wife automatically becomes his madrina. If incest taboos did not apply before, they are now extended, and the children of all of the ritual-kin are forbidden to marry each other.

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Except for remarriage, when it is permissible to choose new padrinos for the new marriage, it would appear that the ties of the marriage compadrazgo could not multiply "to meet the accelerated rate of change." I have the slightest suggestion of evidence that indicates that this may very well be happening. I was

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never able to collect cases or to gather actual names, but some of my informants said that they had heard of people occasionally taking a new set of marriage padrinos. The feeling was that this could perhaps be done if the original padrinos gave their permission. In these cases, then, a person could have multiple marriage padrinos. It is most unfortunate that field work exigencies precluded following up these leads. In any event, compadrazgo among the Cayapa has shown itself to be a tremendously flexible instrument of societal ordering.

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Religion. The Cayapa are a religious people who call themselves Catholic and are considered to be Catholic by the Church, albeit, "Children in the Faith." They know nothing of the practice of confession and this is not expected of them by the Church. The basic tenets of Catholicism with respect to baptism, marriage, and burial in the Church are followed faithfully by the Cayapa. Within a few months of birth children are taken to the coastal town of Limones or Esmeraldas for baptism. Most marriages are sanctified by a priest, and within a few weeks to a few months after death a special mass will be paid for by the nearest Kin of the deceased.

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of acrimonious charges, because of a rumor concerning fraudulent land sales, is usually sufficient to squelch whatever factual basis there may have been in the rumor. Very often, the rumors are just malicious in intent, as seems to have been the case in the following instance.

Rumor mongering causes family dispute. Ciro Añapa is not liked by his father's god-father's daughter. Through the system of compadrazgo they are considered to be family, /búlutála/. She apparently spends a good deal of time gossiping about Ciro, much to his annoyance, and although he would very much like to complain to the /únʸi/, he does not do so because they are family. When Ciro lent some land to Perdomo in Encanto, she claimed that the land was not his and he had no right to make the loan. She generally spreads rumors of illegal land deals involving him. One day as he was studying in his house, three of the Cimarrón brothers and their mother visited him because they had heard that he had sold their land in Encanto to a Negro. The old woman burst into tears saying that she had once given a feast in honor of Ciro's dead mother,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

they have no knowledge of mining and are not at all inclined to acquire such knowledge even though they realize that gold and platinum command good prices at the settlements. Furthermore, they are extremely distrustful of and even hostile to everyone connected with mining or prospecting enterprises.

Health Conditions

Associated with the natural resources of a region are its health conditions, which in the Province of Esmeraldas are very good in comparison with most parts of the South American tropics. In fact the Esmeraldas shore is reputed, on good grounds, to be the most salubrious territory of the entire western coast of South America. Indeed, during the entire time spent by the author in the region, there was not, so far as could be learned, a case of any of the ultra-serious contagious diseases, and certainly none was reported in those portions of the province in which he resided. During the same period, however, both bubonic plague and yellow fever broke out with marked violence at Guayaquil, about two hundred miles southward, and there was also an epidemic of yellow fever at Tumaco, not more than fifty miles to the north along the coast from the mouth of the Rio Santiago. As pointed out in speaking of the insects of this region, neither the plague-bearing flea nor the yellow-fever bearing mosquito are found in the Province of Esmeraldas, hence the absence of these two diseases.

The most serious, and in fact practically the only serious, contagious disease of frequent occurrence in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

leaf, a covering of the most available material is employed. The material used for this temporary thatch is usually a palm-leaf, but generally of some species of palm which provides a much less durable thatch than that used for the permanent dwelling. 342 [824]

These ranchos serve two purposes almost exclusively, namely, temporary shelters while traveling, and temporary shelters for work which lies too far from home to make daily journeys to and from the regular dwelling profitable. When traveling it is infeasible, not to say dangerous, to sleep upon the ground and without some kind of a roof, owing to the torrential rains which are almost sure to occur during the night, as well as to the danger from poisonous reptiles and other creatures. If, therefore, in traveling, it is impossible to reach a house by night, an early halt is made and a rancho constructed. This is rarely necessary except in case of a long trip over an uninhabited mountain trail, since along the navigable rivers are houses which may be reached in the course of the day's travel. Here the traveler, whoever he may be, is always welcomed according to the custom of the country, the unwritten law of which requires that shelter be given any traveler, whether he be an old acquaintance or a total stranger. When it is necessary, in gathering rubber or pita, in making canoes, or in doing any other work, to journey so far from the permanent dwelling as to make daily travel back and forth unprofitable, a small rancho is built. Such a structure may be used for a short time or for several seasons, it being re-thatched as occasion demands In the [574] [609] [222]

sexual-social development. This leads to friendship relationships of one kind or another, and as we have been told, in bi-lateral societies, these relationships are especially marked by elaborate gift giving or other dyadic exchanges (Sahlins 1960:76-87). For the Cayapa, affiliative behavior, as expressed in these terms, can only be found in rudimentary form. One might almost say that the Cayapa practice a form of avoidance behavior that is extended to all non-kin. This avoidance is not pronounced with the Negroes and Whites. Commonly, one may see a Cayapa guiding his canoe downstream, coming abreast of another Indian poling his way upstream. They turn their heads away from each other and pass in silence, unless they are family or very well known to each other. When an Indian passes a Negro or a White, or passes in front of their houses, loud salutations are exchanged. From within a Cayapa house, when the sounds of a canoe on the river are heard, people rush to the edge of the house and peer intently; if it is a Cayapa canoe, excited whispers are heard "/čači/" which means 'people.' No word is exchanged, the "people" in the canoe glide past with averted glances.

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At the Negro village of Canoruma, Indians wander about and visit casually the homes of many of the Negroes whom they know. Among themselves there are no casual visits to friends--there are really no friends, with the possible exception of some of the pupils at the Encanto Indian school. The language has no word for "friend" beyond the Spanish loan-word. There is family and not-family and, one does not visit family casually either. There must be a purpose beyond a desire just to visit. Dyadic relations are easily set up with the Negroes and are quasi-friendships that are quite clearly instrumental on both sides. I have no count but my decided impression is that prestation increases markedly between Indian and Negro. Negroes very often ask to become a god-parent for a minor ceremonial occasion when the child's nails are cut for the first time. The nail parings are placed in a cup of rum and drunk by the father and the Negro god-father. Small gifts are exchanged of little monetary value, and food is consumed along with the alcohol. Thenceforth at very irregular intervals, small presents will be exchanged. Gifting, while not especially generous on any level, showed an apparent increase with

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense interpersonal relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in three different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa:Cayapa, Cayapa:Negro, and Cayapa:White.

> . . . anxiety acquired in childhood might be generalized to other people . . . because of their similarity to the persons responsible for the frustration and punishment of the child--their similarity, above all, to the child's parents (Whiting and Child 1962:267).

Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa--much more so than Negroes and Whites.

The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by avoidance or

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2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

ECONOMICS

The *Cayapa* economic unit is the virtually self-sufficient, one-family household. Land is owned and worked familially, and there is as much land to be had as the family can clear. If any special rules govern distribution and inheritance, they are not reported by our sources. Also, there seem to be very few provisions for interhousehold cooperation: men will help a neighbor bring down a tree trunk from the hills, but all other activities are evidently left to individual enterprise.

This self-sufficiency does not apply to all spheres of activity. Machetes and rifles are essential in jungle life, and most families make at least one trip a year to the coast for trading and social purposes. In the small Ecuadorean and Colombian towns they find a ready market for rubber, tagua nuts, and other forest products. Cocoa is grown specifically for this trade. There is also a limited market for some of their manufactures: canoes, mats, fans, and other basketry. In exchange, the *Cayapa* want metal goods: axes, machetes, shotguns, fishhooks, fish spears, and copper tubing for their distilleries. But they also like beads and mirrors, pearls, vests, and old derby hats. In recent years machine-made muslins and calicoes have been edging out native-made cloth.

The *Cayapa* are not yet incorporated in Ecuadorean economy. Their need for metal goods and trinkets has not yet forced them to work on plantations or in placer gold mines. Their own supply of rum has helped them avoid debts contracted for alcohol, and they have usually retreated into the forest when their self-sufficiency has been menaced. It is improbable that this selective acculturation can last very long.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The basic *Cayapa* social unit is the household. Though there is no definite indication as to size and composition, it appears to be an extended family including normally no more than 10 to 12 people. Chief Antonio Napa's house at Punta Venado could seat some 40-odd people at a feast, but it was unique in size, and the Napa household according to Basurco (1894) had only 8 to 10 members.

Barrett (1925) presents a detailed chart of kinship terms used by the *Cayapa*. We unfortunately know nothing about the behavior that goes with the terms or about marriage rules. On the face of it the system is a "lineal" one—collateral relatives are separated from lineal ones but are not differentiated among themselves. Thus, the term for uncle applies to both paternal and maternal ones. All terms are highly descriptive. There is no evidence of reciprocal use of terms, but Barrett's chart is not really complete. The system is quite unique and interesting.

The lineal and descriptive nature of the kinship system emphasizes the bilateral character of the *Cayapa* family. There is no clan organization. The extended family household is the truly basic social unit. There is

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

[611] There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

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in-laws grandparents. By reversing Barrett's statement in line with this simple observation it can be said that the primary meaning of /ančápa/ is 'father-in-law' and secondarily and tenuously, 'grandfather.'

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Descent is today still bi-lateral, and residence is still bi-local with neo-locality as a very common alternate. Murdock in discussing incest taboos and their extensions placed the Cayapa in class B2-M1-P1.

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> B2. Minimal Bilateral Extension.--marriage forbidden or disapproved with all first cousins but permitted with at least some second cousins.
> M1. Matrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend marriage prohibitions further in the female line than in any other.
> P1. Patrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend prohibitions further in the male line than in any other (Murdock 1949: 302-303).

Murdock in this classification went beyond the data presented by Barrett; the Cayapa should have been classified in the category of Normal Bilateral Extension. Kindreds are unreported by Barrett, but are established in our data. There are two terms which may be translated as 'family' or 'kindred,' /píndatála/, /pínda/ 'food, plantain,' /-tála/ 'together,' and /búlutála/. Maximino Mendoza Añapa's father's brother brought him a woman to marry, but Maximino refused, saying that she is /léla búlutaléba/ 'we-family-together-with.' The

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relationship is very distant and the family concerned thought that it would be alright-in fact much to be preferred to her marrying a 'cousin.' Many Cayapa feel, as does Maximino, that there should be a maximum bilateral extension of the incest taboo to the kindred; however, we will present legal material that indicates the beginnings of a narrowing of the incest range. Certainly, Maximino's family were willing to narrow the range.

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Kinship nomenclature.

Father /ápa/
Mother /áma/
Grandfather /sápa/
Grandmother /sáma/
Father's brother /apípi/, /apíku/
Mother's brother /ahčíyu/ m.s., /uhpúyu/ w.s.
Father's brother's son /apiná.tala/ m.s.
/pandakáʲya/ w.s. /apinatakáʲya/ w.s.
Father's brother's daughter /apiná.tacúhki/, pandacúhki/
Mother's brother's son /unʸuna.tála/
Mother's brother's daughter /unʸúnʸu/, /unʸuná.tacúhki/
Father's sister /unʸúnʸu/ m.s. /unʸuná?ma/ w.s.
Mother's sister /maʒgúku/
Father's sister's son /unʸuná.tala/
Father's sister's daughter /unʸuna.tacúhki/, /nʸánʸa/
(elder)
Mother's sister's son /maʒguná.tala/
Mother's sister's daughter /maʒgu?náma/, /maʒgunatacúhki/
/nʸánʸa/ (elder) /kaʲlʸa/
(younger)
Brother /ná.tala/ m.s. /ukúku/ w.s.
Elder brother /unʸáku/
Younger brother /béna/

and say that it is because Jesus said that if the world comes to an end while many Cayapa are living, it would be very sad for them; it is therefore necessary for many infants to die. The population figures do indeed indicate that the Cayapa are not reproducing. For the Río Cameronese there is an average of 3.5 living children for each woman of childbearing age and almost 17 per cent sterility among the women.

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Adoption. Children will be adopted within the kindred if the parents should die, but there is seldom adoption of non-related children or of illegitimate children. There are a few instances of an illegitimate child's being kept by the mother, but more often she will kill it at birth. The mother may offer the child for adoption, but the general feeling is that such a child having been conceived in sin is non-Christian, and few people want such a child. The Christian thing to do, they feel, is to kill it.

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There is something in the nature of short-term "loans" of children. A child is sometimes sent to live with an "uncle" or other near relative for varying periods of time. In some cases the relatives are

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known to one while living; however, there is one exception, this one being that one's /padéna?ápa/, the god-father of the wedding, who sees the newly arrived soul and calls its name. In heaven one is re-united with the god-father and not the father. This story indicates that the major relationship that is set up is between the bridal couple and the padrinos and not between compadres. The marriage padrinos tend to be of the same generation as the bridal couple, and the feeling is that it is best to select padrinos from within the kindred. Padrinos are always man and wife, so that if one wishes a particular individual to be his padrino, then his wife automatically becomes his madrina. If incest taboos did not apply before, they are now extended, and the children of all of the ritual-kin are forbidden to marry each other.

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Except for remarriage, when it is permissible to choose new padrinos for the new marriage, it would appear that the ties of the marriage compadrazgo could not multiply "to meet the accelerated rate of change." I have the slightest suggestion of evidence that indicates that this may very well be happening. I was

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their traditional tales probably took place by way of the Río Santiago until the confluence with the Río Cayapas was reached; thence, movement was up the Río Cayapas. 174

In 1879 Wolf marked on his map of Esmeraldas province a "town"--that is, a center of habitation named San Miguel de Cayapas and in 1894 Basurco recorded Cayapa living up the Río Sapallo Grande and the Río San Miguel. The latter group is reported to have an alcalde (Basurco 1894:414). Between 1809 and 1879 the Malába had apparently been replaced by the Cayapa. By 1908 Barrett reported definitely that the Cayapa were divided into three tribal groups: Punta Venado, Sapallo Grande, and San Miguel. Each group was reported as having its own ceremonial center and being led by an /ún^{y}L/ or gobernador. During my 1959-1960 field trip, I was told by Gabriel Anapa, the /ún^{y}L/ of the Punta Venado group, that some twenty-five years earlier a group of people had left the Sapallo Grande section and had formed a new tribal unit with its own /ún^{y}L/. They left after a dispute with the /ún^{y}L/ of Sapallo grande concerning the re-establishment of Pueblo Viejo, the ancient center in the mountainous upper reaches of the Río

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Santiago drainage system. The dissident group claimed that the Seints were stronger in the old area and would be of greater help to the Cayapa. The new group settled in Zapallito, where they have their own ceremonial center, but for reasons unknown they did not return to Pueblo Viejo. Factionalism apparently accounts for some of the tribal fission.

Settlement Patterns. In 1879 the banks of the Río Cayapas almost as far down as Borbon, a town at the confluence of the Río Santiago and the Río Cayapas, were inhabited by Cayapa Indians while Negroes were found mainly along the Río Santiago (Wolf 1879). By 1894 Borbon had become a Negro town, and the lower reaches of Cayapa settlement had retreated up stream toward the area of the Río Onzole. At this time, about twenty-three Negroes were reported by Reseroo to be living at Telembí, a "village" of three houses about 77.5 kilometers from the mouth of the Río Cayapas. The Negroes had been given special permission by the Cayapa to live there provided they did not pan for gold which was found occasionally. (Reseroo 1894). In 1960 Telembí was a thriving Negro village of several hundred people, and the greater part

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship. The eliciting of kinship terminology among the Cayapa proved to be extremely difficult and time consuming. Many informants professed to be ignorant of many of the terms and clearly preferred to use Spanish nomenclature; however, sufficient data were collected to illustrate a major structural shift from Barrett's 1909 recording to the writer's 1960 notes. At present, the writer is unable to account for this shift in terms of Barrett's material and his own, as the residence and marriage patterns remain basically the same in the reports of the two investigators; however, there is some indication that new terminological forms were just beginning to come into the language in 1909. It is also known that the Cayapa tribe has undergone a process of fission, changing from one unit in 1909 to three in 1959 and four by 1960! We lack most of the vital details, but it is a reasonable assumption that changes in residence either went along with or followed the formation of the new groups.

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will be paid for by the nearest kin of the deceased.

Except for the recent (ca. 1940) colony at Sapallito, each of the three tribal groups has a church constructed in the western manner with plank siding and flooring. The planks for the siding are all placed vertically. The roofing is of thatch and is of split construction; a clerestory space of about two feet runs along the full length of the church on both sides between the upper and lower roofs. Within the church is an altar, and before it, in the Punta Venado Church, is a large crucifix with a carved, realistic Christ figure. Infants are buried inside the church behind the altar, because they are pure and undefiled by sin. Adults are buried in consecrated ground several minutes' walk from the ceremonial center proper. Chiefs are buried just outside of the Church door under the bell which hangs from the projecting lower roof. The ceremonial center is populated by the dead and their spirits. A Cayapa is always buried in the ceremonial center to which he belongs, and he inherits his membership from his father. He may attend fiestas at any of the other centers, but he must be buried where he belongs.

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Adults and children are buried in a cemetary area called the panteón, while infants are buried directly inside the church. When an /únʸi/ dies he is buried immediately outside the church entrance underneath the church bell that is suspended from the projecting roof. The Cayapa maintain that it is very important to be buried in the ceremonial center to which one belongs. Ceremonial allegiance is inherited in the patrilineal line and even though one has spent all or most of his life living in one of the other tribal groups, they believe that one should still be buried in the proper center. If a Cayapa should die far from home, he is interred at the site of death. Thereafter, attempts are made to bring the bones back for a proper funeral and burial. A casket is made, and the bones are laid out. The mourning and gaiety described above are carried out, but in a much more perfunctory fashion.

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Medical Practices. Illness for the Cayapa is mainly a matter of soul loss or spirit possession. To a lesser extent, the cause of the illness may be the presence of small physical objects such as stones or thorns which have been placed within the body by means of witchcraft.

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The /ún^{y}i/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections 104

is the acknowledged leader of the section; however the national government of Ecuador has inscribed the chief of the Punta Venado section as governor of all the Cayapa. The Indians of the other three groups say that while this governor is indeed superior to the others, he can in no way interfere in their internal affairs nor give orders to them. This is quite different from the situation reported by Barrett where in 1909 the chief of Punta Venado was in effective control of all of the other groups, allowing their chiefs to handle only minor matters (Barrett: personal communication). Office is inherited in the patrilineal line.

The /kása ún^{y}i/ may become the chief upon the death of the /ún^{y}i/ provided the eldest son of the /ún^{y}i/ is not old enough, or perhaps does not want the job. In these instances the brothers of the late governor may be considered. All of the offices mentioned pass within the male line as a rule, but they may pass out of the line if no one wants the job or if no one within the line is capable of handling it. Regardless of title, the duties of the officials are the same: they are expected to maintain order at the various festive occasions, and they are expected to adjudicate disputes among the Cayapa.

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down stream because the lobsters tend to move against the current. The lobster easily enters the mouth which consists of a conical chamber made of pointed bamboo. When the lobster enters the bait chamber, it is prevented from leaving by the pointed ends of the small section of the cone. The trap is tied to a long pole. Traps are set at intervals along the river, and they are visited every morning. There are no restrictions as to site location, but once a trap is set, no one else sets one next to it..

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While the Cayapa derive most of their subsistence from hunting, gathering, fishing, and planting, they are also engaged in commercial planting of bananas and as the market expands the Cayapa are becoming more and more peasant like.

Tribal Peasants

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Wolf in his discussion of "Types of Latin American Peasantry" marks off two main categories, the corporate peasant community characteristic of the highlands and the open peasant community that characterizes the tropical lowland areas.

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> The distinctive characteristic of the corporate peasant community is that it represents a bounded social system with clear-cut limits, in relations to both outsiders and insiders. It has structural identity over time. Seen from the outside, the community as a whole carries on a series of activities and upholds certain "collective representations." Seen from within, it defines the rights and duties of its members and prescribes large segments of their behavior (Wolf 1955:456). . .
>
> The open community differs from the corporate peasant community in a number of ways . . . The open community comprises a number of subcultures of which the peasantry is only one, . . . (it) emphasizes continuous interaction with the outside world and ties its fortunes to outside demands (Wolf 1955:462). . .
>
> The open community lends itself to rapid shifts in production because it is possible to mobilize the peasant and to orient him rapidly toward the expanding market. Land is usually owned <u>privately</u>. Decisions for change can be made by individual families. Property can be mortgaged, or pawned in return for capital. The community <u>qua</u> community cannot interfere in such change. (Wolf 1955:463).

Wolf of course did not intend these classifications to be an either-or device, and degrees of commitment to one or another community organization are to be expected. In terms of economic involvements with the money economy, the Cayapa display many of the features of the open peasant community: they own their land individually and may alienate it individually. Decisions are made by individual families and the community cannot interfere

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except in one instance. The Cayapa of the Río Cayapas have decided that no Indian may sell land to a Negro in the upper reaches of the river. Rumors are constantly reported that Negroes are moving in and there is definite concern that community strength is not sufficient to maintain the boundaries. The meager historical data indicate that in the early nineteenth century the Cayapa were largely self sufficient and were not producing much for cash. By the 1900's their wants and needs had increased and they were now engaged in the small scale production and sale of rubber and Tagua nuts. By the end of the first world war rubber and Tagua were major cash crops in the region. During the second world war rubber boomed and Tagua declined almost to the vanishing point. After the war the rubber market similarly declined. By now the Cayapa were well used to money and the things that money could buy, sewing machines, rifles, shotguns, shot, powder, cloth, watches, rubber boots, ready-made clothing, cosmetics, patent medicines, pressure lamps, rice, sugar, soft drinks, and many other products of our tinsel civilization. After the Second World War, Ecuador became a center of a banana boom and the Cayapa were affected greatly. Like the Negroes,

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like the Negroes

they cut more land for banana production, but unlike Negroes they always maintained a large reserve for subsistence agriculture. They are in the money economy but not yet of it. The Cayapa are not a completely open peasant community. Movement into the Cayapa cultural community is limited to born Cayapa and boundary maintenance is structured in terms of language and culture. A true picture, however, must view the Negro and Indian sectors as parts of a larger unit. The national government views the Cayapa as a corporate body with certain rights which do not pertain to the open peasant Negro communities in the area. The Cayapa are held by the government to be the owners of the land (which is ill-defined and not surveyed) and all outsiders must purchase land from them. This tends to emphasize the commercial character of the open peasant communities and we may be perhaps justified in calling them banana farmers. They must invest capital in farm land to increase production. The Cayapa need not do so. If the Cayapa requires more land, he may buy it to be sure, but he can also cut it out of the forest. However, as yet he tends not to increase his production at the behest of

4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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the market, and he maintains a rough balance between subsistence and commercial farming. In the pages to follow we will view a tribal people through their law, attempting to redefine human relationships that are being restructured by new economic conditions.

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142 [515] Their bodies are clean, and I have never seen a Cayapa who had a rash or boils, and only few who had scars. Their hair is thick, bristly [302] and dull black in color; the beardless men wear it semi-long to the nape of the neck, while the women let it hang loose and open so that it not only covers their backs and ears, but in part even their fore-291 heads and cheeks. Their clothes are extremely modest. The men wear a sleeveless, shirt-like, loose gown, which usually reaches to the hips only, but is sometimes longer, reaching to the knees, in which case it seems to be the holiday attire, and it looks richer having a border of differently colored cloth. These clothes are made of thin, very bright and cheap cotton materials. On special occasions 292 they even dress in gala clothes, which differ from their every-day 531 clothes in that they are decorated with straight lines or zig-zag de-301 signs of shells. In addition they may deck themselves out in their 177 most precious ornaments consisting of two to ten long necklaces made of multi-colored glass beads as well as (at least from their point of view) especially beautiful neck and arm ornaments consisting of the cardboards 6 cm. wide so well known to all of us, with a whole gross of ordinary porcelain shirt-buttons on each just as they were delivered by the European manufacturers. But even among them there are 292 dandies and fashion hounds, who manage to pick up a useless old 177 black waistcoat somewhere, which they then decorate with a lot of white shells and buttons, wearing it as a sort of open vest over their red or blue shirts. But imagine the happiness of the young man who in addition to this splendor, has managed to acquire a stiff round felt hat. No matter how shabby, battered, greasy and much too small it may be on his fat pate with the thick mop of hair, he is proud of his elegance and would not change places even with the governor. The ● 622 Gobernador de los Cayapas (Governor of the Cayapas) is one of their 177 chiefs, of which each village or district has one—yes of course—he 292 is a great gentleman—he can afford it—he not only wears a shell 301 bedecked waistcoat over his red cotton shirt, but over it still another long, black morning-coat, which he has bought from or been given by Don So-and-so, because it had become too tight, unfashionable or shabby for the latter. And around his neck and wrists he wears especially wide cardboards with buttons in proportion to his dignity. Naturally it would be considered unseemly for a governor to come to town without suitable head-gear, even if it be only a self-made straw panama hat for lack of a black felt hat. But even he does not wear [293] trousers or shoes, which are considered superfluous and burdensome; instead he carries in his right hand a wooden stick five feet long with a silver knob as a symbol of his position and power.

352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
412 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cooking utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunting and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
796 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

584 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
583 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible, consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
[411] family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows, i.e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these. It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique will administer a hundred blows (well-counted on fingers and toes) with the ship. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
[273] can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato (corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
[415] ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

2; Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

ECONOMICS

The *Cayapa* economic unit is the virtually self-sufficient, one-family household. Land is owned and worked familially, and there is as much land to be had as the family can clear. If any special rules govern distribution and inheritance, they are not reported by our sources. Also, there seem to be very few provisions for interhousehold cooperation: men will help a neighbor bring down a tree trunk from the hills, but all other activities are evidently left to individual enterprise.

This self-sufficiency does not apply to all spheres of activity. Machetes and rifles are essential in jungle life, and most families make at least one trip a year to the coast for trading and social purposes. In the small Ecuadorean and Colombian towns they find a ready market for rubber, tagua nuts, and other forest products. Cocoa is grown specifically for this trade. There is also a limited market for some of their manufactures: canoes, mats, fans, and other basketry. In exchange, the *Cayapa* want metal goods: axes, machetes, shotguns, fishhooks, fish spears, and copper tubing for their distilleries. But they also like beads and mirrors, pearls, vests, and old derby hats. In recent years machine-made muslins and calicoes have been edging out native-made cloth.

The *Cayapa* are not yet incorporated in Ecuadorean economy. Their need for metal goods and trinkets has not yet forced them to work on plantations or in placer gold mines. Their own supply of rum has helped them avoid debts contracted for alcohol, and they have usually retreated into the forest when their self-sufficiency has been menaced. It is improbable that this selective acculturation can last very long.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The basic *Cayapa* social unit is the household. Though there is no definite indication as to size and composition, it appears to be an extended family including normally no more than 10 to 12 people. Chief Antonio Napa's house at Punta Venado could seat some 40-odd people at a feast, but it was unique in size, and the Napa household according to Basurco (1894) had only 8 to 10 members.

Barrett (1925) presents a detailed chart of kinship terms used by the *Cayapa*. We unfortunately know nothing about the behavior that goes with the terms or about marriage rules. On the face of it the system is a "lineal" one—collateral relatives are separated from lineal ones but are not differentiated among themselves. Thus, the term for uncle applies to both paternal and maternal ones. All terms are highly descriptive. There is no evidence of reciprocal use of terms, but Barrett's chart is not really complete. The system is quite unique and interesting.

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LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He [illegible] that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

neighbor, though occasionally two or three houses may be within sight of one another along the river. In no case, however, is there an approach to communal life, each family forming an individual unit with family property-rights. There is, to be sure, a central government, the head of which is an hereditary chief, or *gobernador*, as he is at present called after the Spanish fashion. The purposes of this central government are strictly those of preserving law and order, settling controversies between individuals, and punishing infringements upon recognized social customs. In no case is there any interference by the central government with property or other recognized family rights and privileges.

A family, as the term is here used, consists of husband, wife, children, and dependents. By dependent is meant not necessarily one who is supported by the others, but one not having a house and a family of his own and who may choose to reside with some family, usually a closely related one. These dependents are usually newly-married sons or daughters, or are parents, grandparents, or other relatives of the head of the house or of his wife.

The daily life of the Cayapa is a busy routine for all members of the household, especially the women. In addition to the cooking, keeping the house in order, and attending to the wants of the smaller children, the mother of the household is kept busy spinning, weaving cloth, and making baskets, mats, fans, and pots, to say nothing of the work she does in the care of the crops and the gathering of the wild foods.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

In pl. XI is shown the ground-plan of one of the largest of the Cayapa houses. This is the largest of the four dwellings of the chief of the Punta Venado division, and is commonly called "*la casa grande del Gobernador*." This structure is situated on the southwestern bank of the Rio Cayapas, at a point just up-stream from the confluence of the Herradura Grande. The house is occupied usually by at least two families, and can comfortably accomodate as many as forty people if necessary. The structural details of this dwelling are typical of those of Cayapa houses in general, although the others are somewhat smaller. This "casa grande" is 87 feet in extreme length by 41 feet in extreme width. The floor may be divided into two areas by the line *b-c*, which represents that along which the two inner gables meet and where the pambil eaves-trough is placed to prevent the water from running in on the floor. The larger floor area (*a*) is the general living and sleeping room, and is 50 by 35 feet, exclusive of the raised projections (*e*), which extend from six to seven feet in each case. This entire floor area is covered by a single large roof. The smaller area (*b*), about 30 feet square, is, as before stated, at the same level as the larger area, but it is covered by a separate roof, and it is here that the fire-box is situated and where all food is prepared and cooked. The fire-box (*c*) is 4 feet 4 inches by 3 feet 9 inches, and is raised about three feet from the floor. The projection (*d*), about 5 feet 6 inches wide and 19 feet 6 inches long, is at the same level as the main floor, but is made of bamboo. Here

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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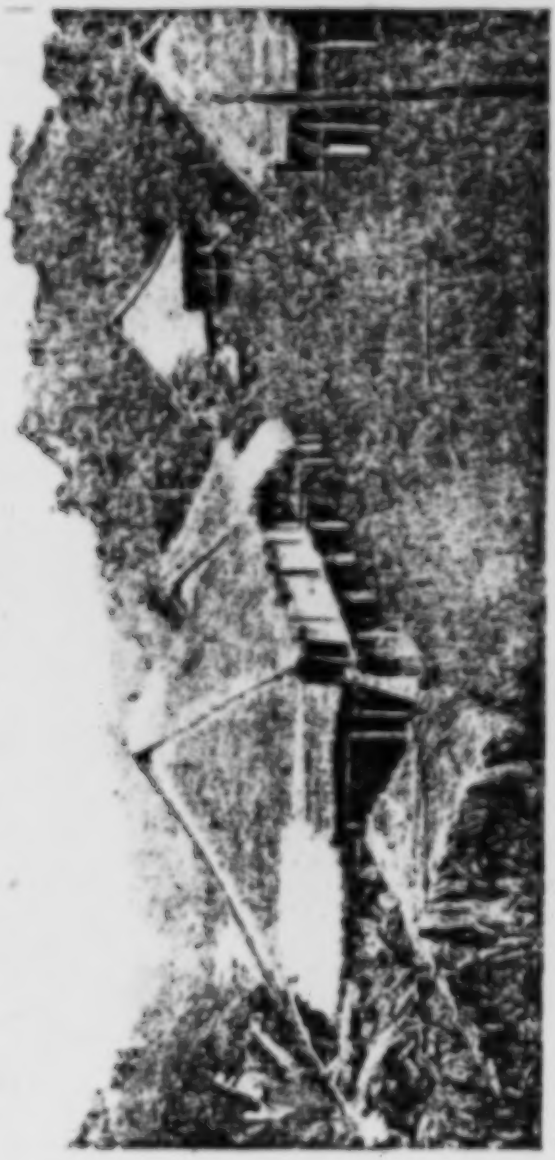

CHIEF'S HOUSE, SAPAYO GRANDE

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 54 (E)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

GROUND PLAN OF CHIEF'S HOUSE

[p. 56 (a)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

GOVERNMENT

622 624 [177 639] In large measure the mode of government now in vogue among the Cayapa is based on the Spanish system at present employed in Ecuador; consequently we find in each of the three divisions of the Cayapa the following officials: Gobernador, secretario de la gobernación, teniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento. The office of each of these officials is hereditary and on the death of the incumbent passes to his eldest living son or, if he has no sons, to his eldest living brother. In case he has neither son nor brother, the office passes to the eldest son of his eldest deceased brother, and should no such son be living, it passes to the eldest of his nearest male relatives, thus keeping the office always within the family. This system of succession is obviously an aboriginal one and was naturally retained when the new form of government was engrafted upon the old.

It sometimes happens that the hereditary candidate for an office does not wish to assume it. In such event it passes to the next in line in the order mentioned, or, by common consent of the heads of the related familes concerned, it may pass out of this order. Ordinarily such a condition does not arise, but instances have been known where an hereditary candidate declined to accept an office to which he was legally entitled, and which it was not only his privilege but also his duty to accept.

[177] The Spanish form of government has existed for many years, so that it is now difficult to determine exactly what the aboriginal Cayapa government was. It would appear, however, that there were but three classes of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

officials: First, a chief, known as ûˈnyĭ or ûˈmĭ, and now gobernador; second, one or more sub-chiefs, casawaˈlyĭ, now called gobernador nuevo; third, a class which might be termed officers of the law, called tcaˈitala. All the officers of the present Spanish form of government, other than the gobernador and the gobernador nuevo, are classed under the last head, and in reality all serve the same purposes as did the ancient tcaˈitala.

The center of government inheres in the chief, no matter where he may reside, and practically all matters, but especially matters of importance, are referred to him.

The Cayapa are separated, geographically and politically, into three divisons, each with its section of the river and its particular village which is used only at times of fiestas or for other gatherings. These divisions are those of Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, these designations being taken for convenience from the names of their respective villages in the order in which they are met in going up the Rio Cayapas. A part of Punta Venado is shown in pl. VIII, while a distant view of the village from the river is shown in pl. IX. This is the largest and most important of the three villages. In pl. X is presented a view of a part of Sapayo Grande, with the chief's house in the left foreground.

In each of these villages the chief has a large house, and it is here that most matters of importance are settled, justice is dispensed, and punishment inflicted. In such a house there is a large special room, at one end of which is a heavy stocks for the confinement of prisoners when necessary. In the Cayapa country the stocks is strictly

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

In the Cayapa country the stocks is strictly
681 a Spanish institution, so far as can be learned, and has
177 no Cayapa name, but is always called by the Spanish term cepo, or, as it is rendered locally, se'pō. So far as known it was introduced among the Cayapa by early missionaries.

622 In speaking of ceremonies (page 392), detailed descriptions are given of the methods of punishment, which theoretically is meted out only by the chief and the subchief. The remaining officers of the government, however, take a hand in the actual punishment when asked to do so by the chief, though their special duty is to apprehend and bring the offenders to justice, to keep order at fiestas and other gatherings, and generally to execute the laws devised by the chief, whose authority is supreme and whose word in all matters is absolutely binding. His attitude, however, is in no way oppressive; on the contrary, he displays great deference to public opinion and conducts the affairs of government in a harmonious and satisfactory manner. Perhaps the operations of the Cayapa governmental machinery are shown to best advantage in the settlement of what may be termed civil difficulties, for, as has been previously pointed out, there are few fixed laws among the Cayapa, largely for the reason that few crimes are committed. The laws are more in the nature of canons of ethics than statutory enactments, and they may be varied to a certain extent by public opinion concerning the particular case in hand. The Cayapa maintain that they have no punishment for theft, because theft does not exist either among themselves or against their neighbors. This reputation is borne out by the whites and negroes of the region, who

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

declare the Cayapa absolutely honest. It is claimed also 677
that murder and other major crimes are entirely unknown among them.

On the other hand, there are strict rules with respect 684
to marital relations, any infringement of which meets with severe punishment. The details of this phase of Cayapa life will be discussed in dealing with the subject of marriage. The Cayapa themselves claim that in [177]
aboriginal times the same regulations in respect to these matters were in vogue, but presumably they may have been at least strengthened, if not considerably influenced, by the rigid church laws introduced by missionaries.

It is said that formerly, when the Cayapa were a 173
united mountain people residing in a village community, there was but one chief and one government for all, but that soon after they settled along the banks of the river they became segregated into the three divisions as above mentioned. There then arose the three separate villages for fiestas and other gatherings, and the three separate and independent governments. No special reason for this separation is given by the Cayapa, other than that it was more convenient than to have a single central government; and no explanation could be obtained as to how the officials of the three separate governments were first appointed or elected.

It is said that in aboriginal times the inauguration of a new official was attended by no special ceremony, but that he automatically assumed the duties of his office on the death of his predecessor. At present, however, such a 622 624
person enters on these duties only after having been duly inducted by the priest during his annual visit to the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

622 624 village. The successor of an official is definitely known long before the death of the latter, but an official vacancy is not actually filled until the coming of the priest. Then, in the presence of all the other officials and anyone else who may wish to be present, the priest delivers an address in which he names the new official, announces his duties and privileges, commends him to the respect of the people, and charges him with the duties and responsibilities which he is about to assume. On the death of the chief, for instance, his duties are relegated to some other official, usually one of the "alcaldes," until such time as the priest shall arrive and inaugurate a successor.

465 622 681 None of these officials are supposed to receive compensation other than the honor and respect in which they are held. The chief, however, usually levies fines upon offenders, of which he takes personal possession and could, if he so desired, use a portion of them for his private needs, since no special account of such matters is kept by anyone. As a matter of fact such a thing rarely or never happens; on the contrary the chief uses the fines for paying the services of officers of the law whom he may send on missions of various kinds, such as bringing culprits to justice, settling disputes among his people, and the like. A portion of the money he uses also for the payment of shamans whom he employs now and then to expel dangerous spirits from his village, from deep pools in the river, or from other places where these mysterious beings are supposed to endanger the lives of the people at large. At the present time, when coins of Ecuador and Colombia are comparatively easy to obtain, fines are paid in money, but in earlier times they were always paid in commodities.

[756 776 799] [836]

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

upon the table; the rest was divided into small bits, and, after an invocation by the warden of the church, the men and boys, all seated on low benches about the table, proceeded to feast. The women meanwhile partook of a portion of the food that had been sent to the next room to them. Having finished the meal, a benediction was pronounced by the warden and the floor was cleared of all scraps of food and the leaves forming the table.

Immediately fresh leaves were spread as at first, and the boda, the word being here used in its more restricted sense, was served. While an olrenda has a very elaborate assortment of foods, a boda has only fish, oysters, or meats cooked in ripe plantain in the form of a thick gruel. This is served always in the aboriginal pottery plates of the kind shown in pl. LXXXVII, 4, although for everyday use dishes of European manufacture have almost entirely supplanted the pottery plates formerly used. In this particular case the boda consisted of a single course of plantain and fish, but sometimes other courses are served in order. The feast having been finished, the majority of the people went to their respective abodes in the village or to the house of the chief.

At such gatherings offenders against the law are usually brought before the chief, by whom justice is dispensed and differences between individuals adjudicated. On this particular occasion several matters of this nature demanded the chief's attention. The details of these will show something of the methods of dispensing justice among the Cayapa.

Immediately after the boda on this first day the chief sent some officers to bring before him certain offenders

Cayapa and Colorado and thereby systematically proved the relationship that had always been assumed on purely inspectional grounds (Moore 1962). The most recent classification proposed by Greenberg places Cayapa-Colorado within the sub family called Paezan, which together with Chibchan proper belongs to the Macro-Chibchan family (Greenberg 1956). This classification is similar to that proposed by Mason (Mason 1950:180). A claim that Cayapa is closely related to Mayan is proposed by Professor Aguilee R. Peres T; however, the documentation is not convincing at present (Peres 1960: 491-494).

History. The first actually reliable information on the Cayapa comes from the pen of W. B. Stevenson, who visited them briefly in 1809. At that time, there was but one group of Cayapa (those who lived in the vicinity of Punta Venado). The chief, or alcalde, as Stevenson called him, carried a "baston, insignia of authority" which he presented to Stevenson. He then ordered the Indians to obey Stevenson ". . . and they advanced one after another to kiss the head of the baston, and accompanied me to the house of the alcalde, which was

situated about thirty yards from the river side" (Stevenson 1829:405). Unfortunately, Stevenson's description of Cayapa life was meager, for he was much more interested in the Malâbe, a group of reputedly wild Indians who lived along the Río San Miguel, a tributary of the Río Cayapas. The Cayapa were as loathe to visit the Malâbe as Stevenson was eager to do so. After some hesitation, the alcalde, having been promised various gifts, ordered two men to take Stevenson up river. It is of considerable interest to note that the Cayapa chief had sufficient authority to order two of his people to accompany Stevenson into the land of the "savage" Malâbe. Stevenson reported that the Malâbe were quite gentle and that they spoke a variant of Quechua, a language spoken throughout the Andes from Ecuador to Peru and Bolivia. The Malâbe no longer exist as an ethnic group; however, this is the term used by the present day Cayapa to designate a group of evil spirits that dwell somewhere in the monte or bush.

It would appear, given the position of the Cayapa near the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas and the Malâbe at its upper reaches, that the migration of the Cayapa from their ancient Andean homeland as stated in

their traditional tales probably took place by way of the *Río Santiago* until the confluence with the *Río Cayapas* was reached; thence, movement was up the *Río Cayapas*. 174

In 1879 Wolf marked on his map of Esmeraldas province a "town"--that is, a center of habitation named *San Miguel de Cayapas* and in 1894 Basurco recorded Cayapa living up the *Río Sapallo Grande* and the *Río San Miguel*. The latter group is reported to have an *alcalde* (Basurco 1894:414). Between 1859 and 1879 the Malaka had apparently been replaced by the Cayapa. By 1908 Barrett reported definitely that the Cayapa were divided into three tribal groups: Punta Venado, Sapallo Grande, and San Miguel. Each group was reported as having its own ceremonial center and being led by an /ʌ̃ʸt/ or *gobernador*. During my 1959-1960 field trip, I was told by Gabriel Anapa, the /ʌ̃ʸt/ of the Punta Venado group, that some twenty-five years earlier a group of people had left the Sapallo Grande section and had formed a new tribal unit with its own /ʌ̃ʸt/. They left after a dispute with the /ʌ̃ʸt/ of Sapallo grande concerning the re-establishment of Pueblo Viejo, the ancient center in the mountainous upper reaches of the *Río*

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all lined up single file broadside to the altar. There were two bridal couples and the two sets of godparents, each couple clutching a lighted candle. The priest, an Italian, who had just arrived from missionary service in the Congo, told them that candles were not at all needed for the marriage service. The members of the wedding party looked somewhat discomfited, but they maintained their grips on the candles. The priest repeated his admonitions several times. There was no argument, but the Indians just stood there holding their candles in front of them. Finally, the priest, with a generous Italian shrug, said, "If you want to get married with candles, I'll marry you with candles, but you really don't need them." In a small way, Catholic flexibility had met Cayuga rigidity and the priest was beginning his accommodation.

Easter is the most important holiday for the Cayuga. The day before Easter week, people begin arriving at the ceremonial center and set up housekeeping. The following day, most of the people have arrived. There were no special services, and most of the day was spent in cleaning the place. The [illegible] began the work of

clearing. He worked alone for perhaps two hours before he was joined unenthusiastically by eight other men. They all worked separately and at a considerable distance from each other. Other men made minor repairs to the church, and still others made small repairs to the houses surrounding the plaza. All of the houses were in very poor repair, but no one felt obliged to undertake the effort required to make really good repairs. The houses were only used during Easter and Christmas, and some of the inhabitants felt sorely pressed.

The second day of Easter saw people busily engaged in building bamboo cross poles to which were fastened candles. That evening, about six, all of the fiestera, dressed in their finery, formed a procession. A Negro carried a large statue of a saint in his arms at the head of the parade. Behind him, forming a straggling line, two and three abreast, came the Cayapa. Some men and women held candles in their hands, some men carried the large bamboo cross-poles with six to eight candles. Some carried the smaller statues of the saints. They walked around the church three times, and then entered. Groups of Negroes were present and they sang hymns in Spanish. The Cayapa like to have the

Negroes present for Church services, because they like to hear them sing. One of the complaints voiced against the/ún^{y}i/ was that he had not invited enough Negro singers to the fiesta.

On Easter Sunday, there was a great deal of varied activity in all of the houses as the Cayapa prepared for the church activities. This meant that they put on their newest clothing, and young children were dressed in the kind of ornamentation ordinarily worn by women, they often had row upon row of beads and bangles hanging from the neck down to the waist. Around ten o'clock, the church bell rang, and people began drifting over to the church. The officials stood outside with their whips, and as people approached, they struck them several times across the buttocks. Some went into the church, where the chief stood in front of the altar. They bent forward and received the blows. Children were whipped also, but very lightly. Some of the officials went into each of the houses looking for stragglers. After all had been whipped, they whipped themselves and one of them whipped the chief. Only a few of the Negroes joined in the ritual, and, in these

instances, it was done with a joking air. There was some laughter as the Cayapa were whipping themselves, but it was restrained. As the official went about looking for more people, they kept stating, "Everyone has to be whipped, everyone." This practice very likely was brought in by Catholic missionaries at a very early period.

In general, the description of a fiesta given by Barrett applies, with one major exception. The passion play described by Barrett was no longer being performed. In its place a group of fiesteros set up a marimba, small hand drums and several bass drums in a small rancho between the church and the main house of the chief. During the evening of Easter Sunday, they played with such gusto that sometime between one and two in the morning the structure collapsed. Concurrently with all of these activities, the chief dispensed justice, marriages were arranged, marriages were celebrated, Negro funerals were conducted, fisticuffs were engaged in, people drank, also passed out, woke up, and the band played on. This continued for six days and nights.

Christmas was similar, except that there were no nighttime processions around the church. Ideally, seven sponsors are chosen for the Christmas fiesta, and they are expected to supply rum, tobacco, and guarapo, and perfumed toilet water which is used to douse the fiesteros during the evening following the church services on the twenty-fifth. The families of the sponsors distribute the goods to all comers until the supply is exhausted. This is expensive, and the outlay in cash may run to over five hundred sucres. While it is said to be an honor to be a sponsor, no one apparently accepts the honor willingly. Sour corn meal is prepared several days before Christmas and mixed with water. This drink, called cangu is put in small canoe-like containers on the evening of the 25th. Ten to twelve containers are divided up and blessed by the chief who makes the sign of the cross. The drink is then carried around and people dip gourds of it and drink. During the Christmas fiesta, the chief wandered around for hours arguing with men who claimed that they were too busy or too poor to become a sponsor for the next Christmas fiesta. Finally, the chief lost his temper and

harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several cannes in Esmeraldas. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is now undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

ugly to bear, and that I must leave before he began his cure, but the other two assured him that I was a "good gringo." By this point, the three brujos were quite drunk, and unable to function. The father took the child back to the main house, where it died early the following morning.

It is felt that brujos can kill as well as cure, but except for one instance, excessive sorcery was never attributed to Cayapa brujos. The father of Perdomo of Encanto was a bruja who was killed because "he killed too many people." This was the only instance recorded and it was apparently done on an individual basis and not through the legal apparatus.

Government. The Spanish governmental nomenclature can be found with varying degrees of completeness in each of the four tribal sections. The list as noted by Barrett included the following: "Governador, secretario de la governación, teniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento." (Barrett 1929:312). In 1960, the terms alcalde, comisário, and teniente político were apparently no longer in use, and no one knew of any individual who occupied any of these offices.

Today, as in 1909, there are apparently three

main classes of officials. First, there is the /ún^{y}i/ or gobernador; second, there is the /kása ún^{y}i/ or gobernador nuevo; and third, there are those officials called /čá^{i}tala/. This term may derive from /čačí/ 'people' and /-tala/ 'together,' that is, an official who gathers people together. Those officials who are called capitán or /tánde/, the latter from teniente, and the secretario, seem to be /čá^{i}tala/ and are listed on the official roles in the provincial capital of Esmeraldas. Regardless of Spanish title, the /čá^{i}tala/ are not functionally distinct. That is, the duties of all of the officials are the same: to help arrange marriages and to settle disputes. At the ceremonial center they may as a group try a case while the /ún^{y}i/ listens to the proceedings and comes to a decision. In addition to these officials, there are individuals who are called policeman and who are available at the request of any of the officials. Their duties include the bringing in of culprits for trial as well as aiding in the maintenance of a modicum of order at the fiestas.

The /ún^{y}i/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections

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The /ún^{y}i/ chief of each of the tribal sections is the acknowledged leader of the section; however the national government of Ecuador has inscribed the chief of the Punta Venado section as governor of all the Cayapa. The Indians of the other three groups say that while this governor is indeed superior to the others, he can in no way interfere in their internal affairs nor give orders to them. This is quite different from the situation reported by Barrett where in 1909 the chief of Punta Venado was in effective control of all of the other groups, allowing their chiefs to handle only minor matters (Barrett: personal communication). Office is inherited in the patrilineal line.

The /kása ún^{y}i/ may become the chief upon the death of the /ún^{y}i/ provided the eldest son of the /ún^{y}i/ is not old enough, or perhaps does not want the job. In these instances the brothers of the late governor may be considered. All of the offices mentioned pass within the male line as a rule, but they may pass out of the line if no one wants the job or if no one within the line is capable of handling it. Regardless of title, the duties of the officials are the same: they are expected to maintain order at the various festive occasions, and they are expected to adjudicate disputes among the Cayapa.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

announced that he knew more of the law than did Gabriel. The Cayapa plainly do not know how to deal with Pindalenas. Some Cayapa say that he has absolutely no right to interfere in the legal disputes. Similarly, Gabriel points out that the Negro is merely his employee and nothing more, but a few Cayapa think that perhaps he can take part in the adjudicating of disputes. They are not very certain, but if Pindalenas acts as if he can, then perhaps he can. On occasion he has asked Cayapa women to dance with him at the fiesta in the Cayapa manner, but he has always been refused. No other Negro has ever attempted to dance with a Cayapa woman. In the disputes witnessed by the writer at which Pindalenas was present, he seemed to restrict himself to echoing the judgments reached by the Cayapa officials.

Such governmental activities as exist for the Cayapa will be amply illustrated in terms of their law. In point of fact, Cayapa law can be said to be the major part of Cayapa government. Political behavior for the Cayapa is intimately related to governmental instability which is largely the result of interregnum

uncertainties. These uncertainties are carried over into the new period of chieftainship wherein there is a great difference between the people's perception of authority and their expectation of authority. Gabriel is not seen as a strong chief but, rather, as a man who drinks excessively and as a result, is unable to function as a chief should. At this point political behavior took two forms among the Cayapa. On one level, individuals were seen expressing dissatisfaction with Gabriel as the newly installed /ún^{y}i/ and threatening to go to Quito, the national capitol, to have him replaced. The youngest son of the late /ún^{y}i/ was voicing complaints that by rights he should have been the /ún^{y}i/ because he speaks excellent Spanish in marked contrast to Gabriel. Most of the complaints seemed to emanate from the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas, more especially from the region of Pichiyaco, the home of the late /ún^{y}i/. Complaints were voiced that Gabriel could not speak good Spanish, that he could not perform his duties, that he could not settle disputes, that he was /vinrúku/, "a drunkard." As the time drew near for the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado, many people

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began saying that they would attend the fiesta at one of the other tribal sections rather than attend one headed by an incompetent drunkard. Others said that if they attended, they would not ask Gabriel to settle their disputes: rather than this, they said, they would go to the national authorities. Gabriel was clearly not very secure in his position. The behavior of the people in these instances was political because there was a shifting of support from one authority to a contender. Furthermore, the shift of support was ideologically motivated in terms of values concerning the nature of the chieftainship (cf Easton 1958; Rivera 1960). Gabriel's reaction to this was to drink more. Often when I would be talking to one or more Indians, Gabriel would appear on the scene, quite drunk, and begin to electioneer in a loud voice. He would tell the Indian(s) that he was responsible for my being there and that they would all benefit by my knowledge of hypodermics and penicillin. Whenever I saw Gabriel, he was obviously drunk: these observations extended over many months.

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The personal crisis for Gabriel seems to have

been met during the Christmas fiesta. He took no overt steps to assert his authority beyond stating to a few Negro bystanders that he was the /ún^{y}i/. He remained drunk a good deal of the time but so did most of the other fiesteros including women and, at times, children. Little by little, people became aware of the fact that there was indeed an /ún^{y}i/ available, and a few began drifting over to where he lay drunk, sprawled in his hammock; despite his inebriation, /havítu/ "complaints," were presented to him. It turned out that most of the disputes to be settled were from the area that had initially manifested greatest opposition to Gabriel. Gabriel, therefore, began to function as the /ún^{y}i/ in fact, as well as in name; however, his performance was not at all satisfactory. For example, on one occasion when he was asked to cure a sick child because he had studied curing with a brujo from Rapallo Grande, he was ineffective in carrying out this ritual because of his drunkenness.

As the fiesta were on day and night without dissolution for a full week, the second level of political

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behavior began to develop. Individuals, all very drunk, and occasionally two or three holding each other up, would stand in front of Gabriel and lecture him on his drunkenness. This was not the way an /ún^{y}i/ should act, they would say; he must be sober; he must change his ways, or the people would not listen to him. From time to time his wife would place herself before his supine form which was sprawled occasionally on the floor, but most often in his hammock. She would loudly and clearly, in front of the assembled crowd, harangue him in the same vein, telling him to sober up and get out and behave as an /ún^{y}i/ should. Scenes like these were repeated throughout the year at various small parties and again at Punta Venado during the next Easter season. The attendance during Easter was markedly less than at the previous Christmas gathering. Political resistance had not died down. The situation described above has all of the elements of a comedy [drunks moralizing to a drunkard], but Gabriel was an element of poignant tragedy within the comedy. The previous year he had not been a drunkard, but that year he was not the /ún^{y}i/.

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After assuming office he merely continued his usual drinking behavior which apparently was the culturally normal pattern. A normally intoxicated Cayapa cannot settle disputes adequately nor can he maintain law and order effectively. An important point also is that the sober Cayapa feels absolutely no guilt or shame for his behavior while drunk. His work routine has not been disrupted, his family is not neglected, no one points a scornful finger at him. For the Gabriel, the situation was quite different. The instant he became the /ʉnʸi/ he was expected to change a lifetime of habit formation. Political behavior involving the shift of support from one authority to another entered a phase of psychological warfare. A new authority was to be created and the old one destroyed psychologically. The new authority was to be created in the image of what the people felt an /ʉnʸi/ should be like. The lack of congruence between the people's expectation of authority and their actual perception of authority created a situation of intense ambiguity wherein Gabriel was being culturally defined as an alcoholic. The ambiguous nature of his position,

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the presence of very heavy, culturally-approved drinking, and the constant moralizing and expressions of political disaffection brought Gabriel to the inexorable cycle that began to isolate him as the only apparent alcoholic in a society of heavy drinkers. It may be that as Gabriel begins to succumb to addictive alcoholism, the individual pressures exerted politically will begin to mold his personality in a new direction; as the gap between expected and observed authority progressively narrows, political behavior will progressively decrease, and the Cayapa governmental system will approach a measure of stability.

Not only was Gabriel's authority on probation within the Punta Venado group but it was completely rejected by the people of the other tribal sections. Gabriel felt that as the senior /ʌ̃ʸʟ/ he should be in charge of all Cayapa affairs. Barrett reported that during his stay, Gabriel's father was in effective control of all of the Cayapa sections, leaving to the other chiefs only minor matters (Barrett 1960: personal communication).

Gabriel attempted to assert some measure of

Altschuler E-9 (1959-1960) 1968
SD4 Cayuga SD4

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personal discretion during a situation of crisis and was soundly rebuffed on all sides. During 1959-60 rumors were constantly in the air in Broadus that the end of the world was going to take place soon. These rumors had reached the Cayuga and were vouched for by one of the priests at the town of Lismore. This priest had been forecasting such an event for some time. According to Gabriel, Jesus carries the world in his arms and when the sins of the people pile up, the world gets heavier and heavier until at last the burden becomes insupportable, and Jesus lets the world fall. That, said Gabriel, will happen very soon unless the Cayuga can appease the wrath of God by holding a special fiesta on the tenth of August, a national holiday. Gabriel was so concerned that he sent a message to the chiefs of the other sections, inviting them to a meeting at his home to discuss the impending disaster and the means by which to avert it. He wanted each group to stage a fiesta at its own ceremonial center at the same time "to give added strength." To make doubly sure, he wanted four young children to be married "as they did in the

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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old days." Being young they would, of course, be without sin, and Jesus would find the sight touching and forgive the world. Gabriel also let it be known that any of the Punta Venado group who did not attend would be fined by a special commission composed of two Indians and two Negroes. The Negroes would be needed to speak harshly to the stay-at-homes because the Indians have too much shame to speak with the needed firmness. The chiefs of the other sections never came to the proposed meeting. Probably sensing his lack of control over the other groups as well as within his own group [several people had voiced opposition to going so far to Punta Venado], he about-faced and stated that a celebration would be held at his house, to be followed in a week by another to be held at the Cimarrón house in Encanto. According to informants, this would serve adequately because the statues of the saints are in Gabriel's house and would be brought to Encanto when needed.

It is clear that at this time Gabriel had no control over the other sections and very little over his own. Resistance to him was on an individual basis

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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and never by way of organized groups. There were no political groups, just individuals who occasionally voiced dissatisfaction.

John Embree in his comparison between Thai and Japanese social systems wrote in terms of close and loose structures:

> Loosely integrated here signifying a culture in which considerable variation of individual behavior is sanctioned (Embree 1950:182) . . . Where social structure is "close"--that is, where the behavior of the people conforms closely to the formal social patterns of human relations . . . it is difficult for an individual to deviate, and reciprocal rights and duties are clearly marked and carried out (Embree 1950:185).

Cayapa social organization is, in these terms, loosely integrated, and Cayapa behavior is marked by individuality but not by individualism. That is, there is no ethic of individualism, rugged or otherwise, held as an ideal, but rather the sociological concomitants of a bi-laterally structured kinship system, lacking corporate kin groupings, coupled with the lack of permanent action groups of any kind, usually preclude social involvements on other than an individual basis. A possible exception to this may be

[571]

found in the household consisting of several related nuclear families, but even here, the group is contingent upon circumstances, variable in personnel and unstable in duration. Members of the household are in constant movement, tending their far flung farm plots, visiting kinfolk, traveling to the cities, and visiting curers.

The lack of corporate involvements for the Cayapa effectively restricts political behavior to periods of turbulence and uncertainty such as occurred after the death of the late /ũn^{y}i/, Arcilio Pianchichi, and the installation of his nephew, Gabriel Añapa, as the new governor. It may be, that whenever the office passes out of the direct line from father to son, political disturbances develop which may be exacerbated by personality factors. This seems to have been the case with Gabriel whose involvement in political events will be discussed shortly.

In terms of being a loosely structured society, the Cayapa differ from the Thai as discussed by Embree in an important manner:

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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> In Siamese society it is relatively easy to achieve a fait acompli by doing something not approved by other members of the group. But in so doing one does not necessarily achieve the acceptance of the others. The "accomplished fact" does not accomplish much (Embree 1950: 185).

It is precisely at this point that the Cayapa offer a dramatic contrast. The strong-minded deviant in Cayapa society can, by his determination, make his accomplished fact a model for emulation and ultimate acceptance by the members of his society. Cayapa society is structurally unable, in the normal course of events, to permit the development of concerted and protracted pressure on an individual deviant. The only approach to this occurred when Gabriel assumed his position as /ún^{y}i/. Gabriel was not a man who commanded respect from either the Negroes or the Indians. He did not speak Spanish well, he drank to excess and was unable to perform his duties, he was not well versed in the law, and he was a poor man. For the Cayapa, the /ún^{y}i/ should be a man of infinite wisdom, who is well spoken both in Cayapa and in Spanish, a man who can stand up to the Negroes for the Cayapa,

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a man who can govern justly with a minimum of friction. People may be born in this mold and others may change aspects of their personality and perceptions through the performance of required role behavior in new status positions. This latter situation is being structured by the Cayapa in terms of a unique kind of political behavior.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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anxiety of Cayapa life.

Given these features of Cayapa life and culture it may be seen that tribal cohesion can best be achieved by means of a chief who fulfills the requirements of dominance that goes hand in glove with attitudes of submission in a people who lack both confidence and competence. Political behavior as described in the body of the text may be viewed as a projective system, in Kardiner's terms, wherein an attempt is made to mold the present chief into an image of their ego ideal.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

and probed and usually found wanting.

Cayapa law readily lends itself to a division into Civil and Criminal law. The former is concerned mainly with property (especially land) while the latter is preeminently concerned with sexual behavior and sin. In the realm of Cayapa Civil law, especially in cases that involve land, legal decisions are compromises in the sense that the usurper is permitted limited return on his labor. There is agreement by all parties to the dispute that land as such is owned, but lacking written records, the best proof that a claimant to land ownership has is evidence of his having worked the land he claims. Work is the best validation of ownership, but the land need not be continuously worked; however, as work is neglected, and as memories fade, ownership is contested. Basically, land disputes involve a claim by the usurper that the original ownership is in jeopardy. These claims are always balanced with the claims of the owner and a compromise solution is reached. The land, in effect, is shared for a period of time and the owner is warned that he must continue to work his land intensively or be subject to further challenges to his ownership. Compromise is an effective

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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solution and serves to exclude the chief from entangling alliances with one party as opposed to the other. Whether this serves to enhance the position of the chief in his role as third person in the legal process, is not clear. Aubert (1963) believes that mediating decisions foster independence for the third party office, as well as increased prestige. Structurally, the office of /ún^{y}i/ is an independent one that does not permit the formation of alliances with groups that are virtually impossible to form anyway, given the social and psychological structure of Cayapa culture.

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In the legal materials dealing with land it is seen that all of the parties to the dispute were in complete agreement as to the nature of land and its ownership. Conflict does not involve different value positions on the part of the disputants but rather individuals are competing for scarce goods that embody shared cultural values. Polygyny among the Cayapa represents a mixture of competing interests, as in land disputes, and also some lack of agreement as to what the basic issues and values are. Women are valued goods, in a sense, that at present are in scant supply. A compromise solution, as in land disputes, is not

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When a new /ún^{y}i/ takes the reins

of authority, his individual personality and behavior, complicated by the cultural emphasis on heavy drinking, will effect the complementarity of expectations between the /ún^{y}i/ and the people. If there is a lack of conformity between the behavior of the /ún^{y}i/ and the expectancies of the people, there will be an effort on the part of individuals to effect conformity by engaging in moralizing, gossiping, nagging, and threats to shift allegiance to other authorities—all directed against one man, the /ún^{y}i/. The aim of all of these kinds of behavior is to return to the status quo ante, when the late /ún^{y}i/ was the image of true leadership. As the new /ún^{y}i/ is pressured into modifying his behavior in the direction of the cultural expectancies, the agitation and political behavior will diminish.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

GOVERNMENT

622 624 [177 634] In large measure the mode of government now in vogue among the Cayapa is based on the Spanish system at present employed in Ecuador; consequently we find in each of the three divisions of the Cayapa the following officials: Gobernador, secretario de la gobernación, teniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento. The office of each of these officials is hereditary and on the death of the incumbent passes to his eldest living son or, if he has no sons, to his eldest living brother. In case he has neither son nor brother, the office passes to the eldest son of his eldest deceased brother, and should no such son be living, it passes to the eldest of his nearest male relatives, thus keeping the office always within the family. This system of succession is obviously an aboriginal one and was naturally retained when the new form of government was engrafted upon the old.

It sometimes happens that the hereditary candidate for an office does not wish to assume it. In such event it passes to the next in line in the order mentioned, or, by common consent of the heads of the related familes concerned, it may pass out of this order. Ordinarily such a condition does not arise, but instances have been known where an hereditary candidate declined to accept an office to which he was legally entitled, and which it was not only his privilege but also his duty to accept.

[177] The Spanish form of government has existed for many years, so that it is now difficult to determine exactly what the aboriginal Cayapa government was. It would appear, however, that there were but three classes of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

officials: First, a chief, known as ū'nyī or ū'mī, and now gobernador; second, one or more sub-chiefs, casawa'lyī, now called gobernador nuevo; third, a class which might be termed officers of the law, called tca'itala. All the officers of the present Spanish form of government, other than the gobernador and the gobernador nuevo, are classed under the last head, and in reality all serve the same purposes as did the ancient tca'itala.

The center of government inheres in the chief, no matter where he may reside, and practically all matters, but especially matters of importance, are referred to him.

The Cayapa are separated, geographically and politically, into three divisons, each with its section of the river and its particular village which is used only at times of fiestas or for other gatherings. These divisions are those of Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, these designations being taken for convenience from the names of their respective villages in the order in which they are met in going up the Rio Cayapas. A part of Punta Venado is shown in pl. VIII, while a distant view of the village from the river is shown in pl. IX. This is the largest and most important of the three villages. In pl. X is presented a view of a part of Sapayo Grande, with the chief's house in the left foreground.

In each of these villages the chief has a large house, and it is here that most matters of importance are settled, justice is dispensed, and punishment inflicted. In such a house there is a large special room, at one end of which is a heavy stocks for the confinement of prisoners when necessary. In the Cayapa country the stocks is strictly

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

In the Cayapa country the stocks is strictly
681 a Spanish institution, so far as can be learned, and has
177 no Cayapa name, but is always called by the Spanish term cepo, or, as it is rendered locally, se'pō. So far as known it was introduced among the Cayapa by early missionaries.

622 In speaking of ceremonies (page 392), detailed descriptions are given of the methods of punishment, which theoretically is meted out only by the chief and the subchief. The remaining officers of the government, however, take a hand in the actual punishment when asked to do so by the chief, though their special duty is to apprehend and bring the offenders to justice, to keep order at fiestas and other gatherings, and generally to execute the laws devised by the chief, whose authority is supreme and whose word in all matters is absolutely binding. His attitude, however, is in no way oppressive; on the contrary, he displays great deference to public opinion and conducts the affairs of government in a harmonious and satisfactory manner. Perhaps the operations of the Cayapa governmental machinery are shown to best advantage in the settlement of what may be termed civil difficulties, for, as has been previously pointed out, there are few fixed laws among the Cayapa, largely for the reason that few crimes are committed. The laws are more in the nature of canons of ethics than statutory enactments, and they may be varied to a certain extent by public opinion concerning the particular case in hand. The Cayapa maintain that they have no punishment for theft, because theft does not exist either among themselves or against their neighbors. This reputation is borne out by the whites and negroes of the region, who

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

declare the Cayapa absolutely honest. It is claimed also 674
that murder and other major crimes are entirely unknown among them.

On the other hand, there are strict rules with respect 684
to marital relations, any infringement of which meets with severe punishment. The details of this phase of Cayapa life will be discussed in dealing with the subject of marriage. The Cayapa themselves claim that in [177]
aboriginal times the same regulations in respect to these matters were in vogue, but presumably they may have been at least strengthened, if not considerably influenced, by the rigid church laws introduced by missionaries.

It is said that formerly, when the Cayapa were a 173
united mountain people residing in a village community, there was but one chief and one government for all, but that soon after they settled along the banks of the river they became segregated into the three divisions as above mentioned. There then arose the three separate villages for fiestas and other gatherings, and the three separate and independent governments. No special reason for this separation is given by the Cayapa, other than that it was more convenient than to have a single central government; and no explanation could be obtained as to how the officials of the three separate governments were first appointed or elected.

It is said that in aboriginal times the inauguration of a new official was attended by no special ceremony, but that he automatically assumed the duties of his office on the death of his predecessor. At present, however, such a 622
person enters on these duties only after having been 624
duly inducted by the priest during his annual visit to the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

village. The successor of an official is definitely known long before the death of the latter, but an official vacancy is not actually filled until the coming of the priest. Then, in the presence of all the other officials and anyone else who may wish to be present, the priest delivers an address in which he names the new official, announces his duties and privileges, commends him to the respect of the people, and charges him with the duties and responsibilities which he is about to assume. On the death of the chief, for instance, his duties are relegated to some other official, usually one of the "alcaldes," until such time as the priest shall arrive and inaugurate a successor.

None of these officials are supposed to receive compensation other than the honor and respect in which they are held. The chief, however, usually levies fines upon offenders, of which he takes personal possession and could, if he so desired, use a portion of them for his private needs, since no special account of such matters is kept by anyone. As a matter of fact such a thing rarely or never happens; on the contrary the chief uses the fines for paying the services of officers of the law whom he may send on missions of various kinds, such as bringing culprits to justice, settling disputes among his people, and the like. A portion of the money he uses also for the payment of shamans whom he employs now and then to expel dangerous spirits from his village, from deep pools in the river, or from other places where these mysterious beings are supposed to endanger the lives of the people at large. At the present time, when coins of Ecuador and Colombia are comparatively easy to obtain, fines are paid in money, but in earlier times they were always paid in commodities.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ugly to bear, and that I must leave before he began his cure, but the other two assured him that I was a "good gringo." By this point, the three brujos were quite drunk, and unable to function. The father took the child back to the main house, where it died early the following morning.

It is felt that brujos can kill as well as cure, but except for one instance, excessive sorcery was never attributed to Cayapa brujos. The father of Perdomo of Encanto was a brujo who was killed because "he killed too many people." This was the only instance recorded and it was apparently done on an individual basis and not through the legal apparatus.

Government. The Spanish governmental nomenclature can be found with varying degrees of completeness in each of the four tribal sections. The list as noted by Barrett included the following: "Governador, secretario de la governación, teniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento." (Barrett 1925:312). In 1960, the terms alcalde, comisário, and teniente político were apparently no longer in use, and no one knew of any individual who occupied any of these offices.

Today, as in 1909, there are apparently three

main classes of officials. First, there is the /ún^{y}i/ or gobernador; second, there is the /káa ún^{y}i/ or gobernador nuevo; and third, there are those officials called /čá^{i}tala/. This term may derive from /čaČi/ 'people' and /-tala/ 'together,' that is, an official who gathers people together. Those officials who are called capitán or /tánde/, the latter from teniente, and the secretario, seem to be /čá^{i}tala/ and are listed on the official roles in the provincial capital of Esmeraldas. Regardless of Spanish title, the /čá^{i}tala/ are not functionally distinct. That is, the duties of all of the officials are the same: to help arrange marriages and to settle disputes. At the ceremonial center they may as a group try a case while the /ún^{y}i/ listens to the proceedings and comes to a decision. In addition to these officials, there are individuals who are called policeman and who are available at the request of any of the officials. Their duties include the bringing in of culprits for trial as well as aiding in the maintenance of a modicum of order at the fiestas.

The /ún^{y}i/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections

The /ún^{y}i/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections

is the acknowledged leader of the section; however the national government of Ecuador has inscribed the chief of the Punta Venado section as governor of all the Cayapa. The Indians of the other three groups say that while this governor is indeed superior to the others, he can in no way interfere in their internal affairs nor give orders to them. This is quite different from the situation reported by Barrett where in 1909 the chief of Punta Venado was in effective control of all of the other groups, allowing their chiefs to handle only minor matters (Barrett: personal communication). Office is inherited in the patrilineal line.

The /kása ún^{y}i/ may become the chief upon the death of the /ún^{y}i/ provided the eldest son of the /ún^{y}i/ is not old enough, or perhaps does not want the job. In these instances the brothers of the late governor may be considered. All of the offices mentioned pass within the male line as a rule, but they may pass out of the line if no one wants the job or if no one within the line is capable of handling it. Regardless of title, the duties of the officials are the same: they are expected to maintain order at the various festive occasions, and they are expected to adjudicate disputes among the Cayapa.

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earlier by way of the custom of night courtship described above. These affairs need not end in marriage, and both parties are free to seek greener pastures. It is the decided impression of the writer that the Cayapa women are the sexual initiators generally and that they are visited by a comparatively small number of sexual activists among the men.

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Arranged Marriages. Most men do not have the brashness of character required to steal a woman, and many are not able to carry through a successful night courtship. For them, therefore an arranged marriage is necessary. One way of arranging a marriage is for the father of a young man or woman to ask one of the tribal officials to find a spouse for his offspring. If the official does not know of anyone immediately available, he will make inquiries at whatever fiesta he happens to attend. There is no charge for this service.

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This sort of match-making was attempted unsuccessfully at a fiesta that I attended at Zapallo Grande in 1960. The fiesta was a combined affair, honoring the dead and celebrating a recent marriage.

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by Pablo himself. Pablo was furious with rage and beat both his wife and Chapiro. After being thrashed, Chapiro ran away. Pablo's wife left for her father's house to advise him of the event. Her father, Lorenzo Martin is one of the officials or /ta tala/ of the community. As an official, he was empowered to settle disputes and to order. He went to Pablo's house to obtain more details. Pablo demanded punishment for Chapiro. About four days later, Lorenzo brought Chapiro to the house of Pablo's older brother, and charged him with the crime. Chapiro said nothing in his defense thus tacitly admitting his guilt. Lorenzo ordered one hundred and twenty strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, but Severico who is Chapiro's father's brother's son [just cousin] claimed that the punishment was too severe, whereupon the sentence was reduced to one hundred lashes to be applied by Lorenzo. Following the punishment, everyone got drunk except Chapiro, who left right after the whipping.

In the Cayapa view, a conflict of interest in the person of Lorenzo, the father of the seduced woman, and Lorenzo, the official, does not exist. The facts

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main classes of officials. First, there is the /ún^{y}i/ or gobernador; second, there is the /kása ún^{y}i/ or gobernador nueveo; and third, there are those officials called /č^{y}á^{i}tala/. This term may derive from /čač^{y}i/ 'people' and /-tala/ 'together,' that is, an official who gathers people together. Those officials who are called capitán or /tánde/, the latter from teniente, and the secretario, seem to be /č^{y}á^{i}tala/ and are listed on the official roles in the provincial capital of Esmeraldas. Regardless of Spanish title, the /č^{y}á^{i}tala/ are not functionally distinct. That is, the duties of all of the officials are the same: to help arrange marriages and to settle disputes. At the ceremonial center they may as a group try a case while the /ún^{y}i/ listens to the proceedings and comes to a decision. In addition to these officials, there are individuals who are called policeman and who are available at the request of any of the officials. Their duties include the bringing in of culprits for trial as well as aiding in the maintenance of a modicum of order at the fiestas.

The /ún^{y}i/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

neighbor, though occasionally two or three houses may be within sight of one another along the river. In no case, however, is there an approach to communal life, each family forming an individual unit with family property-rights. There is, to be sure, a central government, the head of which is an hereditary chief, or *gobernador*, as he is at present called after the Spanish fashion. The purposes of this central government are strictly those of preserving law and order, settling controversies between individuals, and punishing infringements upon recognized social customs. In no case is there any interference by the central government with property or other recognized family rights and privileges.

A family, as the term is here used, consists of husband, wife, children, and dependents. By dependent is meant not necessarily one who is supported by the others, but one not having a house and a family of his own and who may choose to reside with some family, usually a closely related one. These dependents are usually newly-married sons or daughters, or are parents, grandparents, or other relatives of the head of the house or of his wife.

The daily life of the Cayapa is a busy routine for all members of the household, especially the women. In addition to the cooking, keeping the house in order, and attending to the wants of the smaller children, the mother of the household is kept busy spinning, weaving cloth, and making baskets, mats, fans, and pots, to say nothing of the work she does in the care of the crops and the gathering of the wild foods.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

of the type known as bodas and others of the type known as ofrendas, given by different persons. 1916

This is one of the principal times when offenders against tribal laws are punished, although they may be punished with equal effect at any other public gathering. This fiesta usually lasts from three days to a week. [626]

La Fiesta de Agosto

As before stated, the date of the Fiesta de Agosto is quite irregular, depending largely on the convenience of the priest who is to attend. The whole fiesta had its origin in the Ecuadorian national holiday, August tenth, and by the whites and negroes of other parts of the province it is celebrated always on that date. Among the Cayapa, however, this festival takes the place of the Easter fiesta as celebrated among the whites and negroes, in so far as the services of the priest are concerned. Whereas he always celebrates Easter at some point near the coast, and the whites and negroes almost always attend, the Cayapa await the arrival of the priest at their own villages for any such special services.

At a time when they know that the priest is in one of the villages at the mouth of the river, usually the village of La Tola, during the late summer or early autumn, a deputation is sent by the Cayapa to invite the priest to come to their villages to hold this annual fiesta. Governed largely by other engagements, the priest appoints a time when he will be able to be present; the Cayapa officials then notify all the people of a given village to assemble at that particular time. A day or so

been met during the Christmas fiesta. He took no overt steps to assert his authority beyond stating to a few Negro bystanders that he was the /únʸi/. He remained drunk a good deal of the time but so did most of the other fiesteros including women and, at times, children. Little by little, people became aware of the fact that there was indeed an /únʸi/ available, and a few began drifting over to where he lay drunk, sprawled in his hammock; despite his inebriation, /kavítu/ "complaints," were presented to him. It turned out that most of the disputes to be settled were from the area that had initially manifested greatest opposition to Gabriel. Gabriel, therefore, began to function as the /únʸi/ in fact, as well as in name; however, his performance was not at all satisfactory. For example, on one occasion when he was asked to cure a sick child because he had studied curing with a brujo from Sapallo Grande, he was ineffective in carrying out this ritual because of his drunkenness.

As the fiesta wore on day and night without dissolution for a full week, the second level of political

behavior began to develop. Individuals, all very drunk, and occasionally two or three holding each other up, would stand in front of Gabriel and lecture him on his drunkenness. This was not the way an /únʸi/ should act, they would say; he must be sober; he must change his ways, or the people would not listen to him. From time to time his wife would place herself before his supine form which was sprawled occasionally on the floor, but most often in his hammock. She would loudly and clearly, in front of the assembled crowd, harangue him in the same vein, telling him to sober up and get out and behave as an /únʸi/ should. Scenes like these were repeated throughout the year at various small parties and again at Punta Venado during the next Easter season. The attendance during Easter was markedly less than at the previous Christmas gathering. Political resistance had not died down. The situation described above has all of the elements of a comody [drunks moralizing to a drunkard], but Gabriel was an element of poignant tragedy within the comedy. The previous year he had not been a drunkard, but that year he was not the /únʸi/.

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Lorenzo was then told to give up his cousin, but when they all returned home from the fiesta, he took her back immediately. Meanwhile, a woman was sent down from Sapallo Grande to him, but he refused her, saying that he already had a wife. His wife's father said that he did not mind if Lorenzo married his daughter, and the girl's brother, Huru, said that he was in favor of the marriage, and added, "they are not very close relatives anyway." Since the family of the girl did not object to this marriage, people did not gossip much, and Arcilio said that he would not punish them again, that "Jesus would know what to do when they died."

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Lorenzo had a reputation for being a good worker, and his cousin's family were happy to keep his economic services within the family. Their insistence that it was all proper and that, as first cousins, they were not closely related anyway was such a strong violation of Cayapa thought regarding incest that the couple were placed beyond the power of the law, ultra vires, and the burden of punishment was shifted to the supernatural. We stated that anyone who witnesses an

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Punta Venado and went up the Río Onzole. They were never punished again.

A brief alternate version of the above case has it that Rosenda was never punished "because he is an evil man who can afford to kill people by witchcraft. He also owns a revolver." Another statement was recorded from Gerardo of Encanto, who said that Rosenda had been punished with twenty lashes and fined thirty sucres. He then got rid of the second wife, but he took her back within a year. "People gossip but nothing more can be done, as he has been punished."

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This case was recorded on September 16, 1960. On the eleventh of September, Rosenda's first wife came up to Encanto to visit with the mother of the Cimarrón brothers. [She is 'family' with the mother but not with the sons.] She had come up from the Río Onzole alone and had told Rosenda that she was ill and wanted to look for a brujo. For this, she felt that she needed one hundred sucres, but Rosenda would not give her more than forty. The woman was very angry about Rosenda's lack of concern for her "illness." She told the people in the Cimarrón house that she wanted to leave her husband and go to her father on

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hundred sucres, but did not. During Christmas at Punta Venado, they were approached again, again agreed to pay, but failed to do so. Antonito later came to their house up the Río Camerones and then they paid the money.

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The land is now the joint property of Ciro and Santiagueño, and they have clear title. The question of whether the one hundred sucres conveyed title by a sale, or served as a quitclaim is moot. Given the nominal price and the cloudy state of Antonito's ownership, the transaction could best be viewed as a quitclaim.

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Indians seldom register land in their names, but if they sell land to a Negro, the transaction is usually registered at the insistence of the purchaser for his protection. Consequently, the Cayapa is never required to show proof of ownership; his statement that he owns the land for sale is sufficient. Some Cayapa find the prospect of selling another man's land, without his permission and knowledge, a beguiling one, and rumors are constantly being circulated of one or another Cayapa thinking of doing it, doing it, or perhaps having completed the transaction. In any event, the hurling

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

of acrimonious charges, because of a rumor concerning fraudulent land sales, is usually sufficient to squelch whatever factual basis there may have been in the rumor. Very often, the rumors are just malicious in intent, as seems to have been the case in the following instance.

Rumor mongering causes family dispute. Ciro Añapa is not liked by his father's god-father's daughter. Through the system of compadrazgo they are considered to be family, /búlutéla/. She apparently spends a good deal of time gossiping about Ciro, much to his annoyance, and although he would very much like to complain to the /únʸi/, he does not do so because they are family. When Ciro lent some land to Perdomo in Encanto, she claimed that the land was not his and he had no right to make the loan. She generally spreads rumors of illegal land deals involving him. One day as he was studying in his house, three of the Cimarrón brothers and their mother visited him because they had heard that he had sold their land in Encanto to a Negro. The old woman burst into tears saying that she had once given a feast in honor of Ciro's dead mother,

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When a new /ún^{y}i/ takes the reins

of authority, his individual personality and behavior, complicated by the cultural emphasis on heavy drinking, will effect the complementarity of expectations between the /ún^{y}i/ and the people. If there is a lack of conformity between the behavior of the /ún^{y}i/ and the expectancies of the people, there will be an effort on the part of individuals to effect conformity by engaging in moralizing, gossiping, nagging, and threats to shift allegiance to other authorities--all directed against one man, the /ún^{y}i/. The aim of all of these kinds of behavior is to return to the status quo ante, when the late /ún^{y}i/ was the image of true leadership. As the new /ún^{y}i/ is pressured into modifying his behavior in the direction of the cultural expectancies, the agitation and political behavior will diminish.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

648 Esmeraldas, and especially of the drainage of the Rios Santiago and Cayapas, it is decidedly in the minority; indeed at present there is only one white family living on the course of the Cayapas.

The desirability of the intrusion of another race into a territory occupied by Indians is always doubtful. In this case it is especially so, for some of the negroes at all times take great liberties with their Indian neighbors, not to mention the fact that they openly plunder their crops and houses whenever opportunity offers. These depredations the Cayapa tolerate, rarely taking a hand themselves in the punishment of the offenders, and never committing acts of reprisal. They are a law-abiding people, and recognize completely the authority of the provincial government over all in-
627 habitants except themselves. Any such acts, if they were to occur among themselves, would be severely punished in their own way and without governmental aid. Be it said to the credit of the provincial authorities, that they recognize the right of the Cayapa to govern themselves and to punish their own offenders, and further that they attempt to protect the Indians from impositions by others. However, it frequently happens that the guilty ones either escape or, if apprehended, are inadequately punished.

628 As above mentioned, all ordinary depredations, such
674 as theft by outsiders, are tolerated by the Cayapa without personally attempting to punish the offenders. There is one crime, however, which demands a severe penalty, namely, outrages against women. The standard of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

upon the table; the rest was divided into small bits, and, after an invocation by the warden of the church, the men and boys, all seated on low benches about the table, proceeded to feast. The women meanwhile partook of a portion of the food that had been sent to the next room to them. Having finished the meal, a benediction was pronounced by the warden and the floor was cleared of all scraps of food and the leaves forming the table.

Immediately fresh leaves were spread as at first, and the boda, the word being here used in its more restricted sense, was served. While an ofrenda has a very elaborate assortment of foods, a boda has only fish, oysters, or meats cooked in ripe plantain in the form of a thick gruel. This is served always in the aboriginal pottery plates of the kind shown in pl. LXXXVII, 4, although for everyday use dishes of European manufacture have almost entirely supplanted the pottery plates formerly used. In this particular case the boda consisted of a single course of plantain and fish, but sometimes other courses are served in order. The feast having been finished, the majority of the people went to their respective abodes in the village or to the house of the chief.

At such gatherings offenders against the law are usually brought before the chief, by whom justice is dispensed and differences between individuals adjudicated. On this particular occasion several matters of this nature demanded the chief's attention. The details of these will show something of the methods of dispensing justice among the Cayapa.

Immediately after the boda on this first day the chief sent some officers to bring before him certain offenders

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

against the law. The offenders were, in this case, a man and a woman. The man had deserted his wife and child after abusing them for a considerable time and had assumed relations with a young widow. He had therefore been guilty not only of infidelity and abuse, but also of violating the immutable law forbidding divorce. The woman's crime was somewhat less grave. Being a widow, she had a right to remarry, but she had no claim to the husband of another woman. In justice to the Cayapa as a tribe it should here be remarked, as has been elsewhere pointed out, that cases of infidelity, wife-desertion, and abuse are extremely rare. Almost without exception the family relations are held sacred by both men and women, and in general the relations existing between the sexes are governed by stringent laws which are regarded faithfully. In this instance both the offenders were brought to the house of the chief and were placed in the stocks where they remained during the afternoon. The man displayed no sign of emotion, but the woman wailed and chanted the greater part of the time. Both were remonstrated with by friends, and the mother of the woman sat beside her almost constantly, weeping and chanting her plaint at the disgrace that had been brought upon the family by the daughter's misconduct.

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It would appear that the keeping of such offenders for many hours in the stocks is an exemplary measure and is done for the effect which it will have on the community at large. The punishment which they are to receive is often decided on long before its infliction, but they are kept in the stocks as an example to the people at large

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

627 796 and especially to the younger generation, and their conduct is discussed both privately and publicly throughout the village and its evils are pointed out. Especially is this done by the public utterances of officials, who speak in the large hall in the chief's house where the offenders are incarcerated.

Toward evening the prisoners were released from the stocks and permitted, under guard, to take food, being later returned to the stocks. About nine o'clock a gathering assembled in the room, the man was taken from the stocks, and several of the officials, including the chief, made short speeches concerning the pair and their crime. One of the speakers was a woman, a relative of one of the offenders. At last the sub-chief spoke rapidly and eloquently for about twenty minutes, berating the man for his conduct and his disobedience to the laws of tribal society.

Finally the commission of officers who had been sent in the morning to bring the two for punishment was called forth and its leader gave a ritualistic invocation, after which the offending man was brought forward and made to stand before the stocks with his body inclined slightly forward. The chief then administered fifteen strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, the equivalent of seventy-five lashes. The culprit was destined to receive a greater number of strokes, but owing to the chief's infirmity due to a recent gun-shot wound, and to the fact that the culprit proposed to buy partial immunity with rum for the assemblage, he was given his liberty after receiving the punishment noted.

The woman was then brought forward and received

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The WOMAN was then brought forward and received ten strokes, or fifty lashes. Her case, however, was different from that of the man, and she was not then set at liberty. By living with the man she signified her desire to marry, hence it was determined that a husband should be found for her. She was therefore placed under a guard of three officers for the night, while the officials set about to find a man who would consent to take her as his wife. She was thus held in custody until January eleventh. Meantime an old man living on the Rio Camarones was found who was willing to marry her. As a matter of fact, her relatives had tried to arrange the same marriage some months before, but as she was unwilling to marry the old man, the priest had refused on his last visit to the village in October, to perform the ceremony. When the boda ended on the afternoon of January tenth the woman was given into the custody of the chief's wife, being held in the chief's house until the following morning, when a commission of three officers called for her and delivered her to the old man who was supposedly destined to become her husband. As a matter of fact, she remained with him only a few days, when she and her paramour stole away to parts unknown.

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Second day. January ninth, 1909

A short service was held as usual in the church, followed by another ofrenda. This was marked by disorder in dividing the food, everyone grabbing for what he considered a proper share. This was in very bad taste, according to Cayapa etiquette, and was loudly condemned by the older men. This misbehavior was prob-

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3: Barrett E-3 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

ably due in part to the increased drunkenness, which was apparent throughout the day, but was due more largely to the greed of several negroes present.

After this feast the floor was cleared of remnants of the meal and of the leaves used to make the table. The second feast, the boda, was then served as usual. This consisted of three courses, each served on the same plate in the case of each individual, care being used in replenishing the supply that the plates of different individuals should not be interchanged. The three courses of these mush-like foods consisted of plantain with fish, plantain with meat, and plantain with oysters. In case any individual did not eat any or all of his portion, it was taken to the next room by the host or by one of the attendants and given to one of the women of his family. The men giving the boda served the guests, while the women attended to filling the plates.

In this particular instance the whole of the previous night had been spent by the hostess and her friends in cooking and preparing the plantain mushes used in this boda. While hot they were poured into burden-baskets lined with leaves. When served they were cold and very thick.

Immediately following the feasts another refractory pair were brought to justice. In this case the man had forsaken his wife and for three months had been living with his first cousin, who had deserted her husband. Each of the culprits, therefore, was charged with the double crime of desertion of spouse and cohabitation with first cousin. These are considered great breaches of tribal law and are severely punished. As on the previous day,

J. Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1923
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the offenders were placed in the stocks, remonstrated with by relatives and friends, and finally whipped. In this case the man received a hundred and seventy-five lashes, or thirty-five strokes of the cat-o'-nine-tails, and in addition was required to pay a fine in money amounting to about fifteen or twenty sucres. The woman's punishment was a hundred and twenty-five lashes, or twenty-five strokes. The greater severity of the punishment in the cases of these two offenders was due to the fact that they were first cousins, which relationship prohibits marriage under any consideration.

Another example of punishment was witnessed late in the afternoon. A young man had imbibed freely and while in his cups ran amuck in two or three houses. Others endeavored to quiet him, and to hold him and prevent serious trouble, but he seemed crazed with the rum and determined to fight, until finally it became necessary for officers to take him in hand. After a struggle he was carried to the stocks and secured by one foot. He fought desperately to release himself, but finally fell asleep and after several hours awoke in a much better mood.

In this instance was shown a good example of the devotion of the Cayapa women. Throughout his drunken frenzy the young man's mother had endeavored to quiet him, and for her trouble been struck by him repeatedly. Nevertheless, as soon as he quieted down in the stocks she took up her station beside him and fanned him almost continuously during the time he slept. Such instances are very common. It is not considered a disgrace for anyone, either man or woman, to become intoxicated,

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 and the care of those who are sober is to see that a person
627 does no serious damage while in that state. The rum
273 used produces a cycle of symptoms, beginning with jollity and loquacity, passing through a desire to display skill, such as bending hands with an opponent, and ending with a frenzied desire to fight. It is then that the women usually take a hand and try to pacify the men. Sometimes several women are required to hold a drunken man and prevent serious trouble.

In the case of the young man above mentioned, no further punishment was inflicted. When he awoke in a fairly sober state he was taken before the chief, who lectured him on the error of his ways, and warned that if he repeated the offense he would be castigated and fined.

Third day. January tenth, 1909

796 A brief church service, preceded and followed by a procession about the plaza, was held in the forenoon as on the two previous days, and was followed by an ofrenda and a boda. Whereas on the two previous days the ofrendas had been more for the dead in general, in this case there was a feast for a person who recently had died. This fact brought out another interesting custom. After
[785] the feasting (both the ofrenda and the boda) was finished, the sub-chief took his position at one end of the hall and administered a stroke or two with the cat-o'-nine-tails to each member of the family who had given the feast, and many others presented themselves for similar castigation, but it was compulsory only with the members of the immediate family and their relatives.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

During the feasts the cat-o'-nine-tails used for the castigation, together with various articles of apparel of the deceased and certain articles given for the purpose by relatives, was suspended upon a pitigua cord over the table. These articles were later distributed among some of the guests not related to the family. 796

After these feasts and the attendant ceremonies many of the people went again to the chief's house. The same pair of culprits who received punishment the day before were again brought in, placed in the stocks, and later castigated. The woman received twenty-five strokes, or a hundred and twenty-five lashes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, while the man was given between thirty and forty strokes. The whipping of the man was due chiefly to the fact that he still refused to return to his lawful family. Even after he had been thus severely whipped by some of the officers a second time and was brought before the chief, he refused to return to his family. The chief and others argued with him and tried again to persuade him to see the error of his way, but he stoutly maintained that he would not return, and the chief finally became so vexed that he gave the culprit a couple of resounding slaps on the side of the head and remanded him to the stocks where he remained nearly the rest of the day. Toward evening he was liberated and was not further punished. It is very unusual for the chief to slap a culprit, and such an act is done only under great provocation. In the case of almost anyone else, such a slap would be highly resented and would result in a fight, but a culprit does not dare offer resistance to the chief under such circumstances. 796 627

of the case were clear, and a witness was present. It is of interest that Pablo's wife seems to have convinced everyone of her innocence in the affair and that she had been truly hoodwinked. Chapiro's reputation was of course, well known, and guilt was held to be his alone. Even though justice prevailed, Chapiro was disgruntled and left without drinking. This in itself would be sufficient to mark him as a deviant, for Basurco's observations are still very much applicable.

> . . . leur seul vice est de rendre un culte trop fréquent à Bacchus, auquel ils font des libations d'ichcala, ou eau-de-vie de canne, qu'ils fabriquent eux-mêmes . . . (Basurco 1894:406).

In marked contrast to many Cayapa men, Chapiro has always been more interested in sexual pursuits than in drinking and the married men in the area were beginning to view him as a real threat. In instances like this it is felt that the best way to remove the threat is to marry him off, forcibly, if need be. In the case of Chapiro events came to a head after he had seduced Gabriel's daughter.

The Seduction of Gabriel's daughter. Chapiro was

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The pressure lantern remained in Gabriel's house. About two weeks later when the lantern had not been returned to him, Chapiro went looking for it at night in Gabriel's house, but he couldn't find it. He kept asking for the lantern, and eventually, after two or three months, it was returned to him.

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The lack of interest on the part of the young woman, coupled with Chapiro's poor reputation, apparently led Gabriel to make it clear to Chapiro that he did not want him as a son-in-law. A year or two later, the /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio, died and Gabriel became the chief. Gabriel now began to consider Chapiro's threat to his daughter, who was now married. He ordered Lorenzo Añapa and Aurelio Añapa, two of the /ca$^{y/i}$tala/, to go up to Sapallo Grande during Christmas and to bring back a wife for Chapiro. They found a woman who was lame and not very eagerly sought after as a marriage partner, inasmuch as she could not work effectively in the monte. They brought her to Chapiro's house and presented her to him. He refused to take her, but Lorenzo said that if he did not take the girl, he would beat him. Chapiro then agreed to

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marry her. In 1960 he seemed happy with his wife, especially since she gave birth to a boy, and since his marriage he apparently has stayed close to home.

It may be that the choice of a crippled wife for Chapiro was deliberate and with malice aforethought. Chapiro's reputation, however, extended beyond the sexual sphere, and he was known to be lazy and a poor worker. Most women would have refused him as a husband anyway. What is important, however, is the fact that the solution worked, and that Chapiro was effectively removed from circulation. It should be mentioned for the record that when he was queried about Chapiro's wife, Lorenzo Añapa reported, with what appeared to the writer to be no small measure of satisfaction, "She can't work very well in the fields because of her bad leg."

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For the Cayapa, marriages are not all made in heaven, and many times legal difficulties both attend and follow a marriage. The parents of Chapiro's bride did not object to her marriage at all; however, as women are economically useful, some families that lack one or another of the parents attempt to keep the

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Averticio lied when he said that he had not asked for the use of force by the commission. Mens rea marked Averticio's actions and he was an accessory before and after the fact. By requesting the two Negroes for the commission he gave tacit approval to the use of force. If Romulo had complained to an Indian official, the latter would have been unable to deal legally with the Negroes, and he would have restricted his investigation to Averticio and Dámian. When Negroes are involved, and feelings are running high among the aggrieved Cayapa, self-help may be resorted to, as the following case demonstrates.

Perdomo fights for his sister. Perdomo lived with his wife, mother, and sister in a house up the Río Camerones. One night a commission composed of the usual two Indians and two Negroes came to the house. The two Indians spoke first. They had come to deliver Perdomo's sister to Manuel Largo of Playa Grande. Perdomo and his mother refused. [Manuel was said to be very ugly, thin, and weak.] Following this refusal, the two Negroes came in to take the girl forcibly. She began to cry whereupon Perdomo went for his machete

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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and threatened the Negroes. One of them answered that he was willing to fight, and at this, Perdomo backed down. The commission then left with the girl. They brought her to Manuel Largo who hid with her in the house of José Mina, one of the Negro members of the commission.

Two days later Perdomo managed to gather together ten kinsmen and friends, and they all left in two canoes, taking the girl's mother along. A Negro told them where the girl was hidden, and they headed straight for José Mina' house. They argued a great deal with the two Negroes, but the commissioners claimed that everything was all right; "after all the girl was not marrying a relative." The argument waxed hotter, and finally machetes began to swing. This all took place in front of the house, while from within the house the girl could be heard crying and pleading for rescue. As the fighting began, the girl's mother began crying, telling the men not to fight, or they would kill each other. This had no effect. The Negro woman shouted that if they kept on fighting, they would all be fined. At this, tempers cooled, the fighting ceased, and the Indians returned home without the girl.

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Indians returned home without the girl. Several days later, Manuel Largo took his reluctant bride up a small nearby stream to hide, since he feared a return of the girl's family. The girl apparently entertained no such hopes anymore, and when they had gone a short distance upstream, she told Manuel to go on up ahead and wait for her as she wanted to defecate. When he was gone from view, she ran through the monte and later that day she arrived at the house of Juanito Cimarrón of Pichiyaco. Even though Juanito was not related to her, he arranged for one of his sons to return her to her home; nothing more was ever done about this incident.

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If Manuel Largo was indeed small, thin, and ugly, then Perdomo's sister would view the arrangement with something less than enthusiasm. If Manuel was indeed weak, then the family in general could join the girl in her refusal. A man who is weak certainly would not be a very good provider for the wife, and, as a man is expected to help his in-laws when needed, he would not be of much use to them. The material presented so far indicates that a woman has a great deal to say as to whether or not she will marry and/or to whom. A

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determined woman will usually have her way, and many Cayapa women are determined!

Earlier, in the case of Carmelina, we saw that the relatives of the /únʸi/ were not immune from being manhandled by a commission. In the following case we shall see an instance in which the very authority of the /únʸi/ was flouted.

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Mother removes her daughter from the bridegroom's home. Several years ago Kalía wanted to send his sister to marry a man on the Río Camerones. The mother objected, saying that the girl was much too young. They all later went as guests to a baile de casamiento, that is, a wedding feast celebrated usually a year or two after a man and woman have been living together as man and wife. The late /únʸi/, Arcilio, was asked by the prospective bridegroom's brother to deliver the girl, and this was done. The girl's mother said nothing at the time, but when she returned to the Río Camerones, she marched into the bridegroom's house and took her daughter home with her. The bridegroom's mother protested, but that was all. The elder brother

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

of the would-be bridegroom notified Arcilio who, in turn, sent Bardonero Cimarrón who is 'family' to the bridegroom to demand that the girl be delivered. Kalía also remonstrated with his mother. Finally, she stated that as long as the girl seemed to be pregnant, she would agree to the marriage.

Not only did the mother flout the authority of the /ún^{y}i/, it is very likely that if she had been strongly adamant, she would perhaps have been whipped, but she would have kept her daughter. The matter of marriage commissions is most intriguing. Clearly, this sort of match-making could not take place in a society in which there were strong corporate bodies, where family extensions were important. In a society as loosely structured as is the Cayapa, the marriage commissions could rove the countryside with a minimum of interference.

Widows and Widowers. Max Heiman states that widows and widowers never remarry among the Cayapa (Heiman 1931:287). My studies among the Cayapa fail completely to substantiate Heiman's statement. In point of fact, most widows and widowers remarry, the only

among the Cayapa. It is forbidden by the Church through the person of the priest, who is seldom seen. Many Cayapa maintain that divorce is not proper. At the present time, divorce is possible for both sexes, but it is much more difficult for a woman to obtain. In one instance, a woman was married to a mental defective and she left him with the full approval of the community. In the case of the crippled Julio Tapullo, his wife was not permitted a divorce even though Julio had been very miserly with her. On the other hand, a man may divorce his wife if she is barren or has too many still-births. In one case, a man beat his wife because she only gave birth to girls; he threatened either to kill her or to throw her out of the home (divorce), if the next child were a girl.

The divorce procedure is quite simple. The woman is simply told to leave! There is usually some grumbling by the woman's parents, but to my knowledge, complaints are never made to any of the officials. Julio Tapullo's case above was complicated by polygyny.

Santiagueño hires a Negro to bring his children back after his wife left him. Santiagueño Anapa's first

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wife did not like him, and after several years, she left, taking the children with her. Santiagueño was notified of the event by his brother while he was in the monte, working. He returned immediately and employed Joselino Caisero, the Negro Inspectór of the village of Camerones to bring back his children. Joselino was paid one hundred sucres for his work. He located the woman near Sapallo Grande and removed the children. The woman cried bitterly and said that she wanted to return to her husband, but Santiagueño did not want her. He claimed that she had had lovers during the months that she had been gone. She denied this, but to no avail. Santiagueño did not mind losing his wife this way, because she was a nag "bravo y siempre charlando." She was later delivered to a man from the Punta Venado section. Santiagueño soon remarried, but the second wife died, and he then remarried a third time to the ex-wife of Antonio Blanco. Antonio had divorced his wife for being barren. "People said that it was not a nice thing to do, but no one demanded that he be punished."

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Clearly the attitudes toward divorce had modified considerably, especially since Barrett's recording of the following case:

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that the brother was much too young, whereupon Margarita agreed to marry Cristobal even though he was already married. They were subsequently married by a priest. Santian, Cristobal's brother, resented this and complained to the /únʸi/, Arcilio. Margarita claimed that the charges were not true and that she had, indeed, been delivered to Santian and was living with him. Arcilio ordered Cristobal and Margarita to receive twenty lashes. The sentence was minimal because they claimed "never to have embraced." Then they were told that they would receive two hundred lashes if they made love from then on. When they returned to Viche from Punta Venado, Margarita lived with Santian for about four months; following this, Cristobal took her back. The brothers had harsh words but did not exchange blows. Cristobal's two wives appeared to live together amicably. About a year later the father of the first wife took his daughter back with him. She had been crippled for some time, and people were saying that Cristobal had bewitched her. When her father died soon afterwards, Santian accused his brother of having killed him. Cristobal's first wife confirmed this. However, Cristobal and Margarita denied the charge. When the /únʸi/ asked

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why he had delivered Margarita to his brother who was too young for marriage, he remained silent. The punishment was to be fifty lashes each, but since they kept protesting their innocence, the sentence was reduced to twenty lashes each.

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About a year after the death of Cristobal's first father-in-law, a son of the dead man named Gorce Cimarrón went to Colombia to hire a Cholo witch in an attempt to find out who had killed his father. The Cholo reported that Cristobal was the guilty one; so Gorce went to Cristobal's house and accused him of the murder, but Cristobal did not reply. Three days later Cristobal was dead. Several years later, one of Cristobal's brothers, Arcinto, heard of the affair and went looking for a witch. Gorce died a few years later, and his death was said to have been caused by the witch hired by Arcinto. Arcinto still lives in Viche where he also has two wives. He has never been punished as he never goes to the ceremonial center for fiestas.

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In the space of certainly not more than a decade the above case is found in at least one alternate versions

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Mariano takes a second wife. Mariano lived up the Río Esmeraldas and was married to the daughter of Pedrito Añapa's paternal grandfather. They had three children, two girls and one boy. Mariano went looking for another wife near San José on the Río Cayapas. He had divorced his first wife and her father was very angry over the affair. Consequently, the woman's brother went to talk to Mariano who said that he had taken divorce action because this woman did not work or cook well. He also complained that she was older than he and slightly lame. Mariano was a witch, and he told the first wife's brother that he was going to kill his father. About a year later, the old man did indeed die. Following this, the brothers of the first wife went to Santo Domingo de los Colorados and found a Colorado witch who told them that the death was caused, not by God, but by a man--namely, Mariano. For two hundred and fifty sucres the witch offered to kill Mariano. The price was paid and Mariano died about four months later. The affair ended at this point with no attempts at revenge.

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While there are differences in names and locations and in the length of time leading to the death

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of the father-in-law, the plot is the same and the kinship relations of the dramatis personae are the same. In both versions, the murdered man's son goes to seek revenge with the aid of foreign witches. The first version reports that Cristobal came up from Viche to cure Margarita, while in the second version, Mariano came up to San José. Margarita who is the wife of Alejandro of Encanto was said to have been the second wife of Cristobal and she was born near San José. While the unity and historicity of the two tales is not certain, it is reasonably sure. It is of some interest that polygyny is not a factor in the second version. In both stories, the first wife leaves the home with apparent reluctance. The second version was told to me by a member of the first wife's family and leads me to believe that the bone of contention that initiated the chain of events which culminated in murder was not polygyny but, rather, the divorce. It is of considerable interest to note that in the first version, Arcinto is said to be still living with two wives in Viche up the Río Esmeraldas and that he has never been punished. Clearly, one can avoid punishment by leaving the community at a distance sufficiently great to make the sending of a commission too expensive.

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events in the outside world of commerce and government. For example, because of Segundo's ability to speak Spanish proficiently, he served as a threat to his father-in-law. One can visualize him doing nothing more than shouting at the old man in Spanish with the result that his father-in-law would be completely terrorized. Segundo could describe the dire straits in which the old man would find himself if Segundo went to the authorities, and the old man would unquestionably believe him.

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Trivinio Cortes claimed that a man named Cristobal Sandoval of Muisne has two wives, as does Cristobal's brother. It may very well be that Cristobal Tapullo and Cristobal Sandoval are one and the same. In any event, Trivinio claims "they have both been punished but permitted to keep the second wives because who would take care of the children?" "In the old days, the man and woman were burned to death, as people were very angry. Nowadays, they do not get very angry about such things." While people do not demand that the culprits be burned, they do get upset and on occasion even non-kin will attempt to take matters into their own hands, as in the following case.

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A neighbor threatens to beat up a polygynist. Roberto Cimarrón, a brujo, had two wives. They lived a short distance above San José on the Río Cayapas. The women lived in separate houses several hundred feet apart connected by a small path. One day Roberto became intoxicated while he was curing a patient, and his first wife, who also was drunk, scolded him for having taken a second wife. Roberto had also married the second wife in the Church. He and his first wife came to blows, and Roberto eventually threw her into the river from which she was rescued by a passing Negro. Later, when sober, she went over to the second wife's house and assaulted her. In turn, after this attack the children of the second wife assailed the childless first wife. Roberto hid the second wife in the home of a Negro for about two weeks. His first wife knew what was happening and she was very angry. Eventually, Roberto moved the first wife into a small nearby rancho. The family of the first wife never complained, but the father of Romulo Añapa who was not related to any of the principles said that if Roberto did not get rid of the second wife, he himself would beat him up. Later, when inebriated, Roberto came over to the house of Romulo's

father, and they argued. Roberto claimed that he needed two wives, and, being a rich brujo, he could afford them. Furthermore, the second wife could supply him with children. Romulo's father replied that Roberto should know well what he was doing in his own heart, and after death, Jesus would punish him.

The case materials so far presented indicate that the polygynists and would-be polygynists have been wealthy and powerful dissidents. The following case of Segundo Añapa is a contrary instance that portends of major changes to come.

Poor man attempts polygyny. Julio Tapullo who lived a short distance below Sapallo Grande had a crippled left arm. His wife, María Cimarrón, deserted him for another man named Segundo Añapa. Segundo who lived near Playa Grande on the Río Cayapas was already married to Petrona Cimarrón who was not related to María. Despite the objections of his first wife, he and María lived together for over a month. A 'niece' of Petrona met Aurelio who is one of the /cé'tala/ from the Río Camerones; she met him when he was bringing in bananas for sale directly to the boat at San Antonio.

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spent the greater part of his life living and working with his uncle presumably he will inherit land from the uncle. His rights to such an inheritance, however, are still legally ambiguous, as the following reported dispute indicates.

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A conflict of the principle of inheritance by work-validation and the principle of inheritance by kinship. Some years ago when tagua was still selling well, Romulo Añapa and Trivinio "owned" some land jointly. Trivinio's mother had been the legal owner of the land originally. The manner of kinship between Romulo and Trivinio is not known. Trivinio was lazy and "never" worked the land, whereas Romulo helped Trivinio's parents. After the death of Trivinio's parents, Romulo agreed to sell all of the land for about eight hundred sucres to Marianito Añapa "who is somewhat related." Meanwhile, Trivinio sold half of the land to Sanchi, his /aʷinʸa/, 'sister's son.'

One day, a widow related to Romulo and Sanchi built a small rancho on the section of land that Sanchi believed was his by purchase. He threw the old woman off the land and she went crying to Romulo, who became

very angry. A meeting was called in the house of Santiaguito Ayapa, and Romulo pointed out that the land was really his as he had worked it, while Trivinio as a boy was lazy and never helped. Romulo, therefore, demanded the money that Sanchi had paid to Trivinio, plus more on the grounds that they were not family. Since Marianito had paid half of the agreed upon money to Romulo, he owned half of the land with clear title. If Sanchi wanted to keep the other half, he would have to make an additional payment to Romulo. Sanchi refused to pay any more money, and Trivinio refused to hand over the money he had received from Sanchi. Romulo and Trivinio are enemies to this day, and apparently the case never went to the chief for settlement. Sanchi continued to own the land that he had paid Trivinio for, and Marianito continued to own the land that he had bought from Romulo. In both instances, exactly half the land went to each purchaser.

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The principle of kinship, perhaps, has not been overridden by the principle of working the land, and the *de facto* inheritance was an equal division, that, in fact, seems to have been tacitly recognized by the

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except when sold to a Negro or a White. If it is seldom used, the children and grandchildren may not be certain of the ownership and of the boundaries. Both problems may be resolved fairly easily if older people with knowledge of the original land transactions can be consulted, but the presence of such people, of course, can never be guaranteed. Land that is not in active use is always in jeopardy as illustrated in the following case.

Buru Ciascrún attempts to claim land sold illegally by his father. Many years ago, the father of Buru Ciascrún sold some land that actually belonged to the father of Sumalo Alape. The purchaser was another Indian. When the real owner of the land was told of the sale he protested to the chief, who sent up a commission to get Buru's father. Buru was a child at the time. During the proceedings, his father remained silent, although he was ordered to pay back the one hundred sucres that he had received from the sale and was then fined thirty sucres which went to the chief.

Some years later when both fathers were dead, Buru tried to claim the land. He and Sumalo fought at

Punta Venado, with relatives of each man joining the fray. After order had been restored, the chief stated that the land belonged to Romulo and that Huru was too young to have known what had happened earlier. Huru wanted Romulo to pay twenty sucres damages for cutting his head in the brawl, but Romulo refused on the grounds that Huru had started the argument. He did however, buy a half bottle of rum, which they consumed together. Both Huru and Romulo are "family," but the manner of relationship is unknown.

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Boundaries of land become well known with usage and may be disputed when the land is not used intensively. In either case, disputes may occur but are more apt to require settlement by a third party, if the boundaries are not well known.

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A Negro official renders a Cayapa-type decision. After Sanchi built a house on his land, he observed one day that Perdomo had planted bananas nearby. Sanchi insisted that they had been planted on his land and, with his mother's brother, Heverico, called in Cristobal, the Negro Inspector of the village of Camerones at that time. Cristobal decided that Perdomo should keep

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Antonito forfeits his profit by fighting. About 1955, Pedro José planted some calabash trees to mark the boundary between his land and the neighboring land of Antonito Riki. One day, while working near the line, he spotted some cacao plants that had been planted on his side. He said nothing at the time, but some weeks later, during a wake given by Kalía at his daughter's death, Pedro José became drunk and inquired of the group at large, and of Antonito in particular, "Who planted the cacao?" Antonito admitted the act, and an argument began which soon developed into a general fight. Kalía stopped it after a while, stating that he did not want people to fight when he was sad over the death of his daughter. Pedro José wanted forty sucres damages for the blows to his eyes but Antonito, backed up by his mother, refused to pay and Pedro José left the wake with his daughter. Later he uprooted the cacao plants, but nothing more was ever done.

Although the uprooting of the cacao plants was an act of spite, Pedro José was justified, as the boundary was clear and well-known. Ordinarily, Antonito could have expected to profit from the labor he expended in planting the cacao, but by getting drunk,

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fighting, and then refusing to pay just damages, he effectively cancelled his proprietary interest in the cacao plants. That nothing more was ever done, indicates a feeling of ex post facto quid pro quo.

Decisions given by the /ún^{y}i/ concerning unauthorized planting often follow the decision made by the Inspectór Cristobal in the case of Sanchi vs. Marianito. Cristobal's decision was but one alternative in the Cayapa legal repetoire. It is not a very popular decision, because by the time the land has reverted to its original owner, most of its fertility is gone. This type of decision, however, seems to be applied when the claimant's title to the land is very clouded as a result of not having used it. In these instances, the decision is premonitory: it states very clearly "nota bene, work your land, or lose it." The following case decided by the /ún^{y}i/, Gabriel Añapa, illustrates this point.

Land used just for rubber tapping is jeopardized. In the early part of 1960, Ciro Añapa and his elder brother made a trip to Pichiyaco. Upon their arrival they were notified by a relative that their land had

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off with the latex. Huru claimed that the land was his, as he was the eldest son, and Segundo agreed to leave the untapped trees for Huru. But they are three brothers, and the /ún^{y}i/, to avoid further fighting, divided the land three ways among them.

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The rubber poacher keeps most of the profits. Espíritu Santo had a piece of land on which was a stand of about fifteen rubber trees. Chapiro tapped them without permission and collected about fifty pounds of rubber. He turned the rubber over to his brother, Bertram, who went to Colombia with Pablo Añapa and two Negroes, Estupinian and Manuel Caisero. Bertram sold the rubber for Chapiro. Huru Cimarrón had noticed that the trees were tapped and told people that Ciro had done the poaching. But Santiagueño, Ciro's brother, had seen Chapiro skulking in the vicinity and told people that the trees had, in truth, been tapped by Chapiro. Huru's wife, who is Espíritu's sister, became very angry with Chapiro and said that if she were a man, she would beat him up. Some time later at a party in Encanto, Espíritu approached Chapiro and asked how much he had gained by the sale. Chapiro did not argue, and

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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settled for thirty sucres.

Given this very low settlement [Chapiro probably made at least two hundred sucres], it would appear that the interloper can realise most of his profits from illicit rubber tapping, while the owner of the trees can only plead mea culpa for not having been there first! Nuru Cimarrón had been "outraged" by the theft of the rubber, nevertheless one wonders what he was doing in the vicinity of his brother-in-law's trees. Similarly, Santiagueño could only have seen Chapiro "skulking" if he too, had been in the vicinity of the trees. Everyone seems to have had a bit of larceny in mind.

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It is seen that in terms of land, work, and rubber, cultivation is not only a means of producing foodstuffs but of authenticating ownership as well. Thus, the individual who appropriates part of someone else's land is permitted, as a rule, to benefit from the act to the extent of his invested labor; if the purported owner accepts the appropriation without protest, that is, without indicating his own intention and desire to work the land, then the ownership of the

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returned, he found that his pigs were gone. He suspected Perdomo of having taken them, and for one year he questioned residents of the area for evidence. At last he found the Negro who had bought the pigs and he identified Perdomo as the man from whom he had bought them. Lorenzo took this evidence to the late /únʸi/, Arcilio, who returned with him and held a hearing. Perdomo was present, but said very little in his own defense as Ramón, a Negro employee of the man who had purchased the pigs, identified Perdomo as the seller. The pigs had been sold for five hundred sucres, and the /únʸi/ ordered Perdomo to pay four hundred sucres to Lorenzo, fifty sucres to the witness, Ramón, and fifty sucres as a fine to the /únʸi/, who had lost two days work to attend to this matter.

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Perdomo was not permitted to keep any of his ill-gotten gains nor, aside from the shame of being uncovered as a thief, was he penalized in any manner. As a rule, irregularities involving pigs are settled quickly. If a pig eats the produce from someone else's garden, for instance, payment is made for the produce without question. Occasionally, however, a quarrel involving pigs may become quite serious as is seen in the following

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account of a dispute that occurred about sixty years ago.

A foraging sow is killed and the owner chooses exile over revenge-murder. Gerardo's elder brother, Reninio Perdomo, had a sow that was just about ready to drop her young. She ate some plantain belonging to a neighbor who administered a severe beating to the sow. That same night the litter of piglets was born dead, and soon after, the sow died also. Reninio became highly incensed and beat up the neighbor. His anger still not assuaged, he decided to move to the coast, for otherwise he might kill the neighbor and then be imprisoned as a result. He could not tolerate the idea of imprisonment. "People now said that it was better to move out, than kill and get thrown in jail."

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The case is interesting because of the murderous passions invoked by the beating of the sow and her subsequent death--passions that were not aroused when land or rubber were involved. In addition, the case is of interest because it is the only known incident in which an individual, rather than commit murder, chose exile.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

648 Esmeraldas, and especially of the drainage of the Rios Santiago and Cayapas, it is decidedly in the minority; indeed at present there is only one white family living on the course of the Cayapas.

The desirability of the intrusion of another race into a territory occupied by Indians is always doubtful. In this case it is especially so, for some of the negroes at all times take great liberties with their Indian neighbors, not to mention the fact that they openly plunder their crops and houses whenever opportunity offers. These depredations the Cayapa tolerate, rarely taking a hand themselves in the punishment of the offenders, and never committing acts of reprisal. They are a law-abiding people, and recognize completely the authority of the provincial government over all in-
[627] habitants except themselves. Any such acts, if they were to occur among themselves, would be severely punished in their own way and without governmental aid. Be it said to the credit of the provincial authorities, that they recognize the right of the Cayapa to govern themselves and to punish their own offenders, and further that they attempt to protect the Indians from impositions by others. However, it frequently happens that the guilty ones either escape or, if apprehended, are inadequately punished.

628 As above mentioned, all ordinary depredations, such
674 as theft by outsiders, are tolerated by the Cayapa without personally attempting to punish the offenders. There is one crime, however, which demands a severe penalty, namely, outrages against women. The standard of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ethics is very high among the Cayapa themselves, and any case of unfaithfulness, if such were to be discovered among themselves, would be most severely dealt with. About 1897 or 1898 two negroes came to a Cayapa house, drove the men away, and took possession of the premises with the women occupants. On the following day the chief sent down the river a commission which conveyed to the local teniente politico at La Tolita the heads of the negroes, carefully wrapped in leaves of the hoja blanca, as well as the compliments of the chief, and with an explanation as to the reason why the heads had been separated from the bodies. Incidentally the explanation conveyed the intelligence that future offenses of this kind would be punished in like manner. The teniente politico was requested to forward to the governor at Esmeraldas the two heads and the above message, but owing to the rapidity of decomposition in the tropics, it was deemed best to give the governor the benefit of the message only. Fortunately for all parties concerned the governor's reply, it is said, was a complete vindication of the action of the Cayapa. So far as could be learned, no similar crime has been committed since that time.

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DAILY LIFE

The social organization of the Cayapa has a strictly family basis, although according to their own traditions they formerly lived, when at Ibarra and Pueblo Viejo, in village communities. At present each family regularly lives entirely separated from every other family, and usually at a considerable distance from its nearest

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2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

THE CAYAPA AND COLORADO

By JOHN MURRA

INTRODUCTION

The *Cayapa* and the *Colorado* are the last surviving Indian groups in the lush western lowlands of Ecuador (maps 1 and 6). Once an area of extensive Indian occupation, western Ecuador is now inhabited by a Spanish-speaking population of mixed Indian, Negro, and white ancestry, known as montuvios. The *Cayapa* and *Colorado* have precariously managed to hang on to their jungle homes. Speaking closely related if mutually unintelligible languages of the *Barbacoan* division of the *Chibchan* family, they represent the southernmost extension of that major division. Comparative studies with other *Chibchan*-speaking groups in Highland and eastern Colombia, with *Quechua*-speaking Indians in Highland Ecuador, and with various Montaña groups should prove of considerable culture-historical interest.

THE CAYAPA

The *Cayapa* are a riverain people inhabiting the lowlands of northwestern Ecuador. Sprinkled through the jungles of Esmeraldas Province, an area of difficult colonization and control, they managed for centuries to avoid the enslavement suffered by their Highland neighbors or the ethnic annihilation of most Coast aborigines. Only in the past few decades have their settlements been pushed back into the hills by Spanish-speaking montuvio and Negro homesteaders. World War II requirements in balsa wood, rubber, and other tropical commodities have accelerated this process of displacement and acculturation.

The Cayapa River and its affluents, from the mouth of the Anzole to the foot of the Andes, are the main area of *Cayapa* settlement. Barrett (1925) found three concentration spots: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, corresponding to three political, tribal divisions, which might since have shifted or amalgamated. In addition, small groups of *Cayapa*, in various degrees of acculturation, are found in the Santiago Valley and along the coast into Colombia. Estimates of their numbers vary but hover around a mean of 2,000.

The chief source and authority on the *Cayapa* remains S. A. Barrett's monograph (1925). Barrett visited them in 1908–9, long enough to bring

2; Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

[611] There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

their traditional tales probably took place by way of the Río Santiago until the confluence with the Río Cayapas was reached; thence, movement was up the Río Cayapas.

In 1879 Wolf marked on his map of Esmeraldas province a "town"--that is, a center of habitation named San Miguel de Cayapas and in 1894 Basurco recorded Cayapa living up the Río Sapallo Grande and the Río San Miguel. The latter group is reported to have an alcalde (Basurco 1894:414). Between 1809 and 1879 the Malába had apparently been replaced by the Cayapa. By 1908 Barrett reported definitely that the Cayapa were divided into three tribal groups: Punta Venado, Sapallo Grande, and San Miguel. Each group was reported as having its own ceremonial center and being led by an /únʸi/ or gobernador. During my 1959-1960 field trip, I was told by Gabriel Anapa, the /únʸi/ of the Punta Venado group, that some twenty-five years earlier a group of people had left the Sapallo Grande section and had formed a new tribal unit with its own /únʸi/. They left after a dispute with the /únʸi/ of Sapallo grande concerning the re-establishment of Pueblo Viejo, the ancient center in the mountainous upper reaches of the Río

Santiago drainage system. The dissident group claimed that the Saints were stronger in the old area and would be of greater help to the Cayapa. The new group settled in Sapallito, where they have their own ceremonial center, but for reasons unknown they did not return to Pueblo Viejo. Factionalism apparently accounts for some of the tribal fission.

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Settlement Patterns. In 1879 the banks of the Río Cayapas almost as far down as Borbon, a town at the confluence of the Río Santiago and the Río Cayapas, were inhabited by Cayapa Indians while Negroes were found mainly along the Río Santiago (Wolf 1879). By 1894 Borbon had become a Negro town, and the lower reaches of Cayapa settlement had retreated up stream toward the area of the Río Onzole. At this time, about twenty-three Negroes were reported by Basurco to be living at Telembí, a "village" of three houses about 77.5 kilometers from the mouth of the Río Cayapas. The Negroes had been given special permission by the Cayapa to live there provided they did not pan for gold which was found occasionally. (Basurco 1894). In 1960 Telembí was a thriving Negro village of several hundred people, and the greater part

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[P. 34]

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship. The eliciting of kinship terminology among the Cayapa proved to be extremely difficult and time consuming. Many informants professed to be ignorant of many of the terms and clearly preferred to use Spanish nomenclature; however, sufficient data were collected to illustrate a major structural shift from Barrett's 1909 recording to the writer's 1960 notes. At present, the writer is unable to account for this shift in terms of Barrett's material and his own, as the residence and marriage patterns remain basically the same in the reports of the two investigators; however, there is some indication that new terminological forms were just beginning to come into the language in 1909. It is also known that the Cayapa tribe has undergone a process of fission, changing from one unit in 1809 to three in 1909 and four by 1960! We lack most of the vital details, but it is a reasonable assumption that changes in residence either went along with or followed the formation of the new groups.

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will be paid for by the nearest kin of the deceased.

Except for the recent (ca. 1940) colony at Sapallito, each of the three tribal groups has a church constructed in the western manner with plank siding and flooring. The planks for the siding are all placed vertically. The roofing is of thatch and is of split construction; a clerestory space of about two feet runs along the full length of the church on both sides between the upper and lower roofs. Within the church is an altar, and before it, in the Punta Venado Church, is a large crucifix with a carved, realistic Christ figure. Infants are buried inside the church behind the altar, because they are pure and undefiled by sin. Adults are buried in consecrated ground several minutes' walk from the ceremonial center proper. Chiefs are buried just outside of the Church door under the bell which hangs from the projecting lower roof. The ceremonial center is populated by the dead and their spirits. A Cayapa is always buried in the ceremonial center to which he belongs, and he inherits his membership from his father. He may attend fiestas at any of the other centers, but he must be buried where he belongs.

Adults and children are buried in a cemetary

area called the panteón, while infants are buried directly inside the church. When an /inʸi/ dies he is buried immediately outside the church entrance underneath the church bell that is suspended from the projecting roof. The Cayapa maintain that it is very important to be buried in the ceremonial center to which one belongs. Ceremonial allegiance is inherited in the patrilineal line and even though one has spent all or most of his life living in one of the other tribal groups, they believe that one should still be buried in the proper center. If a Cayapa should die far from home, he is interred at the site of death. Thereafter, attempts are made to bring the bones back for a proper funeral and burial. A casket is made, and the bones are laid out. The mourning and gaiety described above are carried out, but in a much more perfunctory fashion.

Medical Practices. Illness for the Cayapa is mainly a matter of soul loss or spirit possession. To a lesser extent, the cause of the illness may be the presence of small physical objects such as stones or thorns which have been placed within the body by means of witchcraft.

The /ún^{y}i/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections

is the acknowledged leader of the section; however the national government of Ecuador has inscribed the chief of the Punta Venado section as governor of all the Cayapa. The Indians of the other three groups say that while this governor is indeed superior to the others, he can in no way interfere in their internal affairs nor give orders to them. This is quite different from the situation reported by Barrett where in 1909 the chief of Punta Venado was in effective control of all of the other groups, allowing their chiefs to handle only minor matters (Barrett: personal communication). Office is inherited in the patrilineal line.

The /kása ún^{y}i/ may become the chief upon the death of the /ún^{y}i/ provided the eldest son of the /ún^{y}i/ is not old enough, or perhaps does not want the job. In these instances the brothers of the late governor may be considered. All of the offices mentioned pass within the male line as a rule, but they may pass out of the line if no one wants the job or if no one within the line is capable of handling it. Regardless of title, the duties of the officials are the same: they are expected to maintain order at the various festive occasions, and they are expected to adjudicate disputes among the Cayapa.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

GOVERNMENT

622 624 [177 634] In large measure the mode of government now in vogue among the Cayapa is based on the Spanish system at present employed in Ecuador; consequently we find in each of the three divisions of the Cayapa the following officials: Gobernador, secretario de la gobernación, teniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento. The office of each of these officials is hereditary and on the death of the incumbent passes to his eldest living son or, if he has no sons, to his eldest living brother. In case he has neither son nor brother, the office passes to the eldest son of his eldest deceased brother, and should no such son be living, it passes to the eldest of his nearest male relatives, thus keeping the office always within the family. This system of succession is obviously an aboriginal one and was naturally retained when the new form of government was engrafted upon the old.

It sometimes happens that the hereditary candidate for an office does not wish to assume it. In such event it passes to the next in line in the order mentioned, or, by common consent of the heads of the related familes concerned, it may pass out of this order. Ordinarily such a condition does not arise, but instances have been known where an hereditary candidate declined to accept an office to which he was legally entitled, and which it was not only his privilege but also his duty to accept.

[177] The Spanish form of government has existed for many years, so that it is now difficult to determine exactly what the aboriginal Cayapa government was. It would appear, however, that there were but three classes of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

officials: First, a chief, known as ū'nyī or ū'mī, and now gobernador; second, one or more sub-chiefs, casawa'lyī, now called gobernador nuevo; third, a class which might be termed officers of the law, called tca'itala. All the officers of the present Spanish form of government, other than the gobernador and the gobernador nuevo, are classed under the last head, and in reality all serve the same purposes as did the ancient tca'itala.

The center of government inheres in the chief, no matter where he may reside, and practically all matters, but especially matters of importance, are referred to him.

The Cayapa are separated, geographically and politically, into three divisons, each with its section of the river and its particular village which is used only at times of fiestas or for other gatherings. These divisions are those of Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, these designations being taken for convenience from the names of their respective villages in the order in which they are met in going up the Rio Cayapas. A part of Punta Venado is shown in pl. VIII, while a distant view of the village from the river is shown in pl. IX. This is the largest and most important of the three villages. In pl. X is presented a view of a part of Sapayo Grande, with the chief's house in the left foreground.

In each of these villages the chief has a large house, and it is here that most matters of importance are settled, justice is dispensed, and punishment inflicted. In such a house there is a large special room, at one end of which is a heavy stocks for the confinement of prisoners when necessary. In the Cayapa country the stocks is strictly

disputes among the Cayapa. In disputes between an Indian and a Negro, however, a Cayapa official is usually asked by the Indian to speak in his behalf before the Negro teniente político in the town of San José or before the White comisario in the town of Limones. Patently unjust decisions rendered by the teniente político may be appealed to the comisario and ultimately to the national government by the /ún^{y}i/. In this, the Cayapa enjoy an advantage over the Negroes. The common feeling in Ecuador seems to be that in any encounter between an Indian and a Negro, the Indian is the innocent victim. While this is indeed true much of the time, the Cayapa threaten to go to the top even when they are clearly in the wrong, and the Negroes are naturally resentful of this.

The Cayapa are self-governing, although they are loosely bound by national laws covering land sale, theft, and murder. Periodically attempts are made by the local Negro officials to usurp the authority of the /ún^{y}i/ by demanding funds for one or another purpose. In 1960, the people of the Negro village of Camerones began to agitate for recognition of the village as the center of

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announced that he knew more of the law than did Gabriel. The Cayapa plainly do not know how to deal with Pindalenas. Some Cayapa say that he has absolutely no right to interfere in the legal disputes. Similarly, Gabriel points out that the Negro is merely his employee and nothing more, but a few Cayapa think that perhaps he can take part in the adjudicating of disputes. They are not very certain, but if Pindaleñas acts as if he can, then perhaps he can. On occasion he has asked Cayapa women to dance with him at the fiesta in the Cayapa manner, but he has always been refused. No other Negro has ever attempted to dance with a Cayapa woman. In the disputes witnessed by the writer at which Pindaleñas was present, he seemed to restrict himself to echoing the judgments reached by the Cayapa officials.

Such governmental activities as exist for the Cayapa will be amply illustrated in terms of their law. In point of fact, Cayapa law can be said to be the major part of Cayapa government. Political behavior for the Cayapa is intimately related to governmental instability which is largely the result of interregnum

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uncertainties. These uncertainties are carried over into the new period of chieftainship wherein there is a great difference between the people's perception of authority and their expectation of authority. Gabriel is not seen as a strong chief but, rather, as a man who drinks excessively and as a result, is unable to function as a chief should. At this point political behavior took two forms among the Cayapa. On one level, individuals were seen expressing dissatisfaction with Gabriel as the newly installed /ún^{y}i/ and threatening to go to Quito, the national capitol, to have him replaced. The youngest son of the late /ún^{y}i/ was voicing complaints that by rights he should have been the /ún^{y}i/ because he speaks excellent Spanish in marked contrast to Gabriel. Most of the complaints seemed to emanate from the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas, more especially from the region of Pichiyaco, the home of the late /ún^{y}i/. Complaints were voiced that Gabriel could not speak good Spanish, that he could not perform his duties, that he could not settle disputes, that he was /vinrûku/, "a drunkard." As the time drew near for the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado, many people

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After assuming office he merely continued his usual drinking behavior which apparently was the culturally normal pattern. A normally intoxicated Cayapa cannot settle disputes adequately nor can he maintain law and order effectively. An important point also is that the sober Cayapa feels absolutely no guilt or shame for his behavior while drunk. His work routine has not been disrupted, his family is not neglected, no one points a scornful finger at him. For the Gabriel, the situation was quite different. The instant he became the /únʸi/ he was expected to change a lifetime of habit formation. Political behavior involving the shift of support from one authority to another entered a phase of psychological warfare. A new authority was to be created and the old one destroyed psychologically. The new authority was to be created in the image of what the people felt an /únʸi/ should be like. The lack of congruence between the people's expectation of authority and their actual perception of authority created a situation of intense ambiguity wherein Gabriel was being culturally defined as an alcoholic. The ambiguous nature of his position,

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easily to new economic changes and value positions which are redefining relationships between people. The redefining of a situation, or the creation of a new structural arrangement, very often involves legislation or political behavior. For the Cayapa, new definitions and new structural arrangements cannot be legislated through de jure decisions; nor can they take place through primary political involvement due to the paucity of strategic political possibilities inherent in a bilateral system that lacks corporate bodies which may be utilized in the formation of alliances; rather, they take place by means of de facto compromise.

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Some authorities maintain that political behavior involves the "formation of new principles of organisation" (Siverts 1960). That is, groups or individuals who have differing ideological or value commitments attempt to restructure society. In these terms, Cayapa behavior is not so much political as governmental. It is concerned mainly with the maintenance of stability and the status quo. Such political behavior as is found among the Cayapa apparently stems from periods of uncertainty that are in part sociological and in part psychological. When a new /unʸi/ takes the reins

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When a new /ún^{y}i/ takes the reins

of authority, his individual personality and behavior, complicated by the cultural emphasis on heavy drinking, will effect the complementarity of expectations between the /ún^{y}i/ and the people. If there is a lack of conformity between the behavior of the /ún^{y}i/ and the expectancies of the people, there will be an effort on the part of individuals to effect conformity by engaging in moralizing, gossiping, nagging, and threats to shift allegiance to other authorities--all directed against one man, the /ún^{y}i/. The aim of all of these kinds of behavior is to return to the status quo ante, when the late /ún^{y}i/ was the image of true leadership. As the new /ún^{y}i/ is pressured into modifying his behavior in the direction of the cultural expectancies, the agitation and political behavior will diminish.

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The /ún^{y}i/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections 104
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Such governmental activities as exist for the Cayapa will be amply illustrated in terms of their law. In point of fact, Cayapa law can be said to be the major part of Cayapa government. Political behavior for the Cayapa is intimately related to governmental instability which is largely the result of interregnum

uncertainties. These uncertainties are carried over into the new period of chieftainship wherein there is a great difference between the people's perception of authority and their expectation of authority. Gabriel is not seen as a strong chief but, rather, as a man who drinks excessively and as a result, is unable to function as a chief should. At this point political behavior took two forms among the Cayapa. On one level, individuals were seen expressing dissatisfaction with Gabriel as the newly installed /únʸi/ and threatening to go to Quito, the national capitol, to have him replaced. The youngest son of the late /únʸi/ was voicing complaints that by rights he should have been the /únʸi/ because he speaks excellent Spanish in marked contrast to Gabriel. Most of the complaints seemed to emanate from the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas, more especially from the region of Pichiyaco, the home of the late /únʸi/. Complaints were voiced that Gabriel could not speak good Spanish, that he could not perform his duties, that he could not settle disputes, that he was /vinrúku/, "a drunkard." As the time drew near for the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado, many people

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began saying that they would attend the fiesta at one of the other tribal sections rather than attend one headed by an incompetent drunkard. Others said that if they attended, they would not ask Gabriel to settle their disputes; rather than this, they said, they would go to the national authorities. Gabriel was clearly not very secure in his position. The behavior of the people in these instances was political because there was a shifting of support from one authority to a contender. Furthermore, the shift of support was ideologically motivated in terms of values concerning the nature of the chieftainship (of Easton 1958; Siverts 1960). Gabriel's reaction to this was to drink more. Often when I would be talking to one or more Indians, Gabriel would appear on the scene, quite drunk, and begin to electioneer in a loud voice. He would tell the Indian(s) that he was responsible for my being there and that they would all benefit by my knowledge of hypodermics and penicillin. Whenever I saw Gabriel, he was obviously drunk; these observations extended over many months.

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The personal crisis for Gabriel seems to have

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been met during the Christmas fiesta. He took no overt steps to assert his authority beyond stating to a few Negro bystanders that he was the /ũnʸi/. He remained drunk a good deal of the time but so did most of the other fiesteros including women and, at times, children. Little by little, people became aware of the fact that there was indeed an /ũnʸi/ available, and a few began drifting over to where he lay drunk, sprawled in his hammock; despite his inebriation, /kavítu/ "complaints," were presented to him. It turned out that most of the disputes to be settled were from the area that had initially manifested greatest opposition to Gabriel. Gabriel, therefore, began to function as the /ũnʸi/ in fact, as well as in name; however, his performance was not at all satisfactory. For example, on one occasion when he was asked to cure a sick child because he had studied curing with a brujo from Sapallo Grande, he was ineffective in carrying out this ritual because of his drunkenness.

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As the fiesta were on day and night without dissolution for a full week, the second level of political

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behavior began to develop. Individuals, all very drunk, and occasionally two or three holding each other up, would stand in front of Gabriel and lecture him on his drunkenness. This was not the way an /ũnʸi/ should act, they would say; he must be sober; he must change his ways, or the people would not listen to him. From time to time his wife would place herself before his supine form which was sprawled occasionally on the floor, but most often in his hammock. She would loudly and clearly, in front of the assembled crowd, harangue him in the same vein, telling him to sober up and get out and behave as an /ũnʸi/ should. Scenes like these were repeated throughout the year at various small parties and again at Punta Venado during the next Easter season. The attendance during Easter was markedly less than at the previous Christmas gathering. Political resistance had not died down. The situation described above has all of the elements of a comedy [drunks moralising to a drunkard], but Gabriel was an element of poignant tragedy within the comedy. The previous year he had not been a drunkard, but that year he was not the /ũnʸi/.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the presence of very heavy, culturally-approved drinking, and the constant moralizing and expressions of political disaffection brought Gabriel to the inexorable cycle that began to isolate him as the only apparent alcoholic in a society of heavy drinkers. It may be that as Gabriel <u>begins</u> to succumb to addictive alcoholism, the individual pressures exerted politically will begin to mold his personality in a new direction; as the gap between expected and observed authority progressively narrows, political behavior will progressively decrease, and the Cayapa governmental system will approach a measure of stability.

Not only was Gabriel's authority on probation within the <u>Punta Venado</u> group but it was completely rejected by the people of the other tribal sections. Gabriel felt that as the senior /ũn^{y}i/ he should be in charge of all Cayapa affairs. Barrett reported that during his stay, Gabriel's father was in effective control of all of the Cayapa sections, leaving to the other chiefs only minor matters (Barrett 1960: personal communication).

Gabriel attempted to assert some measure of

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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personal direction during a situation of crisis and was soundly rebuffed on all sides. During 1959-60 rumors were constantly in the air in Ecuador that the end of the world was going to take place soon. These rumors had reached the Cayapa and were vouched for by one of the priests at the town of Limones. This priest had been forecasting such an event for some time. According to Gabriel, Jesus carries the world in his arms and when the sins of the people pile up, the world gets heavier and heavier until at last the burden becomes insupportable, and Jesus lets the world fall. That, said Gabriel, will happen very soon unless the Cayapa can appease the wrath of God by holding a special fiesta on the tenth of August, a national holiday. Gabriel was so concerned that he sent a message to the chiefs of the other sections, inviting them to a meeting at his home to discuss the impending disaster and the means by which to avert it. He wanted each group to stage a fiesta at its own ceremonial center at the same time "to give added strength." To make doubly sure, he wanted four young children to be married "as they did in the

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old days." Being young they would, of course, be without sin, and Jesus would find the sight touching and forgive the world. Gabriel also let it be known that any of the Punta Verde group who did not attend would be fined by a special commission composed of two Indians and two Negroes. The Negroes would be needed to speak harshly to the stay-at-homes because the Indians have too much shame to speak with the needed firmness. The chiefs of the other sections never came to the proposed meeting. Probably sensing his lack of control over the other groups as well as within his own group [several people had voiced opposition to going so far to Punta Verde], he about-faced and stated that a celebration would be held at his house, to be followed in a week by another to be held at the Cisneros house in Boraros. According to informants, this would serve adequately because the statues of the saints are in Gabriel's house and would be brought to Boraros when needed.

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It is clear that at this time Gabriel had no control over the other sections and very little over his own. Resistance to him was on an individual basis

and never by way of organized groups. There were no political groups, just individuals who occasionally voiced dissatisfaction.

John Embree in his comparison between Thai and Japanese social systems wrote in terms of close and loose structures:

> Loosely integrated here signifying a culture in which considerable variation of individual behavior is sanctioned (Embree 1950:102) . . . Where social structure is "close"--that is, where the behavior of the people conforms closely to the formal social patterns of human relations . . . it is difficult for an individual to deviate, and reciprocal rights and duties are clearly marked and carried out (Embree 1950:185).

Cayapa social organization is, in these terms, loosely integrated, and Cayapa behavior is marked by individuality but not by individualism. That is, there is no ethic of individualism, rugged or otherwise, held as an ideal, but rather the sociological concomitants of a bi-laterally structured kinship system, lacking corporate kin groupings, coupled with the lack of permanent action groups of any kind, usually preclude social involvements on other than an individual basis. A possible exception to this may be

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4 Altschuler E-8 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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found in the household consisting of several related nuclear families, but even here, the group is contingent upon circumstances, variable in personnel and unstable in duration. Members of the household are in constant movement, tending their far flung farm plots, visiting kinfolk, traveling to the cities, and visiting curers.

The lack of corporate involvements for the Cayapa effectively restricts political behavior to periods of turbulence and uncertainty such as occurred after the death of the late /Con³i/, Arcilio Pianchichi, and the installation of his nephew, Gabriel Ahapa, as the new governor. It may be, that whenever the office passes out of the direct line from father to son, political disturbances develop which may be exacerbated by personality factors. This seems to have been the case with Gabriel whose involvement in political events will be discussed shortly.

In terms of being a loosely structured society, the Cayapa differ from the Thai as discussed by Embree in an important manner:

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> In Siamese society it is relatively easy to achieve a fait acompli by doing something not approved by other members of the group. But in so doing one does not necessarily achieve the acceptance of the others. The "accomplished fact" does not accomplish much (Embree 1950: 185).

It is precisely at this point that the Cayapa offer a dramatic contrast. The strong-minded deviant in Cayapa society can, by his determination, make his accomplished fact a model for emulation and ultimate acceptance by the members of his society. Cayapa society is structurally unable, in the normal course of events, to permit the development of concerted and protracted pressure on an individual deviant. The only approach to this occurred when Gabriel assumed his position as /ún^{y}i/. Gabriel was not a man who commanded respect from either the Negroes or the Indians. He did not speak Spanish well, he drank to excess and was unable to perform his duties, he was not well versed in the law, and he was a poor man. For the Cayapa, the /ún^{y}i/ should be a man of infinite wisdom, who is well spoken both in Cayapa and in Spanish, a man who can stand up to the Negroes for the Cayapa,

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

a man who can govern justly with a minimum of friction. People may be born in this mold and others may change aspects of their personality and perceptions through the performance of required role behavior in new status positions. This latter situation is being structured by the Cayapa in terms of a unique kind of political behavior.

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505 might hear a piano or phonograph music from somewhere. That
they still must quickly take a look at. The entire crowd rushes
busily into the house concerned and up the stairs. Their curiosity
is soon satisfied and they come down again and now they must be
off quickly so as to be able to make use of the tide current. Their
501 unpainted canoes are 8 to 10 meters (Translator--about 8 to 10
yds.) in length and from 70 to 90 centimeters (Translator--2 1/3
to 3 ft.) in width. They are slim and pleasing in shape and have
[537] black colored decorations around the edges. Each one of them
accommodates from 5 to 8 persons, close together, with their
meager belongings. They paddle along nimbly with their leaf-
shaped oars and, while their canoes glide along silently and
swiftly, the entire crowd has soon disappeared in the mouth of the
484 Mira River. It will take them two days to reach their hometowns.
● 648 During the journey they camp in the open over night, somewhere
along the shore, in an empty pasture. But they have to be careful.
Occasionally they are attacked and robbed there by Negroes, and
if they resist, they are murdered in cold blood. Only recently a
whole group of them, men, women and children, 14 persons al-
together, were most cruelly murdered on the Mira River by some
bestial Negroes.

101 [285] However, our friends will now have arrived home safe
342 and sound on the upper Cayapa River. They are greeted from afar
361 by the friendly smoke of their own hearths. Their villages con-
824 sist of a few, widely dispersed bamboo huts of a most primitive
type. A few uncut tree trunks have simply been rammed into the
earth in a rectangle. The floor is at a height of 3 to 4 meters
(Translator--ca. 3 to 4 yds.) and is made of split bamboo. Above
this, at an equal distance, is the roof made of coconut (?) palm
(Steinnusspalme) leaves. That is the entire structure. Since these
houses have no walls, it is obivous that doors and windows are not
417 required either. The trunk of the Ceiba trees, light as a cork,
824 into which a few steps are hewn, serves as stairs. (The Ceiba tree
512 produces the silk-like balsa wool, called "Kapok" on the Euro-
pean market.) *These stairs are obliquely leaned on, without be-*
ing fastened anywhere. A hen-roost can be climbed more easily
than one of these Cayapa ladders. In order to be somewhat safe
from surprises by unwanted visitors, the ladders are drawn up to
the living quarters overnight, and when a family goes on a trip,
the ladder is thrown into the river and left to float away. After
322 all it is so simple and easy to fetch another Ceiba trunk from the
nearby forest on returning and quickly hack a few step-like cuts
into it with a chopping knife.

and demons; on the other hand it also aims at inducing the father to identify himself intimately with the child. Obviously the women, for whom these customs do not provide the least amount of consideration, quickly lose their earlier beauty and after a few years, they wilt and become horribly ugly.

The marriage of the Cayapa is most harmonious. They do not have polygamy or polyandry, and adultery never occurs or only [287] very rarely. Women or girls who have relationships with white or black men or those of any other race, are killed without pity. In fact they are even forbidden to enter into innocent conversation with such men under threat of severe penalty. If one of the spouses dies, they do not remarry, remaining faithful to the dead. The dead are only buried when the corpse is already in a state of decomposition and when the pestilent smell has become unbearable.

While the villagers and inhabitants of other races in these parts are very hospitable and will always offer hospitality to travelers, no matter how poor they are, even without expecting any remuneration, the Cayapa are an exception to this rule. They fear strangers on account of their women, who are not always safe from them; but most particularly they hate the Negroes who have repeatedly attacked their women forcibly. For this reason it is not easy to obtain shelter in Cayapa villages. As they have frequently also been robbed and mistreated by Negroes, they leave their huts as soon as a Negro settles in the neighborhood, and keep on withdrawing further inland. Thus they have already completely disappeared from the banks of the Santiago River and the lower course of the Cayapa River.

There still is a lot of gold in their region, as indeed there are small layers of alluvial gold in all these rivers. But these Indians, with the exception of a few, more modern minded, and the renegades, do not collect it, nor do they wear gold ornaments. On the other hand none of them would tell a stranger where the yellow metal could be found, even if he were offered a fortune for his secret. From the Cayapa point of view gold is an accursed thing, which brought the white and the black devils into the country and was responsible for their being pushed back into the interior and robbed of their dominion. The Negroes, however, are their sworn enemies because they have too often had to suffer bitter injustice from them.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the means employed to accomplish it, the advantages in this new location over their former mountain habitat resulted in greater ease of agriculture, improved conditions for growing plantains, facility of travel on the river, and proximity to the sea. The change from their former life, which was that of a village community of mountaineers with maize as the staple food, was very considerable. They at present live scattered along the banks of the rivers, each family keeping to itself in large measure, but they still preserve a semblance of their former village life in the three pueblos, Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, each of which is a common meeting place for its particular division of the people.

The provincial and national governments recognize, in a way, the rights of the Indians to full and peaceable possession of their territory, and have endeavored to protect them by enacting laws prohibiting the settlement of other peoples along the Rio Cayapas and its tributaries. The enforcement of these laws, however, has been quite another matter, for the negroes, descendants of former slaves of Colombia and Ecuador, in later years have gradually worked their way up the streams until now their houses extend as far as Corriente Grande. Formerly Cayapa houses were found as far down-stream as Borbon, at the confluence of the Cayapas and Santiago rivers, but at present the house farthest down-stream is only a short distance below the confluence of the Rio Onzole with the Rio Cayapas.

As for the white population of the entire Province of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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648 Esmeraldas, and especially of the drainage of the Rios Santiago and Cayapas, it is decidedly in the minority; indeed at present there is only one white family living on the course of the Cayapas.

The desirability of the intrusion of another race into a territory occupied by Indians is always doubtful. In this case it is especially so, for some of the negroes at all times take great liberties with their Indian neighbors, not to mention the fact that they openly plunder their crops and houses whenever opportunity offers. These depredations the Cayapa tolerate, rarely taking a hand themselves in the punishment of the offenders, and never committing acts of reprisal. They are a law-abiding people, and recognize completely the authority of the provincial government over all in-
[627] habitants except themselves. Any such acts, if they were to occur among themselves, would be severely punished in their own way and without governmental aid. Be it said to the credit of the provincial authorities, that they recognize the right of the Cayapa to govern themselves and to punish their own offenders, and further that they attempt to protect the Indians from impositions by others. However, it frequently happens that the guilty ones either escape or, if apprehended, are inadequately punished.

628 As above mentioned, all ordinary depredations, such
674 as theft by outsiders, are tolerated by the Cayapa without personally attempting to punish the offenders. There is one crime, however, which demands a severe penalty, namely, outrages against women. The standard of

like the Negroes.

they cut more land for banana production, but unlike Negroes they always maintained a large reserve for subsistence agriculture. They are in the money economy but not yet of it. The Cayapa are not a completely open peasant community. Movement into the Cayapa cultural community is limited to born Cayapa and boundary maintenance is structured in terms of language and culture. A true picture, however, must view the Negro and Indian sectors as parts of a larger unit. The national government views the Cayapa as a corporate body with certain rights which do not pertain to the open peasant Negro communities in the area. The Cayapa are held by the government to be the owners of the land (which is ill-defined and not surveyed) and all outsiders must purchase land from them. This tends to emphasize the commercial character of the open peasant communities and we may be perhaps justified in calling them banana farmers. They must invest capital in farm land to increase production. The Cayapa need not do so. If the Cayapa requires more land, he may buy it to be sure, but he can also cut it out of the forest. However, as yet he tends not to increase his production at the behest of

The /ún^{y}i/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections

is the acknowledged leader of the section; however the national government of Ecuador has inscribed the chief of the Punta Venado section as governor of all the Cayapa. The Indians of the other three groups say that while this governor is indeed superior to the others, he can in no way interfere in their internal affairs nor give orders to them. This is quite different from the situation reported by Barrett where in 1909 the chief of Punta Venado was in effective control of all of the other groups, allowing their chiefs to handle only minor matters (Barrett: personal communication). Office is inherited in the patrilineal line.

The /kása ún^{y}i/ may become the chief upon the death of the /ún^{y}i/ provided the eldest son of the /ún^{y}i/ is not old enough, or perhaps does not want the job. In these instances the brothers of the late governor may be considered. All of the offices mentioned pass within the male line as a rule, but they may pass out of the line if no one wants the job or if no one within the line is capable of handling it. Regardless of title, the duties of the officials are the same: they are expected to maintain order at the various festive occasions, and they are expected to adjudicate disputes among the Cayapa.

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disputes among the Cayapa. In disputes between an Indian and a Negro, however, a Cayapa official is usually asked by the Indian to speak in his behalf before the Negro teniente político in the town of San José or before the White comisario in the town of Limones. Patently unjust decisions rendered by the teniente político may be appealed to the comisario and ultimately to the national government by the /ún^{y}i/. In this, the Cayapa enjoy an advantage over the Negroes. The common feeling in Ecuador seems to be that in any encounter between an Indian and a Negro, the Indian is the innocent victim. While this is indeed true much of the time, the Cayapa threaten to go to the top even when they are clearly in the wrong, and the Negroes are naturally resentful of this.

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The Cayapa are self-governing, although they are loosely bound by national laws covering land sale, theft, and murder. Periodically attempts are made by the local Negro officials to usurp the authority of the /ún^{y}i/ by demanding funds for one or another purpose. In 1960, the people of the Negro village of Camerones began to agitate for recognition of the village as the center of

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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the parish. This honor belonged to the town of San José, but as national elections were near, it was felt that the proper time had come to make a bold attempt to have Camerones declared the leading village. The Inspectór of Camerones visited with several Cayapa officials who lived up the Río Camerones, and he demanded fifty sucres from each adult male Indian. He said that this was needed to bribe the higher officials if Camerones were to take the place of San José. There were four or five days of rumor-mongering, mostly concerning the avarice of the people of Camerones, and then consensus was reached. Gabriel Añapa, the /ũⁿỹi/, told the writer that he would have paid five sucres but that fifty was too much. Neither the Indians nor the citizens of Camerones contributed to the Inspectór. As a result, San José continued to be the parish head, although a new teniente político was to replace the old one who had backed the losing party in the elections.

Attempts to encroach on Cayapa governmental affairs may be seen in embryonic form in some of the school activities. For example, the school has been in operation for six or seven years. There has been a

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succession of teachers with varying degrees of competence. In 1960 the school teacher, who was a native of Camerones, began giving the Indian pupils drama lessons. The plays offered always involved Cayapa going to Negroes for advice. Generally, the plots involved marital bickering within the Cayapa families which were then solved by the Negro official. These scenes are always greeted with laughter by the assembled Cayapa who come to watch their children perform. No one would even dream of taking a family quarrel to a Negro official. It is interesting to note however, that one Negro is making some progress toward involving himself in Cayapa affairs. This Negro's name is Pindaleñas, and he presents a rather grotesque appearance. His nose has been entirely destroyed by the ravages of yaws, and his hands are twisted into the shape of talons. This man has the distinction of being the only Negro who speaks Cayapa. Since he lives very near the ceremonial center of Punta Venado, he has been hired by the /ʉnʸi/ to keep the church clean. Pindaleñas attends every fiesta and becomes actively interested in most of the legal cases. On several occasions he publically

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Once a year, as a rule,

groups of Cayapa will band together for protection against the cutthroats and brigands that infest the coastal regions, load their canoes with as much rubber as they have been able to collect, and set off in small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colombian goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to poaching.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be good for raising pigs. (Remoteness lessens the possibility of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and papayas. Large sections are planted to the ingua palo that, at one time, was as important economically as the banana is today. The ingua nut is only a minor item in the

recently been planted without permission by the Cimarrón brothers of Encanto. Ciro and his brother were angry, but said nothing until they became drunk at a party at the home of Gabriel. Harsh words were exchanged, but Gabriel settled the case. He decided that the Cimarrón brothers could use the land for five years without any cost, but then the land would revert to Ciro and his brother, Santiagueño. Ciro did not like the decision and pointed out that the land would have to remain fallow for five years so that he would lose its use for ten years. There were about twenty-five rubber trees on the land, Ciro said, and if the trees were tapped by the Cimarrón brothers he would take the case, not to the /ʍʸL/, but to the authorities at Limones.

The Cimarrón brothers claimed that the land did not belong to Ciro and Santiagueño. Ciro claimed that the land belonged to his father. The major issue lay in the fact that Ciro and his brother did not plant crops, but only tapped the rubber trees. Rubber tapping per se involves very little work, and no clearing of bush. It cannot be equated with the work of clearing and planting the land, weeding, and harvesting. Ciro's

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claim was definitely in jeopardy. It is interesting that he threatened to go to the provincial authorities. In discussing the case with the writer, Ciro stated that "the /ʌnʸi/, is not worth much, and when it comes to collecting fines, he doesn't do so. If need be, I will go to Limones." To be sure, Ciro was disgruntled with the unauthorized planting and the decision ruling it, nevertheless, in effect, he accepted it. The rubber trees became his main concern, although the /ʌnʸi/ did not specifically prohibit the Cimarrón brothers from tapping the trees. Gabriel's narrow decision left the door open for further litigation.

When title to the land is clear, decisions indicate that the owner should profit from unauthorized plantings. This may just as easily be stated in reverse, however; namely, the interloper is entitled to a substantial part of the fruits of his illicit labor. This point is illustrated in the following variant of a case described to the writer by the /ʌnʸi/.

The usurper is awarded limited usufruct. Some years ago, Pablo Candaleho asked Marianito Cayapa to sell him a small piece of land about twenty arms-length long.

352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
442 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cook-
ing utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunt-
622 ing and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who
rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
796 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes
sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
● 656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not
interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful
Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

584 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
583 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father
turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the
young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible,
consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They
will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price
for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from
what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted
with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
[611] family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows,
i.e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to
kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting
feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take
place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who
will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but
also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these.
It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to
undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique
will administer a hundred blows (well-counted on fingers and toes)
with the whip. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but
bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his
teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the
test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
[678] can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will
be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato
(corn-, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
[715] ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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announced that he knew more of the law than did Gabriel. The Cayapa plainly do not know how to deal with Pindalerse. Some Cayapa say that he has absolutely no right to interfere in the legal disputes. Similarly, Gabriel points out that the Negro is merely his employee and nothing more, but a few Cayapa think that perhaps he can take part in the adjudicating of disputes. They are not very certain, but if Pindalerse acts as if he can, then perhaps he can. On occasion he has asked Cayapa women to dance with him at the *Fiesta* in the Cayapa manner, but he has always been refused. No other Negro has ever attempted to dance with a Cayapa woman. In the disputes witnessed by the writer at which Pindalerse was present, he seemed to restrict himself to echoing the judgments reached by the Cayapa officials.

Both governmental activities as exist for the Cayapa will be amply illustrated in terms of their law. In point of fact, Cayapa law can be said to be the major part of Cayapa government. Political behavior for the Cayapa is intimately related to governmental instability which is largely the result of interregnum

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uncertainties. These uncertainties are carried over into the new period of chieftainship wherein there is a great difference between the people's perception of authority and their expectation of authority. Gabriel is not seen as a strong chief but, rather, as a man who drinks excessively and as a result, is unable to function as a chief should. At this point political behavior took two forms among the Cayapa. On one level, individuals were seen expressing dissatisfaction with Gabriel as the newly installed /ʃɑ̃ʸi/ and threatening to go to Quito, the national capitol, to have him replaced. The youngest son of the late /ʃɑ̃ʸi/ was voicing complaints that by rights he should have been the /ʃɑ̃ʸi/ because he speaks excellent Spanish in marked contrast to Gabriel. Most of the complaints seemed to emanate from the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas, more especially from the region of Pichiyaco, the home of the late /ʃɑ̃ʸi/. Complaints were voiced that Gabriel could not speak good Spanish, that he could not perform his duties, that he could not settle disputes, that he was /vinrūku/, "a drunkard." As the time drew near for the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado, many people

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began saying that they would attend the *fiesta* at one of the other tribal sections rather than attend one headed by an incompetent drunkard. Others said that if they attended, they would not ask Gabriel to settle their disputes; rather than this, they said, they would go to the national authorities. Gabriel was clearly not very secure in his position. The behavior of the people in these instances was political because there was a shifting of support from one authority to a contender. Furthermore, the shift of support was ideologically motivated in terms of values concerning the nature of the chieftainship (of Easton 1958; Siverts 1960). Gabriel's reaction to this was to drink more. Often when I would be talking to one or more Indians, Gabriel would appear on the scene, quite drunk, and begin to electioneer in a loud voice. He would tell the Indian(s) that he was responsible for my being there and that they would all benefit by my knowledge of hypodermics and penicillin. Whenever I saw Gabriel, he was obviously drunk; these observations extended over many months.

The personal crisis for Gabriel seems to have

been met during the Christmas fiesta. He took no overt steps to assert his authority beyond stating to a few Negro bystanders that he was the /ũnʸi/. He remained drunk a good deal of the time but so did most of the other fiesteros including women and, at times, children. Little by little, people became aware of the fact that there was indeed an /ũnʸi/ available, and a few began drifting over to where he lay drunk, sprawled in his hammock; despite his inebriation, /kavítu/ "complaints," were presented to him. It turned out that most of the disputes to be settled were from the area that had initially manifested greatest opposition to Gabriel. Gabriel, therefore, began to function as the /ũnʸi/ in fact, as well as in name; however, his performance was not at all satisfactory. For example, on one occasion when he was asked to cure a sick child because he had studied curing with a brujo from Espallo Grande, he was ineffective in carrying out this ritual because of his drunkenness.

As the fiesta were on day and night without dissolution for a full week, the second level of political

behavior began to develop. Individuals, all very drunk, and occasionally two or three holding each other up, would stand in front of Gabriel and lecture him on his drunkenness. This was not the way an /ún^{y}i/ should act, they would say; he must be sober; he must change his ways, or the people would not listen to him. From time to time his wife would place herself before his supine form which was sprawled occasionally on the floor, but most often in his hammock. She would loudly and clearly, in front of the assembled crowd, harangue him in the same vein, telling him to sober up and get out and behave as an /ún^{y}i/ should. Scenes like these were repeated throughout the year at various small parties and again at Punta Venado during the next Easter season. The attendance during Easter was markedly less than at the previous Christmas gathering. Political resistance had not died down. The situation described above has all of the elements of a comedy [drunks moralizing to a drunkard], but Gabriel was an element of poignant tragedy within the comedy. The previous year he had not been a drunkard, but that year he was not the /ún^{y}i/.

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old days." Being young they would, of course, be without sin, and Jesus would find the sight touching and forgive the world. Gabriel also let it be known that any of the Punta Venado group who did not attend would be fined by a special commission composed of two Indians and two Negroes. The Negroes would be needed to speak harshly to the stay-at-homes because the Indians have too much shame to speak with the needed firmness. The chiefs of the other sections never came to the proposed meeting. Probably sensing his lack of control over the other groups as well as within his own group [several people had voiced opposition to going so far to Punta Venado], he about-faced and stated that a celebration would be held at his house, to be followed in a week by another to be held at the Cimarrón house in Borosto. According to informants, this would serve adequately because the statues of the saints are in Gabriel's house and would be brought to Borosto when needed.

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It is clear that at this time Gabriel had no control over the other sections and very little over his own. Resistance to him was on an individual basis

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and never by way of organized groups. There were no political groups, just individuals who occasionally voiced dissatisfaction.

John Embree in his comparison between Thai and Japanese social systems wrote in terms of close and loose structures.

> Loosely integrated here signifying a culture in which considerable variation of individual behavior is sanctioned (Embree 1950:182) . . . Where social structure is "close"--that is, where the behavior of the people conforms closely to the formal social patterns of human relations . . . it is difficult for an individual to deviate, and reciprocal rights and duties are clearly marked and carried out (Embree 1950:185).

Cayapa social organization is, in these terms, loosely integrated, and Cayapa behavior is marked by individuality but not by individualism. That is, there is no ethic of individualism, rugged or otherwise, held as an ideal, but rather the sociological concomitants of a bi-laterally structured kinship system, lacking corporate kin groupings, coupled with the lack of permanent action groups of any kind, usually preclude social involvements on other than an individual basis. A possible exception to this may be

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found in the household consisting of several related nuclear families, but even here, the group is contingent upon circumstances, variable in personnel and unstable in duration. Members of the household are in constant movement, tending their far flung farm plots, visiting kinfolk, traveling to the cities, and visiting curers.

The lack of corporate involvements for the Cayapa effectively restricts political behavior to periods of turbulence and uncertainty such as occurred after the death of the late /ʔimʸi/, Arcilio Pianchichi, and the installation of his nephew, Gabriel Añapa, as the new governor. It may be, that whenever the office passes out of the direct line from father to son, political disturbances develop which may be exacerbated by personality factors. This seems to have been the case with Gabriel whose involvement in political events will be discussed shortly.

In terms of being a loosely structured society, the Cayapa differ from the Thai as discussed by Embree in an important manner:

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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In the Cayapa country the stocks is strictly
681 a Spanish institution, so far as can be learned, and has
177 no Cayapa name, but is always called by the Spanish term cepo, or, as it is rendered locally, se'pō. So far as known it was introduced among the Cayapa by early missionaries.

622 In speaking of ceremonies (page 392), detailed descriptions are given of the methods of punishment, which theoretically is meted out only by the chief and the sub-
[624] chief. The remaining officers of the government, however, take a hand in the actual punishment when asked to do so by the chief, though their special duty is to apprehend and bring the offenders to justice, to keep order at fiestas and other gatherings, and generally to execute the laws devised by the chief, whose authority is supreme and whose word in all matters is absolutely binding. His attitude, however, is in no way oppressive; on the contrary, he displays great deference to public opinion and conducts the affairs of government in a harmonious and satisfactory manner. Perhaps the operations of the Cayapa governmental machinery are shown to best advantage in the settlement of what may be termed civil difficulties, for, as has been previously pointed out,
[674] there are few fixed laws among the Cayapa, largely for the reason that few crimes are committed. The laws are
577 more in the nature of canons of ethics than statutory en-
•671 actments, and they may be varied to a certain extent by public opinion concerning the particular case in hand.
674 The Cayapa maintain that they have no punishment for theft, because theft does not exist either among themselves or against their neighbors. This reputation is borne out by the whites and negroes of the region, who

announced that he knew more of the law than did Gabriel. The Cayapa plainly do not know how to deal with Pindalenas. Some Cayapa say that he has absolutely no right to interfere in the legal disputes. Similarly, Gabriel points out that the Negro is merely his employee and nothing more, but a few Cayapa think that perhaps he can take part in the adjudicating of disputes. They are not very certain, but if Pindalenas acts as if he can, then perhaps he can. On occasion he has asked Cayapa women to dance with him at the fiesta in the Cayapa manner, but he has always been refused. No other Negro has ever attempted to dance with a Cayapa woman. In the disputes witnessed by the writer at which Pindalenas was present, he seemed to restrict himself to echoing the judgments reached by the Cayapa officials.

Such governmental activities as exist for the Cayapa will be amply illustrated in terms of their law. In point of fact, Cayapa law can be said to be the major part of Cayapa government. Political behavior for the Cayapa is intimately related to governmental instability which is largely the result of interregnum

uncertainties. These uncertainties are carried over into the new period of chieftainship wherein there is a great difference between the people's perception of authority and their expectation of authority. Gabriel is not seen as a strong chief but, rather, as a man who drinks excessively and as a result, is unable to function as a chief should. At this point political behavior took two forms among the Cayapa. On one level, individuals were seen expressing dissatisfaction with Gabriel as the newly installed /ʿaʸ/ and threatening to go to Quito, the national capitol, to have him replaced. The youngest son of the late /ʿaʸ/ was voicing complaints that by rights he should have been the /ʿaʸ/ because he speaks excellent Spanish in marked contrast to Gabriel. Most of the complaints seemed to emanate from the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas, more especially from the region of Pichiyaco, the home of the late /ʿaʸ/. Complaints were voiced that Gabriel could not speak good Spanish, that he could not perform his duties, that he could not settle disputes, that he was /vinrūku/, "a drunkard." As the time drew near for the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado, many people

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CHAPTER IV

DEVIANCE AND LAW IN THE AREA OF SEX RELATIONS

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In terms of attitudes and decisions, Cayapa law can be marked off in two grand divisions: the sacred and the profane. The sacred involves the realm of sin, and sin for the Cayapa is to be found completely in the area of sexual behavior. Illicit sexual adventures, if exposed, are always punished by whipping and/or the use of the stocks. We have no information, but in all probability the whip and the stocks were introduced to the Cayapa at a very early period by Catholic missionaries. Regardless of the source of these two articles of punishment, the Cayapa have taken to them enthusiastically. The question of why sex should be so charged with feelings of sin requiring a special mode of punishment will be discussed later, when we deal with personality factors. While the Cayapa talk about sin and characterize many people as being sinners, my data do not indicate that they either dwell on, or even conceptualize sin, in terms of a world view. Rather,

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they dwell on, are attracted to, and are repulsed by sexual involvements. In this, they agree with the missionaries, and if the missionaries call this area of life sinful, the Cayapa can readily agree. We shall see that it is in the realm of sexual deviancy and in the attempts made by Cayapa lawmen to come to grips with it that the most sweeping socio-cultural changes take place.

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Incest. Incest is generally viewed by the Cayapa as being particularly heinous. In the olden days, it is asserted, when the Cayapa lived in one village at Pueblo Viejo, anyone guilty of such a crime would be placed suspended over a table which was covered with lighted candles, and then, slowly roasted to death. While this may be apocryphal, it does indicate strong negative feelings towards incestuous behavior. The Cayapa are very clear about this and state that incest is a sin, that it goes against Jesus' commandments and must be punished. Barrett recorded the following case which indicates that the punishment was still severe if not as extreme.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

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The nexus between the realms of Cayapa law, government, and politics, can be found in the area of personality and social structure. The law derives from a functional complex that is characterized by a deep-rooted anxiety, sexual inadequacy, heavy permissive and dependent drinking, periodic political behavior, and individual deviant behavior that ultimately leads to sweeping socio-cultural changes. The framework of this complex, and its legal derivative, is a society that is bi-laterally organized and lacks corporate bodies; whose only action groups are marked by constant changes in personnel, as individuals and family members move about tending their widespread land holdings. Cayapa fear and anxiety, coupled with a generalized fear of others, effectively blocks the formation of action groups that are more than temporary unions of very short duration. Even non-kin dyadic friendship groups were marked by extreme instability as the bonds of friendship are being constantly tried and probed and usually found wanting.

and probed and usually found wanting.

Cayuga law readily lends itself to a division into Civil and Criminal law. The former is concerned mainly with property (especially land) while the latter is preeminently concerned with sexual behavior and sin. In the realm of Cayuga Civil law, especially in cases that involve land, legal decisions are compromises in the sense that the usurper is permitted limited return on his labor. There is agreement by all parties to the dispute that land as such is owned, but lacking written records, the best proof that a claimant to land ownership has is evidence of his having worked the land he claims. Work is the best validation of ownership, but the land need not be continuously worked: however, as work is neglected, and as memories fade, ownership is contested. Basically, land disputes involve a claim by the usurper that the original ownership is in jeopardy. These claims are always balanced with the claims of the owner and a compromise solution is reached. The land, in effect, is shared for a period of time and the owner is warned that he must continue to work his land intensively or be subject to further challenges to his ownership. Compromise is an effective

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solution and serves to exclude the chief from entangling alliances with one party as opposed to the other. Whether this serves to enhance the position of the chief in his role as third person in the legal process, is not clear. Aubert (1963) believes that mediating decisions foster independence for the third party office, as well as increased prestige. Structurally, the office of /[illegible]/ is an independent one that does not permit the formation of alliances with groups that are virtually impossible to form anyway, given the social and psychological structure of Cayapa culture.

In the legal materials dealing with land it is seen that all of the parties to the dispute were in complete agreement as to the nature of land and its ownership. Conflict does not involve different value positions on the part of the disputants but rather individuals are competing for scarce goods that embody shared cultural values. Polygyny among the Cayapa represents a mixture of competing interests, as in land disputes, and also some lack of agreement as to what the basic issues and values are. Women are valued goods, in a sense, that at present are in scant supply. A compromise solution, as in land disputes, is not

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possible to reach, inasmuch as the religious element of sin is also a factor, and the Church cannot condone sin. We must condemn the parties involved in the polygynous marriage. The dispute does not involve a conflict of interests, as in the land cases, but rather new values that markedly conflict with traditional values. The individuals holding the new values refuse to accept an aligned decision, that is, a decision based in effect on an "alliance" with the believers of the traditional values. Ultimately, if the unilateral decision against polygyny cannot be enforced, it is superseded by de facto compromise. Thus, if the parties have been punished once but persist in their sinful behavior, further punishment is left to God, and the polygynous union may continue.

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For cases of incest and adultery, the conflict of interest, although present, is minimal. In addition, conflicting values are not an issue, as no one seriously presents a new value position that encourages incest and adulterous behavior. The nature of incest and adultery is such that a compromise solution, while not impossible perhaps, is improbable. In these cases, where sinful behavior is at issue, the official can adopt a unilateral

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non-compromise position. Persistence in transgression, however, is tantamount to the defense of new value positions that leads to de facto compromise. The Cayapa judge, with the legal avenues that are open to him, cannot handle a strong personality, that is, one that either develops new values, as the polygynist, or the one that refuses to be deterred from wrongdoing, as in the case of the persistently incestuous couple.

Eventually, de facto compromise may assume the dignity of social acceptance. The effective restraint of the poor would-be polygynist, as opposed to the de facto acceptance of the wealthy polygynists, may lead to the formation of class distinctions: that is, a wealthy man will be permitted to have more than one wife but a poor man will not be permitted to enjoy this privilege. Normally, it would be expected that incest could achieve social acceptance only with great difficulty, but from an examination of the case of Lorenzo Ahape (p. 159) it becomes clear that the incest range for some people is narrowing considerably, for in this case the incestuous arrangement has been given the express approval of the families concerned and de facto

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compromise on the part of the /ʌn^{y}i/ permits the continuance of this union.

Many things somewhat beyond the ordinary cannot be handled directly, but only by means of de facto compromise or latently. Every society is an action system that in one degree or another utilizes specific innovations for definite ends. Often, the latent functions of an innovation incur more sweeping changes than do the manifest ones. For example, the manifest function of the Indian school was to increase literacy. Its latent function was to increase homosexual behavior. The cultural emphasis for the Cayapa seems to be that of latency, and sweeping changes come about, not because they are sought, but because the socio-psychological matrix of the law can only permit de facto acceptance of threats to basic values.

Cayapa law, in terms of de jure decisions is not at all able to "redefine relations between individuals and groups as the conditions of life change" (Hoebel 1954:275). Cayapa culture is not, however, moribund. Extraordinary socio-cultural changes are taking place precisely because the law cannot accommodate

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easily to new economic changes and value positions which are redefining relationships between people. The redefining of a situation, or the creation of a new structural arrangement, very often involves legislation or political behavior. For the Cayuga, new definitions and new structural arrangements cannot be legislated through de jure decisions; nor can they take place through primary political involvement due to the paucity of strategic political possibilities inherent in a bilateral system that lacks corporate bodies which may be utilized in the formation of alliances; rather, they take place by means of de facto compromise.

Some authorities maintain that political behavior involves the "formation of new principles of organization" (Siverts 1960). That is, groups or individuals who have differing ideological or value commitments attempt to restructure society. In these terms, Cayuga behavior is not so much political as governmental. It is concerned mainly with the maintenance of stability and the status quo. Such political behavior as is found among the Cayuga apparently stems from periods of uncertainty that are in part sociological and in part psychological. When a new [illegible] takes the onus

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When a new /ún^{v}i/ takes the reins

of authority, his individual personality and behavior, complicated by the cultural emphasis on heavy drinking, will effect the complementarity of expectations between the /ún^{v}i/ and the people. If there is a lack of conformity between the behavior of the /ún^{v}i/ and the expectancies of the people, there will be an effort on the part of individuals to effect conformity by engaging in moralizing, gossiping, nagging, and threats to shift allegiance to other authorities—all directed against one man, the /ún^{v}i/. The aim of all of these kinds of behavior is to return to the status quo ante, when the late /ún^{v}i/ was the image of true leadership. As the new /ún^{v}i/ is pressured into modifying his behavior in the direction of the cultural expectancies, the agitation and political behavior will diminish.

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house and brought to Averticio. The next day, the Teniente Político, a national official of Borbón, came down the river from Telembí. He was hailed by Romulo who explained the happening to him. They both then went up to Playa Grande where a party was in progress in Averticio's house. The official took the woman back and fined the two Negroes sixty sucres each, but Dámian Largo was not fined. Averticio pointed out to the official that he had sent the commission in good faith and had not asked for the use of force. Ines also made it clear that she did not want to marry Averticio because he was too old.

Of interest here is the fact that Romulo appealed to a non-Indian official who is not ordinarily approached by the Cayapa in matters of this kind. Doubtless, it was the fortuitous juxtaposition of circumstances that brought the Teniente Político into view while Romulo's anger was still at its height. The official's decision was not completely just. In the first place, he clearly favored the Indians over the Negroes and consequently he did not fine the Indian member of the commission. In the second place,

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Averticio lied when he said that he had not asked for the use of force by the commission. Mena res marked Averticio's actions and he was an accessory before and after the fact. By requesting the two Negroes for the commission he gave tacit approval to the use of force. If Romulo had complained to an Indian official, the latter would have been unable to deal legally with the Negroes, and he would have restricted his investigation to Averticio and Dámian. When Negroes are involved, and feelings are running high among the aggrieved Cayapa, self-help may be resorted to, as the following case demonstrates.

Perdomo fights for his sister. Perdomo lived with his wife, mother, and sister in a house up the Río Cameronas. One night a commission composed of the usual two Indians and two Negroes came to the house. The two Indians spoke first. They had come to deliver Perdomo's sister to Manuel Largo of Playa Grande. Perdomo and his mother refused. [Manuel was said to be very ugly, thin, and weak.] Following this refusal, the two Negroes came in to take the girl forcibly. She began to cry whereupon Perdomo went for his machete

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Esmeraldas, and especially of the drainage of the Rios Santiago and Cayapas, it is decidedly in the minority; indeed at present there is only one white family living on the course of the Cayapas.

The desirability of the intrusion of another race into a territory occupied by Indians is always doubtful. In this case it is especially so, for some of the negroes at all times take great liberties with their Indian neighbors, not to mention the fact that they openly plunder their crops and houses whenever opportunity offers. These depredations the Cayapa tolerate, rarely taking a hand themselves in the punishment of the offenders, and never committing acts of repeisal. They are a law-abiding people, and recognize completely the authority of the provincial government over all inhabitants except themselves. Any such acts, if they were to occur among themselves, would be severely punished in their own way and without governmental aid. Be it said to the credit of the provincial authorities, that they recognize the right of the Cayapa to govern themselves and to punish their own offenders, and further that they attempt to protect the Indians from impositions by others. However, it frequently happens that the guilty ones either escape or, if apprehended, are inadequately punished.

As above mentioned, all ordinary depredations, such as theft by outsiders, are tolerated by the Cayapa without personally attempting to punish the offenders. There is one crime, however, which demands a severe penalty, namely, outrages against women. The standard of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ethics is very high among the Cayapa themselves, and any case of unfaithfulness, if such were to be discovered among themselves, would be most severely dealt with. About 1897 or 1898 two negroes came to a Cayapa house, drove the men away, and took possession of the premises with the women occupants. On the following day the chief sent down the river a commission which conveyed to the local teniente politico at La Tolita the heads of the negroes, carefully wrapped in leaves of the hoja blanca, as well as the compliments of the chief, and with an explanation as to the reason why the heads had been separated from the bodies. Incidentally the explanation conveyed the intelligence that future offenses of this kind would be punished in like manner. The teniente politico was requested to forward to the governor at Esmeraldas the two heads and the above message, but owing to the rapidity of decomposition in the tropics, it was deemed best to give the governor the benefit of the message only. Fortunately for all parties concerned the governor's reply, it is said, was a complete vindication of the action of the Cayapa. So far as could be learned, no similar crime has been committed since that time.

DAILY LIFE

The social organization of the Cayapa has a strictly family basis, although according to their own traditions they formerly lived, when at Ibarra and Pueblo Viejo, in village communities. At present each family regularly lives entirely separated from every other family, and usually at a considerable distance from its nearest

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

In the Cayapa country the stocks is strictly
681 a Spanish institution, so far as can be learned, and has
177 no Cayapa name, but is always called by the Spanish term cepo, or, as it is rendered locally, se'pō. So far as known it was introduced among the Cayapa by early missionaries.

622 In speaking of ceremonies (page 392), detailed descriptions are given of the methods of punishment, which theoretically is meted out only by the chief and the sub-
624 chief. The remaining officers of the government, however, take a hand in the actual punishment when asked to do so by the chief, though their special duty is to apprehend and bring the offenders to justice, to keep order at fiestas and other gatherings, and generally to execute the laws devised by the chief, whose authority is supreme and whose word in all matters is absolutely binding. His attitude, however, is in no way oppressive; on the contrary, he displays great deference to public opinion and conducts the affairs of government in a harmonious and satisfactory manner. Perhaps the operations of the Cayapa governmental machinery are shown to best advantage in the settlement of what may be termed civil difficulties, for, as has been previously pointed out,
674 there are few fixed laws among the Cayapa, largely for the reason that few crimes are committed. The laws are
577 more in the nature of canons of ethics than statutory en-
671 actments, and they may be varied to a certain extent by public opinion concerning the particular case in hand.
674 The Cayapa maintain that they have no punishment for theft, because theft does not exist either among themselves or against their neighbors. This reputation is borne out by the whites and negroes of the region, who

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

declare the Cayapa absolutely honest. It is claimed also that murder and other major crimes are entirely unknown among them.

On the other hand, there are strict rules with respect to marital relations, any infringement of which meets with severe punishment. The details of this phase of Cayapa life will be discussed in dealing with the subject of marriage. The Cayapa themselves claim that in aboriginal times the same regulations in respect to these matters were in vogue, but presumably they may have been at least strengthened, if not considerably influenced, by the rigid church laws introduced by missionaries.

It is said that formerly, when the Cayapa were a united mountain people residing in a village community, there was but one chief and one government for all, but that soon after they settled along the banks of the river they became segregated into the three divisions as above mentioned. There then arose the three separate villages for fiestas and other gatherings, and the three separate and independent governments. No special reason for this separation is given by the Cayapa, other than that it was more convenient than to have a single central government; and no explanation could be obtained as to how the officials of the three separate governments were first appointed or elected.

It is said that in aboriginal times the inauguration of a new official was attended by no special ceremony, but that he automatically assumed the duties of his office on the death of his predecessor. At present, however, such a person enters on these duties only after having been duly inducted by the priest during his annual visit to the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

officials: First, a chief, known as ū'nyi or ū'mi, and now gobernador; second, one or more sub-chiefs, casawa'lyi, now called gobernador nuevo; third, a class which might be termed officers of the law, called tca'itala. All the officers of the present Spanish form of government, other than the gobernador and the gobernador nuevo, are classed under the last head, and in reality all serve the same purposes as did the ancient tca'itala.

The center of government inheres in the chief, no matter where he may reside, and practically all matters, but especially matters of importance, are referred to him.

The Cayapa are separated, geographically and politically, into three divisons, each with its section of the river and its particular village which is used only at times of fiestas or for other gatherings. These divisions are those of Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, these designations being taken for convenience from the names of their respective villages in the order in which they are met in going up the Rio Cayapas. A part of Punta Venado is shown in pl. VIII, while a distant view of the village from the river is shown in pl. IX. This is the largest and most important of the three villages. In pl. X is presented a view of a part of Sapayo Grande, with the chief's house in the left foreground.

In each of these villages the chief has a large house, and it is here that most matters of importance are settled, justice is dispensed, and punishment inflicted. In such a house there is a large special room, at one end of which is a heavy stocks for the confinement of prisoners when necessary. In the Cayapa country the stocks is strictly

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

village. The successor of an official is definitely known long before the death of the latter, but an official vacancy is not actually filled until the coming of the priest. Then, in the presence of all the other officials and anyone else who may wish to be present, the priest delivers an address in which he names the new official, announces his duties and privileges, commends him to the respect of the people, and charges him with the duties and responsibilities which he is about to assume. On the death of the chief, for instance, his duties are relegated to some other official, usually one of the "alcaldes," until such time as the priest shall arrive and inaugurate a successor.

None of these officials are supposed to receive compensation other than the honor and respect in which they are held. The chief, however, usually levies fines upon offenders, of which he takes personal possession and could, if he so desired, use a portion of them for his private needs, since no special account of such matters is kept by anyone. As a matter of fact such a thing rarely or never happens; on the contrary the chief uses the fines for paying the services of officers of the law whom he may send on missions of various kinds, such as bringing culprits to justice, settling disputes among his people, and the like. A portion of the money he uses also for the payment of shamans whom he employs now and then to expel dangerous spirits from his village, from deep pools in the river, or from other places where these mysterious beings are supposed to endanger the lives of the people at large. At the present time, when coins of Ecuador and Colombia are comparatively easy to obtain, fines are paid in money, but in earlier times they were always paid in commodities.

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silk or rayon shawl which can cover her head, face and breast when she is dancing. Her skirt, worn over a black cotton underskirt /ʔʷúnʷa/, falls just below the knee and is a wrap-around in a solid color. It is embroidered at the hem in the manner of the man's shirt fashions. A belt secures the underskirt, and the overskirt is tucked in at the waist. The women spend a good deal of time adjusting the overskirt.

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For dancing or for receiving the blows of the cat-o'-nine-tails /ástəcúwa/ as punishment, the woman puts on over her usual skirts a woven wrap-around skirt made of heavy cotton and decorated with both geometric and realistic designs. Many colors are used, but blue, white, and red predominate. Since the present generation of women is almost completely ignorant of the weaver's art, the skirts are seldom their own handiwork.

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Manufactures. Woodworking: It is immediately apparent that canoes and their handling are extremely important to all the inhabitants of the area. Young boys often begin their lessons in canoemanship by playing on the drifting logs that come down stream when the river is in flood. They tumble and splash and learn

4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1960
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ugly to hear, and that I must leave before he began his cure, but the other two assured him that I was a "good gringo." By this point, the three *brujos* were quite drunk, and unable to function. The father took the child back to the main house, where it died early the following morning.

It is felt that *brujos* can kill as well as cure, but except for one instance, concealed sorcery was never attributed to Cayapa *brujos*. The father of Pacomo of *Borbón* was a *brujo* who was killed because "he killed too many people." This was the only instance recorded and it was apparently done on an individual basis and not through the legal apparatus.

Government. The Spanish governmental nomenclature can be found with varying degrees of completeness in each of the four tribal sections. The list as noted by Barrett included the following: "Governador, secretario de la governación, taniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento." (Barrett 1925:313). In 1960, the terms alcalde, comisário, and taniente político were apparently no longer in use, and no one knew of any individual who occupied any of these offices.

Today, as in 1909, there are apparently three

Punta Menado, with relatives of each man joining the fray. After order had been restored, the chief stated that the land belonged to Romulo and that Buru was too young to have known what had happened earlier. Buru wanted Romulo to pay twenty sucres damages for cutting his head in the brawl, but Romulo refused on the grounds that Buru had started the argument. He did however, buy a half bottle of rum, which they consumed together. Both Buru and Romulo are "family," but the manner of relationship is unknown. 423 [627] [691] [685]

Boundaries of land become well known with usage and may be disputed when the land is not used intensively. In either case, disputes may occur but are more apt to require settlement by a third party, if the boundaries are not well known. 423 685 691

A Negro official renders a Cayapa-type decision. After Sanchi built a house on his land, he observed one day that Perdomo had planted bananas nearby. Sanchi insisted that they had been planted on his land and, with his mother's brother, Reverico, called in Cristobal, the Negro Inspector of the village of Quenconas at that time. Cristobal decided that Perdomo should keep 423 685 177

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Antonito Sarfeita his spoils by fighting. About 1955, Pedro José planted some calabash trees to mark the boundary between his land and the neighboring land of Antonito Nibi. One day, while working near the line, he spotted some cacao plants that had been planted on his side. He said nothing at the time, but some weeks later, during a wake given by Halle at his daughter's death, Pedro José became drunk and inquired of the group at large, and of Antonito in particular, "Who planted the cacao?" Antonito admitted the act, and an argument began which soon developed into a general fight. Halle stopped it after a while, stating that he did not want people to fight when he was sad over the death of his daughter. Pedro José wanted forty *sucres* damages for the blows to his eyes but Antonito, backed up by his mother, refused to pay and Pedro José left the wake with his daughter. Later he uprooted the cacao plants, but nothing more was ever done.

Although the uprooting of the cacao plants was an act of spite, Pedro José was justified, as the boundary was clear and well-known. Ordinarily, Antonito could have expected to profit from the labor he expended in planting the cacao, but by getting drunk,

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[445] they are by bringing along "Mates" and "Calabazas," i.e. bowls and pitchers made of the rind of pumpkin-like fruit, into which they put the greatest part of the food and drink offered in order to carry them home. Only when everybody has eaten until he is ready to burst and the majority are rather drunk, the wedding draws to a close. The young couple is finally left alone and may go to their hut. But before the couple are allowed to enjoy their love to the full, they must pass through a long cruel (because it is continent) trial period. They live and sleep together under their
[286] common mosquito-net made of cotton with red flowers, but not as husband and wife, but as brother and sister, and they are not allowed to touch each other for an entire year. They must remain pious, chaste and abstemious, no matter how difficult it may be for them. The purpose is to steel the virtue of abstemiousness and the strength of will. Only when this period of fasting and trial is over, may they succumb to the ecstasies of love. Woe to those
684 who cannot withstand and secretely attempt to taste of the forbidden fruit before the end of the trial year--if discovered they pay for their crime with their lives or have to seek refuge immediately in another territory which cannot be reached by the punishing arm of their strict rulers. Only once I had occasion to watch how a fiance, who was violently in love, gingerly and furtively with trembling hands touched the arm and naked breast of his betrothed.

302 During this year of betrothal they use red and black plant juices
584 to paint their faces, chests, arms and legs with streaks and dots. This custom corresponds to our engagement announcements and wedding rings.

846 Immediately after the birth of a baby, the young mother gets
[515] up from her bed, goes to the river and bathes. Bathing in the river is one of the Cayapas' passions. Each and everyone of them take at least two or even three baths per day. The young mother has barely left her child when the grandmother cleans it up a bit, puts it down again; and then the father lies down with it, staying in bed with the child from three to five weeks, letting his wife nurse him, just as though he were the woman in child-bed, who had gone through the pains of childbirth and was in need of recuperating and nursing care. The young mother, on the other hand, does her usual work already an hour after delivery, attending to her daily chores as though nothing had happened. This strange custom is connected with their religious concepts and their fear of evil spirits

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the morning had remained one in one room and one in another, each specially dressed for the occasion, and each with a cloth carefully bound so as to cover the mouth. The groom was attended by his godfather, the bride by her godmother, and neither conversed with any other persons. The same silence and covering of the mouth were maintained throughout the feast, and indeed throughout the remainder of the day. Toward the end of the feast, one of the officials delivered an extended address in which he exhorted the bride and groom to live peacefully and helpfully together, and outlined the paths each should follow in order to insure model married life for themselves and a useful career to the community. He especially warned the groom that under no circumstances had he any right or privilege in chastising the bride, but that in case she were to become remiss in any of her duties he was bound to report the matter to the chief or to some other official, whose duty it was to see that she was properly punished. Likewise he was warned that remissness on his part would also be met by the officials with severe castigation.

The feast being ended with the usual benediction, and the floor having been cleared, dancing was next in order. Practically all dancing among the Cayapa consists, as is elsewhere described, of a kind of shuffling step back and forth along a line in the middle of the dance floor. A single couple only participate in one of these sets, the man dancing backward, followed by the woman, and vice versa.

A feature of special note in connection with the wedding dance is the order in which the participants came

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the adjoining room, and placed the two under it. They were followed to the canopy by the musicians and by all the spectators, the former playing their rattles, beating their drums, and whacking sticks most noisily, and all calling and shouting and making every manner of fun. Having been thus escorted to their mosquito canopy, the ceremony was ended, and the bride and groom were at liberty to remove their finery, appear in their usual dress, and go about without further restriction. 585

The Cayapa maintain that not only at present, under the influence of the Catholic Church, but also in aboriginal times, marriage between near relatives was strictly forbidden. Even marriage between remote cousins is prohibited. This relationship of cousin, however, is regarded in a way somewhat different from that of civilized peoples. Further in case of the death of a man or his wife, the survivor is prohibited from marrying any other member of his or her family. 582

Divorce is now strictly prohibited, and the Cayapa maintain that it was unknown even before they came under church influence. It is also held that even before the establishment of the church among them the family relations were as sacred and the family ties as binding as at the present time. Divorce, however, is only a theoretical prohibition. As a matter of fact it does occur at the present time, although very rarely. A man or a woman leaving his or her spouse is, if apprehended, severely punished by the Cayapa officials and every effort is made to force reconciliation. Although sometimes these efforts are successful, cases are known 586 586 684

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

586 in which, in order to escape the wrath of public opinion
684 and castigation by the officials, offenders against the divorce laws have left the Cayapa country entirely and taken up their abode in Colombia or in the interior of Ecuador. The same applies to the laws relating to
582 marriage between near relatives. The evasion or the
684 open violation of either the laws of divorce or those governing consanguineal marriage are, however, of such rare occurrence that the laws may be said to operate almost perfectly, and they, together with the laws requiring chastity and fidelity in both sexes, certainly produce a salutary moral effect on the community. In fact, it is most exceptional to find a tribe or a community of the size of the Cayapa in which the ethical standards are so high and so strictly observed.

DEATH

761 As was stated in speaking of medicine practices, death
753 is ordinarily attributed to the presence of malevolent
776 spirits in the body, whither they find their way by various
[754] means. For instance, they may be placed by some malicious shaman in the soul of the individual as it wanders about during sleep, or they may enter directly into the body as one passes some particular spot believed to be infested with these malicious, disease-breeding spirits.

774 There seems to be a difference of opinion as to the
775 soul. One informant maintained that there are numer-
177 ous souls, each residing in a different part of the body; that the one in the chest is the largest and most im-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

upon the table; the rest was divided into small bits, and, after an invocation by the warden of the church, the men and boys, all seated on low benches about the table, proceeded to feast. The women meanwhile partook of a portion of the food that had been sent to the next room to them. Having finished the meal, a benediction was pronounced by the warden and the floor was cleared of all scraps of food and the leaves forming the table.

Immediately fresh leaves were spread as at first, and the boda, the word being here used in its more restricted sense, was served. While an ofrenda has a very elaborate assortment of foods, a boda has only fish, oysters, or meats cooked in ripe plantain in the form of a thick gruel. This is served always in the aboriginal pottery plates of the kind shown in pl. LXXXVII, 4, although for everyday use dishes of European manufacture have almost entirely supplanted the pottery plates formerly used. In this particular case the boda consisted of a single course of plantain and fish, but sometimes other courses are served in order. The feast having been finished, the majority of the people went to their respective abodes in the village or to the house of the chief.

At such gatherings offenders against the law are usually brought before the chief, by whom justice is dispensed and differences between individuals adjudicated. On this particular occasion several matters of this nature demanded the chief's attention. The details of these will show something of the methods of dispensing justice among the Cayapa.

Immediately after the boda on this first day the chief sent some officers to bring before him certain offenders

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

against the law. The offenders were, in this case, a man and a woman. The man had deserted his wife and child after abusing them for a considerable time and had assumed relations with a young widow. He had therefore been guilty not only of infidelity and abuse, but also of violating the immutable law forbidding divorce. The woman's crime was somewhat less grave. Being a widow, she had a right to remarry, but she had no claim to the husband of another woman. In justice to the Cayapa as a tribe it should here be remarked, as has been elsewhere pointed out, that cases of infidelity, wife-desertion, and abuse are extremely rare. Almost without exception the family relations are held sacred by both men and women, and in general the relations existing between the sexes are governed by stringent laws which are regarded faithfully. In this instance both the offenders were brought to the house of the chief and were placed in the stocks where they remained during the afternoon. The man displayed no sign of emotion, but the woman wailed and chanted the greater part of the time. Both were remonstrated with by friends, and the mother of the woman sat beside her almost constantly, weeping and chanting her plaint at the disgrace that had been brought upon the family by the daughter's misconduct.

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It would appear that the keeping of such offenders for many hours in the stocks is an exemplary measure and is done for the effect which it will have on the community at large. The punishment which they are to receive is often decided on long before its infliction, but they are kept in the stocks as an example to the people at large

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

ably due in part to the increased drunkenness, which was apparent throughout the day, but was due more largely to the greed of several negroes present.

After this feast the floor was cleared of remnants of the meal and of the leaves used to make the table. The second feast, the boda, was then served as usual. This consisted of three courses, each served on the same plate in the case of each individual, care being used in replenishing the supply that the plates of different individuals should not be interchanged. The three courses of these mush-like foods consisted of plantain with fish, plantain with meat, and plantain with oysters. In case any individual did not eat any or all of his portion, it was taken to the next room by the host or by one of the attendants and given to one of the women of his family. The men giving the boda served the guests, while the women attended to filling the plates.

In this particular instance the whole of the previous night had been spent by the hostess and her friends in cooking and preparing the plantain mushes used in this boda. While hot they were poured into burden-baskets lined with leaves. When served they were cold and very thick.

Immediately following the feasts another refractory pair were brought to justice. In this case the man had forsaken his wife and for three months had been living with his first cousin, who had deserted her husband. Each of the culprits, therefore, was charged with the double crime of desertion of spouse and cohabitation with first cousin. These are considered great breaches of tribal law and are severely punished. As on the previous day,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the offenders were placed in the stocks, remonstrated with by relatives and friends, and finally whipped. In this case the man received a hundred and seventy-five lashes, or thirty-five strokes of the cat-o'-nine-tails, and in addition was required to pay a fine in money amounting to about fifteen or twenty sucres. The woman's punishment was a hundred and twenty-five lashes, or twenty-five strokes. The greater severity of the punishment in the cases of these two offenders was due to the fact that they were first cousins, which relationship prohibits marriage under any consideration.

Another example of punishment was witnessed late in the afternoon. A young man had inbided freely and while in his cups ran amuck in two or three houses. Others endeavored to quiet him, and to hold him and prevent serious trouble, but he seemed crazed with the rum and determined to fight, until finally it became necessary for officers to take him in hand. After a struggle he was carried to the stocks and secured by one foot. He fought desperately to release himself, but finally fell asleep and after several hours awoke in a much better mood.

In this instance was shown a good example of the devotion of the Cayapa women. Throughout his drunken frenzy the young man's mother had endeavored to quiet him, and for her trouble been struck by him repeatedly. Nevertheless, as soon as he quieted down in the stocks she took up her station beside him and fanned him almost continuously during the time he slept. Such instances are very common. It is not considered a disgrace for anyone, either man or woman, to become intoxicated,

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[For cases involving sex and marital offenses and the punishments imposed see category 116, pp. 131-139, 148-188.]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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In marked contrast to the sexual sphere, decisions involving land always involved a compromise solution, a balancing of conflicting claims. It appears to the writer that compromise solutions of this type preclude punishment for the usurper. Restitution rather than punishment or partial profit marks settlement of pig-stealing cases, because the thief does not have a claim based upon productive work. The compromise solutions in land disputes reflect a basic acceptance by all parties to the dispute that work validates ownership and keeps the boundary lines and title clear.

and probed and usually found wanting.

Cayapa law readily lends itself to a division into Civil and Criminal law. The former is concerned mainly with property (especially land) while the latter is preeminently concerned with sexual behavior and sin. In the realm of Cayapa Civil law, especially in cases that involve land, legal decisions are compromises in the sense that the usurper is permitted limited return on his labor. There is agreement by all parties to the dispute that land as such is owned, but lacking written records, the best proof that a claimant to land ownership has is evidence of his having worked the land he claims. Work is the best validation of ownership, but the land need not be continuously worked; however, as work is neglected, and as memories fade, ownership is contested. Basically, land disputes involve a claim by the usurper that the original ownership is in jeopardy. These claims are always balanced with the claims of the owner and a compromise solution is reached. The land, in effect, is shared for a period of time and the owner is warned that he must continue to work his land intensively or be subject to further challenges to his ownership. Compromise is an effective

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solution and serves to exclude the chief from entangling alliances with one party as opposed to the other. Whether this serves to enhance the position of the chief in his role as third person in the legal process, is not clear. Aubert (1963) believes that mediating decisions foster independence for the third party office, as well as increased prestige. Structurally, the office of /ũn^{y}i/ is an independent one that does not permit the formation of alliances with groups that are virtually impossible to form anyway, given the social and psychological structure of Cayapa culture.

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In the legal materials dealing with land it is seen that all of the parties to the dispute were in complete agreement as to the nature of land and its ownership. Conflict does not involve different value positions on the part of the disputants but rather individuals are competing for scarce goods that embody shared cultural values. Polygyny among the Cayapa represents a mixture of competing interests, as in land disputes, and also some lack of agreement as to what the basic issues and values are. Women are valued goods, in a sense, that at present are in scant supply. A compromise solution, as in land disputes, is not

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possible to reach, inasmuch as the religious element of sin is also a factor, and the /ún^{y}i/ cannot condone sin. He must condemn the parties involved in the polygynous marriage. The dispute does not involve a conflict of interests, as in the land cases, but rather new values that markedly conflict with traditional values. The individuals holding the new values refuse to accept an aligned decision, that is, a decision based in effect on an "alliance" with the believers of the traditional values. Ultimately, if the unilateral decision against polygyny cannot be enforced, it is superseded by de facto compromise. Thus, if the parties have been punished once but persist in their sinful behavior, further punishment is left to God, and the polygynous union may continue.

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For cases of incest and adultery, the conflict of interest, although present, is minimal. In addition, conflicting values are not an issue, as no one seriously presents a new value position that encourages incest and adulterous behavior. The nature of incest and adultery is such that a compromise solution, while not impossible perhaps, is improbable. In these cases, where sinful behavior is at issue, the official can adopt a unilateral

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non-compromise position. Persistence in transgression, however, is tantamount to the defense of new value positions that leads to de facto compromise. The Cayapa judge, with the legal avenues that are open to him, cannot handle a strong personality, that is, one that either develops new values, as the polygynist, or the one that refuses to be deterred from wrongdoing, as in the case of the persistently incestuous couple.

Eventually, de facto compromise may assume the dignity of social acceptance. The effective restraint of the poor would-be polygynist, as opposed to the de facto acceptance of the wealthy polygynists, may lead to the formation of class distinctions: that is, a wealthy man will be permitted to have more than one wife but a poor man will not be permitted to enjoy this privilege. Normally, it would be expected that incest could achieve social acceptance only with great difficulty, but from an examination of the case of Lorenzo Anapa (p. 139) it becomes clear that the incest range for some people is narrowing considerably, for in this case the incestuous arrangement has been given the express approval of the families concerned and de facto

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compromise on the part of the /ún^{y}i/ permits the continuance of this union.

Many things somewhat beyond the ordinary cannot be handled directly, but only by means of de facto compromise or latently. Every society is an action system that in one degree or another utilizes specific innovations for definite ends. Often, the latent functions of an innovation incur more sweeping changes than do the manifest ones. For example, the manifest function of the Indian school was to increase literacy. Its latent function was to increase homosexual behavior. The cultural emphasis for the Cayapa seems to be that of latency, and sweeping changes come about, not because they are sought, but because the socio-psychological matrix of the law can only permit de facto acceptance of threats to basic values.

Cayapa law, in terms of de jure decisions is not at all able to "redefine relations between individuals and groups as the conditions of life change" (Hoebel 1954:275). Cayapa culture is not, however, moribund. Extraordinary socio-cultural changes are taking place precisely because the law cannot accommodate

Once a year, as a rule,

groups of Cayapa will band together for protection against the cutthroats and brigands that infest the coastal regions, load their canoes with as much rubber as they have been able to collect, and set off in small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colombian goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to poaching.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be good for raising pigs. (Remoteness lessens the possibility of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and zapotes. Large sections are planted to the tagua palm that, at one time, was as important economically as the banana is today. The tagua nut is only a minor item in the

except when sold to a Negro or a White. If it is seldom used, the children and grandchildren may not be certain of the ownership and of the boundaries. Both problems may be resolved fairly easily if older people with knowledge of the original land transactions can be consulted, but the presence of such people, of course, can never be guaranteed. Land that is not in active use is always in jeopardy as illustrated in the following case.

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Nuru Cisneros attempts to claim land sold illegally by his father. Many years ago, the father of Nuru Cisneros sold some land that actually belonged to the father of Romulo Alape. The purchaser was another Indian. When the real owner of the land was told of the sale he protested to the chief, who sent up a commission to get Nuru's father. Nuru was a child at the time. During the proceedings, his father remained silent, although he was ordered to pay back the one hundred sucres that he had received from the sale and was then fined thirty sucres which went to the chief.

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Some years later when both fathers were dead, Nuru tried to claim the land. He and Romulo fought at

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Punta Penale, with relatives of each man joining the fray. After order had been restored, the chief stated that the land belonged to Romulo and that Nuru was too young to have known what had happened earlier. Nuru waited Romulo to pay twenty sucres damages for cutting his head in the brawl, but Romulo refused on the grounds that Nuru had started the argument. He did however, buy a half bottle of rum, which they consumed together. Both Nuru and Romulo are "family," but the manner of relationship is unknown.

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Boundaries of land become well known with usage and may be disputed when the land is not used intensively. In either case, disputes may occur but are more apt to require settlement by a third party, if the boundaries are not well known.

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A Negro official renders a Cayapa-type decision. After Sanchi built a house on his land, he observed one day that Perdomo had planted bananas nearby. Sanchi insisted that they had been planted on his land and, with his mother's brother, Severino, called in Cristobal, the Negro inspector of the village of Canaveses at that time. Cristobal decided that Perdomo should keep

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the crop but that when the plants were dead, the land should revert to Sanchi. Meanwhile, Marianito complained to Perdomo that the land was really his. Perdomo asked why he had not worked the land before, and Cristobal, the Inspectór, ignored the claim. Sanchi paid Cristobal ten sucres for his services.

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The decision was acceptable to both claimants. It followed the reasoning, apparently, that although the land belonged to Sanchi, he was not working it at the time. There seems to have been a general feeling that the land was monte jivaro and never had been worked before. It did however, adjoin the acknowledged property of Sanchi. By disputing Perdomo's use of the land, he signified his intention of using it. Perdomo was at a disadvantage because he had no land adjoining the section under dispute. Cristobal balanced propinquity and intention on the one hand, with actual use on the other, in reading his decision. The decision definitely acknowledges the land as belonging to Sanchi, but Perdomo was permitted to profit from his labor. The dispute occurred several years ago, and in 1960 it was being said that Perdomo planned to use the land again.

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Antonito forfeits his profit by fighting. About 1955, Pedro José planted some calabash trees to mark the boundary between his land and the neighboring land of Antonito Riki. One day, while working near the line, he spotted some cacao plants that had been planted on his side. He said nothing at the time, but some weeks later, during a wake given by Kalía at his daughter's death, Pedro José became drunk and inquired of the group at large, and of Antonito in particular, "Who planted the cacao?" Antonito admitted the act, and an argument began which soon developed into a general fight. Kalía stopped it after a while, stating that he did not want people to fight when he was sad over the death of his daughter. Pedro José wanted forty sucres damages for the blows to his eyes but Antonito, backed up by his mother, refused to pay and Pedro José left the wake with his daughter. Later he uprooted the cacao plants, but nothing more was ever done.

Although the uprooting of the cacao plants was an act of spite, Pedro José was justified, as the boundary was clear and well-known. Ordinarily, Antonito could have expected to profit from the labor he expended in planting the cacao, but by getting drunk,

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fighting, and then refusing to pay just damages, he effectively cancelled his proprietary interest in the cacao plants. That nothing more was ever done, indicates a feeling of ex post facto quid pro quo.

Decisions given by the /únʸi/ concerning unauthorized planting often follow the decision made by the Inspectór Cristobal in the case of Sanchi vs. Marianito. Cristobal's decision was but one alternative in the Cayapa legal repetoire. It is not a very popular decision, because by the time the land has reverted to its original owner, most of its fertility is gone. This type of decision, however, seems to be applied when the claimant's title to the land is very clouded as a result of not having used it. In these instances, the decision is premonitory: it states very clearly "nota bene, work your land, or lose it." The following case decided by the /únʸi/, Gabriel Añapa, illustrates this point.

Land used just for rubber tapping is jeopardized. In the early part of 1960, Ciro Añapa and his elder brother made a trip to Pichiyaco. Upon their arrival they were notified by a relative that their land had

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recently been planted without permission by the Cimarrón brothers of Encanto. Ciro and his brother were angry, but said nothing until they became drunk at a party at the home of Gabriel. Harsh words were exchanged, but Gabriel settled the case. He decided that the Cimarrón brothers could use the land for five years without any cost, but then the land would revert to Ciro and his brother, Santiagueño. Ciro did not like the decision and pointed out that the land would have to remain fallow for five years so that he would lose its use for ten years. There were about twenty-five rubber trees on the land, Ciro said, and if the trees were tapped by the Cimarrón brothers he would take the case, not to the /únʸi/, but to the authorities at Limones.

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The Cimarrón brothers claimed that the land did not belong to Ciro and Santiagueño. Ciro claimed that the land belonged to his father. The major issue lay in the fact that Ciro and his brother did not plant crops, but only tapped the rubber trees. Rubber tapping per se involves very little work, and no clearing of bush. It cannot be equated with the work of clearing and planting the land, weeding, and harvesting. Ciro's

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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claim was definitely in jeopardy. It is interesting that he threatened to go to the provincial authorities. In discussing the case with the writer, Ciro stated that "the /únʸi/, is not worth much, and when it comes to collecting fines, he doesn't do so. If need be, I will go to Limones." To be sure, Ciro was disgruntled with the unauthorized planting and the decision ruling it, nevertheless, in effect, he accepted it. The rubber trees became his main concern, although the /únʸi/ did not specifically prohibit the Cimarrón brothers from tapping the trees. Gabriel's narrow decision left the door open for further litigation.

When title to the land is clear, decisions indicate that the owner should profit from unauthorized plantings. This may just as easily be stated in reverse, however; namely, the interloper is entitled to a substantial part of the fruits of his illicit labor. This point is illustrated in the following variant of a case described to the writer by the /únʸi/.

The usurper is awarded limited usufruct. Some years ago, Pablo Candalehu asked Marianito Ñapa to sell him a small piece of land about twenty arms-length long.

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Marianito refused, saying that the land was worthless. Although Pablo built a house and planted the land, Marianito never complained. Recently, however, Marianito planted bananas and plantain on some of Pablo's land which also had a stand of about thirty rubber trees. Pablo went to see Marianito, but he remained silent, apparently out of shame. During a party in Encanto, Pablo notified the /ún^{y}i/. When all the people gathered, Marianito's wife said they would stop all work on Pablo's land. The /ún^{y}i/ replied that they should continue to work. As the first crop is usually small, they decided, it would all go to Marianito, but following crops were to be divided equally, and "when the crop dies, the land is Pablo's."

As an aside, Gabriel remarked that Pablo long ago had paid Marianito ten sucres for the land, but the other version of the case disputes the payment. In the case described above, Marianito came out slightly ahead; in the following version, the outcome is very different indeed.

The usurper is awarded substantial usufruct.

For many years, Pablo Candalehu had been working parts

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of Marianito's land. Marianito had never objected, but recently had planted some plantain, beans, and corn on the land being worked by Pablo. Pablo complained to the /ún^{y}i/ who decided that the land would revert to Pablo after the plantain died. Pablo wanted to be able to cut half of the crop, but Gabriel refused to permit this. He decided that the land would go to Pablo, if Marianito were no longer able to use it.

It does not really matter which of the two versions most closely approximates the truth. What is important, is that Gabriel's version seemed to warrant one type-decision, and the other version seemed to warrant another. In the latter version, Pablo, by his complaint, upset a precariously balanced situation of tacit reciprocity. In winning his case, however, he lost it, for after the land has been in use for many years it must be fallow for a period, so it is useless for many more years. The version of Gabriel hinges on whether or not Pablo had indeed paid for the use of Marianito's land. It was assumed that he did and, therefore, his complaint against Marianito's action was valid, and Marianito was ordered to share the gains of his unauthorized planting with Pablo.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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[137]

It is the nature of the tropical rain forest that neglected clearings revert to a condition closely resembling the pristine within a few years. In this event, it is difficult to determine whether or not one is cutting virgin growth. From time to time, this leads to a conflict that may be settled in any of the ways described above, or may be handled in the manner illustrated below.

Antonito demands a quit claim. About 1957, Ciro Añapa and his brother Santiagueño were told by Antonito Añapa, that they were working on some land that he had cut from monte jivaro. When Ciro's brother saw the land, however, it looked like jungle once more, and he pointed out that it must have been many years since Antonito had worked it. At a party at Trivinio's house when everyone was drunk, Antonito demanded one hundred sucres. Ciro replied that he never remembered Antonito's working the land under dispute. Heverico, who was present, told Ciro and his brother to pay the hundred sucres, saying that, after all, it was not a large sum of money. Heverico, however, did not know if the land belonged to Antonito or not. Ciro and his brother agreed to pay the

hundred sucres, but did not. During Christmas at Punta Venado, they were approached again, again agreed to pay, but failed to do so. Antonito later came to their house up the Río Camerones and then they paid the money.

The land is now the joint property of Ciro and Santiagueño, and they have clear title. The question of whether the one hundred sucres conveyed title by a sale, or served as a quitclaim is moot. Given the nominal price and the cloudy state of Antonito's ownership, the transaction could best be viewed as a quitclaim.

Indians seldom register land in their names, but if they sell land to a Negro, the transaction is usually registered at the insistence of the purchaser for his protection. Consequently, the Cayapa is never required to show proof of ownership; his statement that he owns the land for sale is sufficient. Some Cayapa find the prospect of selling another man's land, without his permission and knowledge, a beguiling one, and rumors are constantly being circulated of one or another Cayapa thinking of doing it, doing it, or perhaps having completed the transaction. In any event, the hurling

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

of acrimonious charges, because of a rumor concerning fraudulent land sales, is usually sufficient to squelch whatever factual basis there may have been in the rumor. Very often, the rumors are just malicious in intent, as seems to have been the case in the following instance.

Rumor mongering causes family dispute. Ciro Añapa is not liked by his father's god-father's daughter. Through the system of compadrazgo they are considered to be family, /búlutála/. She apparently spends a good deal of time gossiping about Ciro, much to his annoyance, and although he would very much like to complain to the /ún^{y}i/, he does not do so because they are family. When Ciro lent some land to Perdomo in Encanto, she claimed that the land was not his and he had no right to make the loan. She generally spreads rumors of illegal land deals involving him. One day as he was studying in his house, three of the Cimarrón brothers and their mother visited him because they had heard that he had sold their land in Encanto to a Negro. The old woman burst into tears saying that she had once given a feast in honor of Ciro's dead mother,

4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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203

and she returned to her house where she continued to cry "like one does at a funeral." The Cimarrón brothers remonstrated with Ciro, who remained silent, ashamed, because "three mouths were speaking against me." All left except Segundo Cimarrón. Ciro asked him who had made the accusation and was told that it was Segundo's brother-in-law who was married to his sister, the very one who had been constantly gossiping about Ciro. Segundo then demanded fifteen hundred sucres, saying that they were not family anymore. Ciro replied that he did not have the money, and more to the point, that the charges were not true.

When the Cimarróns' mother went home to weep "like one does at a funeral" it meant that someone was going to die, which made Ciro's brother, Santiagueño, very angry, so that, at a party, he spoke very harshly to the Cimarrón brothers. The proliferation of baseless rumors involving land transactions such as those described above, is a realization that the Cayapa's hold on the land is becoming increasingly more tenuous as the expanding banana market causes the land to increase in value. This point was made very clear by Joselino Caisero, the Negro Inspectór of the village of Camerones,

[177]

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who discussed land problems with the author. His arm described a broad arc over the Río Cayapas flowing before us as he said, "The Cayapa think that they own the land, but they just hold it by our grace." It is small wonder indeed, that the Cayapa rumor mill creates innumerable variatioja on this basic theme.

As we have noted, it is generally agreed that the right of ownership is validated by working the land. Often a group of brothers will work the land together, which is regarded as an ideal situation as brothers should be together, just as the term for brother, /ná.tala/, means 'sons together.' The actual working of the land imposes little problem concerning ownership, but for a stand of rubber trees that requires no maintenance at all, a problem is posed.

Rubber trees are divided into three parts for three brothers. Huru Cimarrón and his brother Segundo, came to blows at a party held at the school house in Encanto. Their father had owned a piece of land just below the rampida, up the Río Camerones, on which were some rubber trees. Huru wanted to tap some of the rubber, but Segundo had arrived at the site first and made

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off with the latex. Huru claimed that the land was his, as he was the eldest son, and Segundo agreed to leave the untapped trees for Huru. But they are three brothers, and the /únʸi/, to avoid further fighting, divided the land three ways among them.

The rubber poacher keeps most of the profits. Espíritu Santo had a piece of land on which was a stand of about fifteen rubber trees. Chapiro tapped them without permission and collected about fifty pounds of rubber. He turned the rubber over to his brother, Bertram, who went to Colombia with Pablo Añapa and two Negroes, Estupinian and Manuel Caisero. Bertram sold the rubber for Chapiro. Huru Cimarrón had noticed that the trees were tapped and told people that Ciro had done the poaching. But Santiagueño, Ciro's brother, had seen Chapiro skulking in the vicinity and told people that the trees had, in truth, been tapped by Chapiro. Huru's wife, who is Espíritu's sister, became very angry with Chapiro and said that if she were a man, she would beat him up. Some time later at a party in Encanto, Espíritu approached Chapiro and asked how much he had gained by the sale. Chapiro did not argue, and

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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settled for thirty sucres.

Given this very low settlement [Chapiro probably made at least two hundred sucres], it would appear that the interloper can realize most of his profits from illicit rubber tapping, while the owner of the trees can only plead mea culpa for not having been there first! Huru Cimarrón had been "outraged" by the theft of the rubber, nevertheless one wonders what he was doing in the vicinity of his brother-in-law's trees. Similarly, Santiagueño could only have seen Chapiro "skulking" if he too, had been in the vicinity of the trees. Everyone seems to have had a bit of larceny in mind.

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It is seen that in terms of land, work, and rubber, cultivation is not only a means of producing foodstuffs but of authenticating ownership as well. Thus, the individual who appropriates part of someone else's land is permitted, as a rule, to benefit from the act to the extent of his invested labor; if the purported owner accepts the appropriation without protest, that is, without indicating his own intention and desire to work the land, then the ownership of the

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land is acceded to the cultivator. The theft of rubber appears to be more an indication of industry than of wrongdoing, and whatever criminal aspects exist are usually expiated by the sharing of the profits.

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The stealing of pigs, however, is in a totally different category. Unlike land, there is never a clouded title to the ownership of the animals, and unlike land, the fact of ownership of the animals is sufficient to establish the owner's legal rights. Pigs are not worked as is land, and increased production is left entirely up to the pigs. No matter how hard a pig thief may work--and, sometimes, he must run for miles across difficult country to round up the animal(s)--his industry brings him no rewards when he is caught, because he has contributed no productive labor. As a matter of fact, pig-stealing is recognized as an offense, although the thief may not be punished. The following case is illustrative of this point.

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The owner of stolen pigs tracks down the thief. Lorenzo Añapa became ill some time in 1957 and went to Sapallo Grande to consult the /ũn^{y}i/, Jesusito, who is a curer. The treatment lasted two weeks. When Lorenzo

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returned, he found that his pigs were gone. He suspected Perdomo of having taken them, and for one year he questioned residents of the area for evidence. At last he found the Negro who had bought the pigs and he identified Perdomo as the man from whom he had bought them. Lorenzo took this evidence to the late /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio, who returned with him and held a hearing. Perdomo was present, but said very little in his own defense as Ramón, a Negro employee of the man who had purchased the pigs, identified Perdomo as the seller. The pigs had been sold for five hundred sucres, and the /ún^{y}i/ ordered Perdomo to pay four hundred sucres to Lorenzo, fifty sucres to the witness, Ramón, and fifty sucres as a fine to the /ún^{y}i/, who had lost two days work to attend to this matter.

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Perdomo was not permitted to keep any of his ill-gotten gains nor, aside from the shame of being uncovered as a thief, was he penalized in any manner. As a rule, irregularities involving pigs are settled quickly. If a pig eats the produce from someone else's garden, for instance, payment is made for the produce without question. Occasionally, however, a quarrel involving pigs may become quite serious as is seen in the following

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account of a dispute that occurred about sixty years ago.

A foraging sow is killed and the owner chooses exile over revenge-murder. Gerardo's elder brother, Reninio Perdomo, had a sow that was just about ready to drop her young. She ate some plantain belonging to a neighbor who administered a severe beating to the sow. That same night the litter of piglets was born dead, and soon after, the sow died also. Reninio became highly incensed and beat up the neighbor. His anger still not assuaged, he decided to move to the coast, for otherwise he might kill the neighbor and then be imprisoned as a result. He could not tolerate the idea of imprisonment. "People now said that it was better to move out, than kill and get thrown in jail."

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The case is interesting because of the murderous passions invoked by the beating of the sow and her subsequent death--passions that were not aroused when land or rubber were involved. In addition, the case is of interest because it is the only known incident in which an individual, rather than commit murder, chose exile.

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In marked contrast to the sexual sphere, decisions involving land always involved a compromise solution, a balancing of conflicting claims. It appears to the writer that compromise solutions of this type preclude punishment for the usurper. Restitution rather than punishment or partial profit marks settlement of pig-stealing cases, because the thief does not have a claim based upon productive work. The compromise solutions in land disputes reflect a basic acceptance by all parties to the dispute that work validates ownership and keeps the boundary lines and title clear.

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old days." Being young they would, of course, be without sin, and Jesus would find the sight touching and forgive the world. Gabriel also let it be known that any of the Punta Venado group who did not attend would be fined by a special commission composed of two Indians and two Negroes. The Negroes would be needed to speak harshly to the stay-at-homes because the Indians have too much shame to speak with the needed firmness. The chiefs of the other sections never came to the proposed meeting. Probably sensing his lack of control over the other groups as well as within his own group [several people had voiced opposition to going so far to Punta Venado], he about-faced and stated that a celebration would be held at his house, to be followed in a week by another to be held at the Cisarrón house in Rocanto. According to informants, this would serve adequately because the statues of the saints are in Gabriel's house and would be brought to Rocanto when needed.

It is clear that at this time Gabriel had no control over the other sections and very little over his own. Resistance to him was on an individual basis

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846 and demons; on the other hand it also aims at inducing the father to identify himself intimately with the child. Obviously the women, for whom these customs do not provide the least amount of consideration, quickly lose their earlier beauty and after a few years, they wilt and become horridly ugly.

594 The marriage of the Cayapa is most harmonious. They do not
[595 have polygamy or polyandry, and adultery never occurs or only
837] [287] very rarely. Women or girls who have relationships with
[689] white or black men or those of any other race, are killed without pity. In fact they are even forbidden to enter into innocent conversation with such men under threat of severe penalty. If one of the spouses dies, they do not remarry, remaining faithful to the
[764] dead. The dead are only buried when the corpse is already in a state of decomposition and when the pestilent smell has become unbearable.

574 While the villagers and inhabitants of other races in these parts
648 are very hospitable and will always offer hospitality to travelers, no matter how poor they are, even without expecting any remuneration, the Cayapa are an exception to this rule. They fear strangers on account of their women, who are not always safe from them; but most particularly they hate the Negroes who have repeatedly attacked their women forcibly. For this reason it is not easy to obtain shelter in Cayapa villages. As they have frequently also been robbed and mistreated by Negroes, they leave their huts as soon as a Negro settles in the neighborhood, and keep on withdrawing further inland. Thus they have already completely disappeared from the banks of the Santiago River and the lower course of the Cayapa River.

135 There still is a lot of gold in their region, as indeed there are
316 small layers of alluvial gold in all these rivers. But these Indians, with the exception of a few, more modern minded, and the renegades, [301] do not collect it, nor do they wear gold ornaments. On the other hand none of them would tell a stranger where the yellow metal could be found, even if he were offered a fortune for his secret. From the Cayapa point of view gold is an accursed thing, which brought the white and the black devils into the country and was responsible for their being pushed back into the interior and
[648] robbed of their dominion. The Negroes, however, are their sworn enemies because they have too often had to suffer bitter injustice from them.

Punta Venado, with relatives of each man joining the fray. After order had been restored, the chief stated that the land belonged to Romulo and that Huru was too young to have known what had happened earlier. Huru wanted Romulo to pay twenty sucres damages for cutting his head in the brawl, but Romulo refused on the grounds that Huru had started the argument. He did however, buy a half bottle of rum, which they consumed together. Both Huru and Romulo are "family," but the manner of relationship is unknown.

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Boundaries of land become well known with usage and may be disputed when the land is not used intensively. In either case, disputes may occur but are more apt to require settlement by a third party, if the boundaries are not well known.

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A Negro official renders a Cayapa-type decision. After Sanchi built a house on his land, he observed one day that Perdomo had planted bananas nearby. Sanchi insisted that they had been planted on his land and, with his mother's brother, Heverico, called in Cristobal, the Negro Inspectór of the village of Camerones at that time. Cristobal decided that Perdomo should keep

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and probed and usually found wanting. ooo

Cayapa law readily lends itself to a division into Civil and Criminal law. The former is concerned mainly with property (especially land) while the latter is preeminently concerned with sexual behavior and sin. In the realm of Cayapa Civil law, especially in cases that involve land, legal decisions are compromises in the sense that the usurper is permitted limited return on his labor. There is agreement by all parties to the dispute that land as such is owned, but lacking written records, the best proof that a claimant to land ownership has is evidence of his having worked the land he claims. Work is the best validation of ownership, but the land need not be continuously worked; however, as work is neglected, and as memories fade, ownership is contested. Basically, land disputes involve a claim by the usurper that the original ownership is in jeopardy. These claims are always balanced with the claims of the owner and a compromise solution is reached. The land, in effect, is shared for a period of time and the owner is warned that he must continue to work his land intensively or be subject to further challenges to his ownership. Compromise is an effective

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solution and serves to exclude the chief from entangling alliances with one party as opposed to the other. Whether this serves to enhance the position of the chief in his role as third person in the legal process, is not clear. Aubert (1963) believes that mediating decisions foster independence for the third party office, as well as increased prestige. Structurally, the office of /ún^{y}i/ is an independent one that does not permit the formation of alliances with groups that are virtually impossible to form anyway, given the social and psychological structure of Cayapa culture.

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In the legal materials dealing with land it is seen that all of the parties to the dispute were in complete agreement as to the nature of land and its ownership. Conflict does not involve different value positions on the part of the disputants but rather individuals are competing for scarce goods that embody shared cultural values. Polygyny among the Cayapa represents a mixture of competing interests, as in land disputes, and also some lack of agreement as to what the basic issues and values are. Women are valued goods, in a sense, that at present are in scant supply. A compromise solution, as in land disputes, is not

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instances, it was done with a joking air. There was some laughter as the Cayapa were whipping themselves, but it was restrained. As the official went about looking for more people, they kept stating, "Everyone has to be whipped, everyone." This practice very likely was brought in by Catholic missionaries at a very early period.

In general, the description of a fiesta given by Barrett applies, with one major exception. The passion play described by Barrett was no longer being performed. In its place a group of fiesteros set up a marimba, small hand drums and several bass drums in a small rancho between the church and the main house of the chief. During the evening of Easter Sunday, they played with such gusto that sometime between one and two in the morning the structure collapsed. Concurrently with all of these activities, the chief dispensed justice, marriages were arranged, marriages were celebrated, Negro funerals were conducted, fisticuffs were engaged in, people drank, also passed out, woke up, and the band played on. This continued for six days and nights.

harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several canoes in Esmeraldas. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is now undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

main classes of officials. First, there is the /ún^{y}i/ or gobernador; second, there is the /kása ún^{y}i/ or gobernador nueveo; and third, there are those officials called /čá^{i}tala/. This term may derive from /čači/ 'people' and /-tala/ 'together,' that is, an official who gathers people together. Those officials who are called capitán or /ténde/, the latter from teniente, and the secretario, seem to be /čá^{i}tala/ and are listed on the official roles in the provincial capital of Esmeraldas. Regardless of Spanish title, the /čá^{i}tala/ are not functionally distinct. That is, the duties of all of the officials are the same: to help arrange marriages and to settle disputes. At the ceremonial center they may as a group try a case while the /ún^{y}i/ listens to the proceedings and comes to a decision. In addition to these officials, there are individuals who are called policemen and who are available at the request of any of the officials. Their duties include the bringing in of culprits for trial as well as aiding in the maintenance of a modicum of order at the fiestas.

The /ún^{y}i/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections

The /únʸi/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections is the acknowledged leader of the section; however the national government of Ecuador has inscribed the chief of the Punta Venado section as governor of all the Cayapa. The Indians of the other three groups say that while this governor is indeed superior to the others, he can in no way interfere in their internal affairs nor give orders to them. This is quite different from the situation reported by Barrett where in 1909 the chief of Punta Venado was in effective control of all of the other groups, allowing their chiefs to handle only minor matters (Barrett: personal communication). Office is inherited in the patrilineal line.

The /kása únʸi/ may become the chief upon the death of the /únʸi/ provided the eldest son of the /únʸi/ is not old enough, or perhaps does not want the job. In these instances the brothers of the late governor may be considered. All of the offices mentioned pass within the male line as a rule, but they may pass out of the line if no one wants the job or if no one within the line is capable of handling it. Regardless of title, the duties of the officials are the same: they are expected to maintain order at the various festive occasions, and they are expected to adjudicate disputes among the Cayapa.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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disputes among the Cayapa. In disputes between an Indian and a Negro, however, a Cayapa official is usually asked by the Indian to speak in his behalf before the Negro teniente político in the town of San José or before the White comisario in the town of Limones. Patently unjust decisions rendered by the teniente político may be appealed to the comisario and ultimately to the national government by the /únʸi/. In this, the Cayapa enjoy an advantage over the Negroes. The common feeling in Ecuador seems to be that in any encounter between an Indian and a Negro, the Indian is the innocent victim. While this is indeed true much of the time, the Cayapa threaten to go to the top even when they are clearly in the wrong, and the Negroes are naturally resentful of this.

The Cayapa are self-governing, although they are loosely bound by national laws covering land sale, theft, and murder. Periodically attempts are made by the local Negro officials to usurp the authority of the /únʸi/ by demanding funds for one or another purpose. In 1960, the people of the Negro village of Camerones began to agitate for recognition of the village as the center of

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succession of teachers with varying degrees of competence. In 1960 the school teacher, who was a native of Camerones, began giving the Indian pupils drama lessons. The plays offered always involved Cayapa going to Negroes for advice. Generally, the plots involved marital bickering within the Cayapa families which were then solved by the Negro official. These scenes are always greeted with laughter by the assembled Cayapa who come to watch their children perform. No one would even dream of taking a family quarrel to a Negro official. It is interesting to note however, that one Negro is making some progress toward involving himself in Cayapa affairs. This Negro's name is Pindaleñas, and he presents a rather grotesque appearance. His nose has been entirely destroyed by the ravages of yaws, and his hands are twisted into the shapes of talons. This man has the distinction of being the only Negro who speaks Cayapa. Since he lives very near the ceremonial center of Punta Venado, he has been hired by the /ũnʸi/ to keep the church clean. Pindaleñas attends every fiesta and becomes actively interested in most of the legal cases. On several occasions he publically

announced that he knew more of the law than did Gabriel. The Cayapa plainly do not know how to deal with Pindalenas. Some Cayapa say that he has absolutely no right to interfere in the legal disputes. Similarly, Gabriel points out that the Negro is merely his employee and nothing more, but a few Cayapa think that perhaps he can take part in the adjudicating of disputes. They are not very certain, but if Pindalenas acts as if he can, then perhaps he can. On occasion he has asked Cayapa women to dance with him at the fiesta in the Cayapa manner, but he has always been refused. No other Negro has ever attempted to dance with a Cayapa woman. In the disputes witnessed by the writer at which Pindalenas was present, he seemed to restrict himself to echoing the judgments reached by the Cayapa officials.

Such governmental activities as exist for the Cayapa will be amply illustrated in terms of their law. In point of fact, Cayapa law can be said to be the major part of Cayapa government. Political behavior for the Cayapa is intimately related to governmental instability which is largely the result of interregnum

uncertainties. These uncertainties are carried over into the new period of chieftainship wherein there is a great difference between the people's perception of authority and their expectation of authority. Gabriel is not seen as a strong chief but, rather, as a man who drinks excessively and as a result, is unable to function as a chief should. At this point political behavior took two forms among the Cayapa. On one level, individuals were seen expressing dissatisfaction with Gabriel as the newly installed /únʸi/ and threatening to go to Quito, the national capitol, to have him replaced. The youngest son of the late /únʸi/ was voicing complaints that by rights he should have been the /únʸi/ because he speaks excellent Spanish in marked contrast to Gabriel. Most of the complaints seemed to emanate from the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas, more especially from the region of Pichiyaco, the home of the late /únʸi/. Complaints were voiced that Gabriel could not speak good Spanish, that he could not perform his duties, that he could not settle disputes, that he was /vinrúku/, "a drunkard." As the time drew near for the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado, many people

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began saying that they would attend the fiesta at one of the other tribal sections rather than attend one headed by an incompetent drunkard. Others said that if they attended, they would not ask Gabriel to settle their disputes; rather than this, they said, they would go to the national authorities. Gabriel was clearly not very secure in his position. The behavior of the people in these instances was political because there was a shifting of support from one authority to a contender. Furthermore, the shift of support was ideologically motivated in terms of values concerning the nature of the chieftainship (of Easton 1958; Siverts 1960). Gabriel's reaction to this was to drink more. Often when I would be talking to one or more Indians, Gabriel would appear on the scene, quite drunk, and begin to electioneer in a loud voice. He would tell the Indian(s) that he was responsible for my being there and that they would all benefit by my knowledge of hypodermics and penicillin. Whenever I saw Gabriel, he was obviously drunk; these observations extended over many months.

The personal crisis for Gabriel seems to have

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been met during the Christmas *fiesta*. He took no overt steps to assert his authority beyond stating to a few Negro bystanders that he was the /ũnʸi/. He remained drunk a good deal of the time but so did most of the other *fiesteros* including women and, at times, children. Little by little, people became aware of the fact that there was indeed an /ũnʸi/ available, and a few began drifting over to where he lay drunk, sprawled in his hammock; despite his inebriation, /kavítu/ "complaints," were presented to him. It turned out that most of the disputes to be settled were from the area that had initially manifested greatest opposition to Gabriel. Gabriel, therefore, began to function as the /ũnʸi/ in fact, as well as in name; however, his performance was not at all satisfactory. For example, on one occasion when he was asked to cure a sick child because he had studied curing with a *brujo* from *Zapallo Grande*, he was ineffective in carrying out this ritual because of his drunkenness.

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As the *fiesta* were on day and night without dissolution for a full week, the second level of political

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by Pablo himself. Pablo was furious with rage and beat both his wife and Chapiro. After being thrashed, Chapiro ran away. Pablo's wife left for her father's house to advise him of the event. Her father, Lorenzo Martín is one of the officials or /čá tala/ of the community. As an official, he was empowered to settle disputes and to order. He went to Pablo's house to obtain more details. Pablo demanded punishment for Chapiro. About four days later, Lorenzo brought Chapiro to the house of Pablo's elder brother, and charged him with the crime. Chapiro said nothing in his defense thus tacitly admitting his guilt. Lorenzo ordered one hundred and twenty strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, but Heverico who is Chapiro's father's brother's son [*just cousin*] claimed that the punishment was too severe, whereupon the sentence was reduced to one hundred lashes to be applied by Lorenzo. Following the punishment, everyone got drunk except Chapiro, who left right after the whipping.

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In the Cayapa view, a conflict of interest in the person of Lorenzo, the father of the seduced woman, and Lorenzo, the official, does not exist. The facts

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of the case were clear, and a witness was present. It is of interest that Pablo's wife seems to have convinced everyone of her innocence in the affair and that she had been truly hoodwinked. Chapiro's reputation was of course, well known, and guilt was held to be his alone. Even though justice prevailed, Chapiro was disgruntled and left without drinking. This in itself would be sufficient to mark him as a deviant, for Basurco's observations are still very much applicable.

> . . . leur seul vice est de rendre un culte trop fréquent à Bacchus, auquel ils font des libations d'ichcala, ou eau-de-vie de canne, qu'ils fabriquent eux-mêmes . . . (Basurco 1894:406).

In marked contrast to many Cayapa men, Chapiro has always been more interested in sexual pursuits than in drinking and the married men in the area were beginning to view him as a real threat. In instances like this it is felt that the best way to remove the threat is to marry him off, forcibly, if need be. In the case of Chapiro events came to a head after he had seduced Gabriel's daughter.

The Seduction of Gabriel's daughter. Chapiro was

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Romulo appeals to a White official. Romulo lived with his wife and children, as well as with a dependent woman relative named Ines Cisarrón; this relative had been divorced by her husband because all of their children had died soon after birth. She had gone to live with Romulo and his wife immediately after the divorce. Some time later, a commission composed of two Negroes named Nikola Ayovi and Aurelio Caruso, and an Indian named Démian Largo, came up from Playa Grande at the request of Averticio Largo, a 'cousin' of Démian. Averticio was a widower [and so could only marry a widow or a divorcee], and he specifically asked the commission to bring Ines for him. The members of the commission had been given a few gallons of rum for this favor. Romulo, however, refused to give the woman up, claiming that he needed her to watch the house and children when he and his wife were out working, since they had no other relations. The Negroes replied that they would use force if need be. At this, Romulo went for his machete, but, as he was ill at the time, he could not fight effectively. The woman was removed, crying, from the

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4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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house and brought to Averticio. The next day, the Teniente Politico, a national official of Borbón, came down the river from Telembí. He was hailed by Romulo who explained the happening to him. They both then went up to Playa Grande where a party was in progress in Averticio's house. The official took the woman back and fined the two Negroes sixty sucres each, but Damian Largo was not fined. Averticio pointed out to the official that he had sent the commission in good faith and had not asked for the use of force. Inez also made it clear that she did not want to marry Averticio because he was too old.

Of interest here is the fact that Romulo appealed to a non-Indian official who is not ordinarily approached by the Cayapa in matters of this kind. Doubtless, it was the fortuitous juxtaposition of circumstances that brought the Teniente Politico into view while Romulo's anger was still at its height. The official's decision was not completely just. In the first place, he clearly favored the Indians over the Negroes and consequently he did not fine the Indian member of the commission. In the second place,

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Averticio lied when he said that he had not asked for the use of force by the commission. None [illegible] marked Averticio's actions and he was an accessory before and after the fact. By requesting the two Negroes for the commission he gave tacit approval to the use of force. If Romulo had complained to an Indian official, the latter would have been unable to deal legally with the Negroes, and he would have restricted his investigation to Averticio and Damian. When Negroes are involved, and feelings are running high among the aggrieved Cayapa, self-help may be resorted to, as the following case demonstrates.

Perdomo fights for his sister. Perdomo lived with his wife, mother, and sister in a house up the Río Camronez. One night a commission composed of the usual two Indians and two Negroes came to the house. The two Indians spoke first. They had come to deliver Perdomo's sister to Manuel Largo of Playa Grande. Perdomo and his mother refused. (Manuel was said to be very ugly, thin, and weak.) Following this refusal, the two Negroes came in to take the girl forcibly. She began to cry whereupon Perdomo went for his machete

among the Cayapa. It is forbidden by the Church through the person of the priest, who is seldom seen. Many Cayapa maintain that divorce is not proper. At the present time, divorce is possible for both sexes, but it is much more difficult for a woman to obtain. In one instance, a woman was married to a mental defective and she left him with the full approval of the community. In the case of the crippled Julio Tapullo, his wife was not permitted a divorce even though Julio had been very miserly with her. On the other hand, a man may divorce his wife if she is barren or has too many still-births. In one case, a man beat his wife because she only gave birth to girls; he threatened either to kill her or to throw her out of the home (divorce), if the next child were a girl.

The divorce procedure is quite simple. The woman is simply told to leave! There is usually some grumbling by the woman's parents, but to my knowledge, complaints are never made to any of the officials. Julio Tapullo's case above was complicated by polygyny.

Santiagueño hires a Negro to bring his children back after his wife left him. Santiagueño Anapa's first

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> woman received twenty-five strokes . . . while the man was given between thirty and forty strokes. The whipping of the man was due chiefly to the fact that he still refused to return to his family. The chief and others argued with him and tried again to persuade him to see the error of his way, but he stoutly maintained that he would not return, and the chief finally became so vexed that he gave the culprit a couple resounding slaps on the side of the head and remanded him to the stocks where he remained nearly the rest of the day. Toward evening he was liberated and was not further punished (Barrett 1925:402-407).

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By sheer determination, the culprit placed himself in a position where the chief was unable to cope with him and, in effect, the man was "permitted" to desert his family. His determination had placed him ultra vires [literally, beyond the power] vis à vis the chief and the law. The chief had gone as far as he could with the man, and finally, he could do no more than lose his temper. Barrett records that the culprit later left with his paramour, after she had been delivered in marriage to another.

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incestuous act performed by strangers or members of his family will make the act known. There is one exception reported. A truly determined deviant as was Pablo Candalehu can get away with repeated incest.

The determined incestuous couple. Pablo Candalehu had been committing incest with his sister, who later gave birth to twins. Pablo took these new-born infants and threw them into the river, but the bodies were found by a Negro who went to the Teniente Político. The police came and arrested Pablo and his sister, resulting in their being fined, as well as jailed for a year. After their release from jail, they came to Encanto, where they continued living together. People gossiped and Pablo's "uncle" Gerardo, went to the Río Onzole, to get him a wife. Three months later they found a husband for his sister in San Miguel. When Pablo's sister later died, her husband did not cry at her funeral, claiming that he did not feel any grief because the woman was really her brother's wife and not his own. He then related at the funeral how once when he was out fishing at night, he came back to the house very quietly with the lamp extinguished and heard Pablo making love

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main classes of officials. First, there is the /ún^{y}i/ or gobernador; second, there is the /kása ún^{y}i/ or gobernador nuevo; and third, there are those officials called /čá^{i}tala/. This term may derive from /čačí/ 'people' and /-tala/ 'together,' that is, an official who gathers people together. Those officials who are called capitán or /tánde/, the latter from teniente, and the secretario, seem to be /čá^{i}tala/ and are listed on the official roles in the provincial capital of Esmeraldas. Regardless of Spanish title, the /čá^{i}tala/ are not functionally distinct. That is, the duties of all of the officials are the same: to help arrange marriages and to settle disputes. At the ceremonial center they may as a group try a case while the /ún^{y}i/ listens to the proceedings and comes to a decision. In addition to these officials, there are individuals who are called policemen and who are available at the request of any of the officials. Their duties include the bringing in of culprits for trial as well as aiding in the maintenance of a modicum of order at the fiestas.

The /ún^{y}i/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections

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by Pablo himself. Pablo was furious with rage and beat both his wife and Chapiro. After being thrashed, Chapiro ran away. Pablo's wife left for her father's house to advise him of the event. Her father, Lorenzo Martín is one of the officials or /čá tala/ of the community. As an official, he was empowered to settle disputes and to order. He went to Pablo's house to obtain more details. Pablo demanded punishment for Chapiro. About four days later, Lorenzo brought Chapiro to the house of Pablo's elder brother, and charged him with the crime. Chapiro said nothing in his defense thus tacitly admitting his guilt. Lorenzo ordered one hundred and twenty strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, but Heverico who is Chapiro's father's brother's son [~~"just cousin"~~] claimed that the punishment was too severe, whereupon the sentence was reduced to one hundred lashes to be applied by Lorenzo. Following the punishment, everyone got drunk except Chapiro, who left right after the whipping.

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In the Cayapa view, a conflict of interest in the person of Lorenzo, the father of the seduced woman, and Lorenzo, the official, does not exist. The facts

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during the whole affair. The commission then took the girl to Alipio's house which was not too distant. After a few days, Alipio and Carmelina hid in a small shelter or rancho up a small stream. Meanwhile, the mother went to see her brother, the chief, to advise him of the event. After several days, he left with some of his male relatives, looking for the couple. They were found in Alipio's house. Arcilio punished both of them with ten lashes. Afterwards he brought Carmelina back to her mother's house, but she protested that she wanted to remain with Alipio. Alipio claimed that he had not sent for Carmelina to be brought to him because "she is crippled and not a good worker." [694] [On this point, the informant, Pedrito Añapa, says that Alipio is not a good worker himself and cannot make high-grade canoes.] [696]

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About a week later, Alipio's younger brother 'stole' Carmelina, and they went into hiding up an estuary, for some time. Everyone was looking for them. Alipio eventually found them and brought them to his house, whereupon they all became drunk. One result of this drunkenness was an attack by Alipio

A case of double desertion and incest. 684x

In this case the man had forsaken his wife and for three months had been living with his first cousin, who had deserted her husband. Each of the culprits, therefore, was charged with the double crime of desertion and cohabitation with his first cousin. These are considered great breaches of tribal law and are severely punished . . . The offenders were placed in the stocks, remonstrated with by relatives and friends, and finally whipped. In this case the man received a hundred and seventy-five lashes, . . . of the cat-o'nine-tails, and in addition was required to pay a fine in money amounting to about fifteen or twenty sucres. The woman's punishment was a hundred and twenty-five lashes . . . The greater severity of the punishment in the cases of these two offenders was due to the fact that they were first cousins . . . (Barrett 1925:404-405).

At the present time there is a good deal of variation in the handling of incest; however, it is of general concern, and anyone will report such activity that he or she has witnessed. In one instance, the parties to the affair were not even aware that they were related. Ignorance was not a valid excuse however, and both kin and non-kin hastened to make the facts public. Punishment was swift and applied equally to both parties. Punishment is not however, always equal. In some instances the initiator of the affair is considered to have greater guilt and receives heavier

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The incestuous widow. The widow of the late /únʸi/, Arcilio, became pregnant by the son of Arcilio's brother, Arcide. They were both sentenced to fifty lashes but the boys' mother complained that this was too much, and that thirty lashes would be sufficient for her son. No one spoke up for the widow, and so she received the full fifty lashes for incest, even though prior to her marriage to the late /únʸi/ she and the boy were not related.

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As sexual matters fall into the realm of sin for the Cayapa, a determined sinner, in the last analysis, can only be handled by God and not by law. The Cayapa are unable to cope effectively with a determined deviant, in most instances. Attitudes towards incest outside of the nuclear family seem to be changing, as illustrated in the following case.

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When incest is no longer incest. Lorenzo Añapa of the Río Camerones was married to his /ápinatacúhki/, 'father's brother's daughter.' They lived together for two months and then left to attend a fiesta at Punta Venado. Camilio Blanco notified the /únʸi/, Arcilio, who ordered that they each be whipped forty lashes.

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Lorenzo was then told to give up his cousin, but when they all returned home from the fiesta, he took her back immediately. Meanwhile, a woman was sent down from Sapallo Grande to him, but he refused her, saying that he already had a wife. His wife's father said that he did not mind if Lorenzo married his daughter, and the girl's brother, Huru, said that he was in favor of the marriage, and added, "they are not very close relatives anyway." Since the family of the girl did not object to this marriage, people did not gossip much, and Arcilio said that he would not punish them again, that "Jesus would know what to do when they died."

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Lorenzo had a reputation for being a good worker, and his cousin's family were happy to keep his economic services within the family. Their insistence that it was all proper and that, as first cousins, they were not closely related anyway was such a strong violation of Cayapa thought regarding incest that the couple were placed beyond the power of the law, ultra vires, and the burden of punishment was shifted to the supernatural. We stated that anyone who witnesses an

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incestuous act performed by strangers or members of his family will make the act known. There is one exception reported. A truly determined deviant as was Pablo Candalehu can get away with repeated incest.

The determined incestuous couple. Pablo Candalehu had been committing incest with his sister, who later gave birth to twins. Pablo took these new-born infants and threw them into the river, but the bodies were found by a Negro who went to the Teniente Político. The police came and arrested Pablo and his sister, resulting in their being fined, as well as jailed for a year. After their release from jail, they came to Encanto, where they continued living together. People gossiped and Pablo's "uncle" Gerardo, went to the Río Onzole, to get him a wife. Three months later they found a husband for his sister in San Miguel. When Pablo's sister later died, her husband did not cry at her funeral, claiming that he did not feel any grief because the woman was really her brother's wife and not his own. He then related at the funeral how once when he was out fishing at night, he came back to the house very quietly with the lamp extinguished and heard Pablo making love

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to his sister.

Here again, Pablo's determination placed him beyond the pale of Cayapa law. His brother-in-law apparently realized the futility of making a public complaint and unburdened himself only at his wife's funeral.

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Adultery. As with incest, decisions rendered in cases of adultery require a firm declaration on the part of the official trying the case that the behavior is abhorrent and sinful; however, the punishment seems to be somewhat more lax than is the case with incest, and more feeling seems to be present that women are the aggressors in adultery. The following case was witnessed by the writer during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado in 1959.

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The philandering captain and his light punishment. The /ún^{y}i/, Gabriel, was in his hammock, quite drunk, and a group of men were standing around him speaking drunkenly in Cayapa. Suddenly, everyone dashed to a corner of the house and looked over to an adjacent dwelling where a fracas was in progress. A woman was beating and berating another woman who offered no

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resistance. After a few minutes of severe mauling, a group of women took the aggressor off to one side and listened attentively, while she wailed and shook her fist at the other woman, who remained seated on the floor, alone. The /únʸi/ was in another part of the room seated on the floor, talking to a young man who was dressed in western clothing, and sporting high-lace boots without the laces. I asked Gabriel to explain what had just taken place, and he replied that nothing serious had happened at all. A woman had complained, he said, that the young fellow had molested her while he was drunk. This was a far-fetched version of what had actually happened as pieced together from the comments of the on-lookers.

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The young man was an official of the Punta Venado section. Some people said that he was the /tánda/ 'lieutenant,' and others said that he was the capitán. He, himself, said that he was the capitán. He lived up the Río Onzole, and his duties were to bring culprits to trial and to judge cases with the other officials. He was charged with committing adultery with his /apínʸa/ 'father's brother's daughter,' who lived in the same

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house as he. The fact that they were closely related was not brought up at all, and the adulterous relationship seems to have been uppermost in mind. His wife was the woman who had beat the adulteress. No one seems to have brought forth a specific charge; rather, the state of affairs seemed to have been known to all, and in fact, the adulterous pair knew that they would be punished during the <u>fiesta</u>. The /ún^{y}i/ stated that they would both have to be punished, that the man should receive ten lashes and the woman fifty. The woman had obviously prepared for this as she was well wrapped in several layers of heavy ceremonial skirts. She was taken next door to the main dwelling where she assumed the position for receiving the blows by bending forward slightly at the waist. The blows were applied heavily by one of the officials in full view of all the interested by-standers. After her punishment the woman left and sat alone in one of the cubicles on the other side of the house, the area used for sleeping. She remained there alone all day long. Eventually the man was brought into the main dwelling. There was a good deal of joking and laughter among him and the other officials. He

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in reducing punishment.

A young fornicator defended by a cousin. A very attractive young girl who appeared to be about fifteen years of age was brought forward by Pindaleñas, the Negro caretaker of the Church. She shrank back from him and appeared frightened by the whole affair. Several of the officials clustered around her, saying that she had sinned. The chief was off to one side, lying in his hammock, seemingly not paying any attention. The girl replied so softly to the charges that the writer was unable to hear the response. One of the officials who evidently knew of the affair shouted, "It's a lie!" The punishment was set by the officials at fifty lashes; however, a man from the crowd spoke up, saying, "I am her cousin, don't punish her!" At this, there was a brief discussion by the officials, and it was agreed that the girl was too young to be whipped, but because she had slept with a man, it was felt that she wanted a husband and the officials said that one would be found for her.

The general feeling that adultery is a sin that must be punished carries through so that even if the

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cuckold declares his wife innocent, his words fall on deaf ears. Punishment, however, may be ameliorated in a very typical Cayapa fashion:

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The cuckold protests in vain. Gabriel had heard that his mother's sister's daughter had been committing adultery and he resolved to punish her during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado. About mid-night, a group of officials were excitedly whispering in one corner of the room. Suddenly, they left in a body and crossed the plaza to another house which was dark and quiet. They whispered among themselves for a little while and then went in as a group. Off to one side, a man and a woman were sound asleep under blankets. The man was awakened, and it was explained to him that his wife was being charged with adultery. The husband immediately protested that she was innocent, and they argued back and forth for a few minutes. While the argument was in progress, the woman awoke, and she too protested her innocence. The officials, however, were adamant, and so the couple got up, and everyone walked over to the main house. When the assembly arrived at this house, another group of officials, who looked for all the world

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woman had really been punished. Certainly, initially the intention was present, but the proceedings soon became a travesty as all of the participants became progressively drunker. It is of interest to note that only the woman was tried, and no mention at all was made of the man or men involved. It seems to have been generally accepted that she had been taking the initiative in her sexual adventures. For the Cayapa, extra-marital sexual behavior is sinful, and at the root of all sin are women. Assigning initial guilt to women sometimes requires a certain amount of mental gymnastics which is quite ludicrous as in the following instance.

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The blame is placed on the woman because she did not say no. A 'nephew' of Arcilio was single. He made love to the wife of Arcilio's son and they were seen by the /ũn^{y}i/. Arcilio, however, was "ashamed" and said nothing then but charged them during the Easter fiesta at Punta Venado. The woman blamed the man, but he in turn said that it was all her fault because all she had to do was to refuse his advances. They were both punished with eighty lashes.

father, and they argued. Roberto claimed that he needed two wives, and, being a rich brujo, he could afford them. Furthermore, the second wife could supply him with children. Romulo's father replied that Roberto should know well what he was doing in his own heart, and after death, Jesus would punish him. 595 627 [556]

The case materials so far presented indicate that the polygynists and would-be polygynists have been wealthy and powerful dissidents. The following case of Segundo Añapa is a contrary instance that portends of major changes to come. 595 [556] [178]

Poor man attempts polygyny. Julio Tapullo who lived a short distance below Sapallo Grande had a crippled left arm. His wife, María Cimarrón, deserted him for another man named Segundo Añapa. Segundo who lived near Playa Grande on the Río Cayapas was already married to Petrona Cimarrón who was not related to María. Despite the objections of his first wife, he and María lived together for over a month. A 'niece' of Petrona met Aurelio who is one of the /cá'tala/ from the Río Camerones; she met him when he was bringing in bananas for sale directly to the boat at San Antonio. 595 586 684 x [694]

She told him the story, and when Aurelio returned home, he notified the /ʉnʸi/, Gabriel, and the case was brought up at Punta Venado during Christmas of 1960. Julio Tapullo, looking somewhat embarrassed, stood alone off to one side with his crippled left arm, supported by his right arm, laid across his chest. He was dressed in rather shabby clothing. [Most Cayapa try to wear new clothing to a fiesta.] His wife and Segundo stood somewhat apart in the center of a circle composed of about sixty people. Everyone, including the /ʉnʸi/, was very drunk. Gabriel asked why María had left her husband, and she replied that Julio was not supporting her and that he never bought her cloth and jewelry. Julio flatly denied everything. People in the crowd were saying that Julio could do as much work with his one good arm as most men could do with two. In the discussion between Gabriel and the two culprits it became obvious that they had come into contact quite accidently. Segundo had been out looking for a second wife at the same time that María had left Julio, and they met on the Río Onzole. Gabriel asked Segundo why he had felt he had to look for another wife when he already had three children, but

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land is acceded to the cultivator. The theft of rubber appears to be more an indication of industry than of wrongdoing, and whatever criminal aspects exist are usually expiated by the sharing of the profits.

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The stealing of pigs, however, is in a totally different category. Unlike land, there is never a clouded title to the ownership of the animals, and unlike land, the fact of ownership of the animals is sufficient to establish the owner's legal rights. Pigs are not worked as is land, and increased production is left entirely up to the pigs. No matter how hard a pig thief may work--and, sometimes, he must run for miles across difficult country to round up the animal(s)--his industry brings him no rewards when he is caught, because he has contributed no productive labor. As a matter of fact, pig-stealing is recognized as an offense, although the thief may not be punished. The following case is illustrative of this point.

<u>The owner of stolen pigs tracks down the thief.</u> Lorenzo Añapa became ill some time in 1957 and went to <u>Sapello Grande</u> to consult the [illegible], Jesusito, who is a curer. The treatment lasted two weeks. When Lorenzo

returned, he found that his pigs were gone. He suspected Perdomo of having taken them, and for one year he questioned residents of the area for evidence. At last he found the Negro who had bought the pigs and he identified Perdomo as the man from whom he had bought them. Lorenzo took this evidence to the area *fiscal*, Narváez, who returned with him and held a hearing. Perdomo was present, but said very little in his own defense as Ramón, a Negro employee of the man who had purchased the pigs, identified Perdomo as the seller. The pigs had been sold for five hundred sucres, and the *fiscal* ordered Perdomo to pay four hundred sucres to Lorenzo, fifty sucres to the witness, Ramón, and fifty sucres as a fine to the *fiscal*, who had lost two days work to attend to this matter.

Perdomo was not permitted to keep any of his ill-gotten gains nor, aside from the shame of being uncovered as a thief, was he penalized in any manner. As a rule, irregularities involving pigs are settled quickly. If a pig eats the produce from someone else's garden, for instance, payment is made for the produce without question. Occasionally, however, a quarrel involving pigs may become quite serious as is seen in the following

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by Pablo himself. Pablo was furious with rage and beat both his wife and Chapiro. After being thrashed, Chapiro ran away. Pablo's wife left for her father's house to advise him of the event. Her father, Lorenzo Martín is one of the officials or /cá tala/ of the community. As an official, he was empowered to settle disputes and to order. He went to Pablo's house to obtain more details. Pablo demanded punishment for Chapiro. About four days later, Lorenzo brought Chapiro to the house of Pablo's elder brother, and charged him with the crime. Chapiro said nothing in his defense thus tacitly admitting his guilt. Lorenzo ordered one hundred and twenty strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, but Beverico who is Chapiro's father's brother's son [*just cousin*] claimed that the punishment was too severe, whereupon the sentence was reduced to one hundred lashes to be applied by Lorenzo. Following the punishment, everyone got drunk except Chapiro, who left right after the whipping.

In the Cayapa view, a conflict of interest in the person of Lorenzo, the father of the seduced woman, and Lorenzo, the official, does not exist. The facts

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Segundo did not reply. In the crowd the murmur went around, "por gusto," for pleasure. [Best translated here as, "for the hell of it."] They both received two hundred and fifty lashes, and as a Cayapa woman does not live by plantain alone, Gabriel advised Julio to spend more money on his wife.

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Again it is seen that Cayapa women are capable of direct action, but much more important, a case of polygyny had been successfully legally quashed. Compare, however, the severity of the sentence with that of Rosenda: two hundred and fifty lashes versus twenty, plus a thirty sucre fine. Cayapa law can handle the "little man." It is almost as if polygyny were becoming quasi-respectable. Gabriel implied that Segundo had no need for another wife, since he had children. The lack of follow-up action directed against the rich and powerful and the severe quashing that Segundo received may signal the formation of a class-structured society wherein polygyny is legally restricted to the wealthy. In any event, the chief in discussing with me all of the on-going cases of polygyny presented above denied his responsibility. He said that even though all of them were living in sin, everything was actually

returned, he found that his pigs were gone. He suspected Perdomo of having taken them, and for one year he questioned residents of the area for evidence. At last he found the Negro who had bought the pigs and he identified Perdomo as the man from whom he had bought them. Lorenzo took this evidence to the late /únʸi/, Arcilio, who returned with him and held a hearing. Perdomo was present, but said very little in his own defense as Ramón, a Negro employee of the man who had purchased the pigs, identified Perdomo as the seller. The pigs had been sold for five hundred sucres, and the /únʸi/ ordered Perdomo to pay four hundred sucres to Lorenzo, fifty sucres to the witness, Ramón, and fifty sucres as a fine to the /únʸi/, who had lost two days work to attend to this matter.

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and probed and usually found wanting. 000

Cayapa law readily lends itself to a division into Civil and Criminal law. The former is concerned mainly with property (especially land) while the latter is preeminently concerned with sexual behavior and sin. In the realm of Cayapa Civil law, especially in cases that involve land, legal decisions are compromises in the sense that the usurper is permitted limited return on his labor. There is agreement by all parties to the dispute that land as such is owned, but lacking written records, the best proof that a claimant to land ownership has is evidence of his having worked the land he claims. Work is the best validation of ownership, but the land need not be continuously worked; however, as work is neglected, and as memories fade, ownership is contested. Basically, land disputes involve a claim by the usurper that the original ownership is in jeopardy. These claims are always balanced with the claims of the owner and a compromise solution is reached. The land, in effect, is shared for a period of time and the owner is warned that he must continue to work his land intensively or be subject to further challenges to his ownership. Compromise is an effective

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solution and serves to exclude the chief from entangling alliances with one party as opposed to the other. Whether this serves to enhance the position of the chief in his role as third person in the legal process, is not clear. Aubert (1963) believes that mediating decisions foster independence for the third party office, as well as increased prestige. Structurally, the office of /ún^{y}i/ is an independent one that does not permit the formation of alliances with groups that are virtually impossible to form anyway, given the social and psychological structure of Cayapa culture.

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In the legal materials dealing with land it is seen that all of the parties to the dispute were in complete agreement as to the nature of land and its ownership. Conflict does not involve different value positions on the part of the disputants but rather individuals are competing for scarce goods that embody shared cultural values. Polygyny among the Cayapa represents a mixture of competing interests, as in land disputes, and also some lack of agreement as to what the basic issues and values are. Women are valued goods, in a sense, that at present are in scant supply. A compromise solution, as in land disputes, is not

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possible to reach, inasmuch as the religious element of sin is also a factor, and the /ún^{y}i/ cannot condone sin. He must condemn the parties involved in the polygynous marriage. The dispute does not involve a conflict of interests, as in the land cases, but rather new values that markedly conflict with traditional values. The individuals holding the new values refuse to accept an aligned decision, that is, a decision based in effect on an "alliance" with the believers of the traditional values. Ultimately, if the unilateral decision against polygyny cannot be enforced, it is superseded by de facto compromise. Thus, if the parties have been punished once but persist in their sinful behavior, further punishment is left to God, and the polygynous union may continue.

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For cases of incest and adultery, the conflict of interest, although present, is minimal. In addition, conflicting values are not an issue, as no one seriously presents a new value position that encourages incest and adulterous behavior. The nature of incest and adultery is such that a compromise solution, while not impossible perhaps, is improbable. In these cases, where sinful behavior is at issue, the official can adopt a unilateral

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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against the law. The offenders were, in this case, a man and a woman. The man had deserted his wife and child after abusing them for a considerable time and had assumed relations with a young widow. He had therefore been guilty not only of infidelity and abuse, but also of violating the immutable law forbidding divorce. The woman's crime was somewhat less grave. Being a widow, she had a right to remarry, but she had no claim to the husband of another woman. In justice to the Cayapa as a tribe it should here be remarked, as has been elsewhere pointed out, that cases of infidelity, wife-desertion, and abuse are extremely rare. Almost without exception the family relations are held sacred by both men and women, and in general the relations existing between the sexes are governed by stringent laws which are regarded faithfully. In this instance both the offenders were brought to the house of the chief and were placed in the stocks where they remained during the afternoon. The man displayed no sign of emotion, but the woman wailed and chanted the greater part of the time. Both were remonstrated with by friends, and the mother of the woman sat beside her almost constantly, weeping and chanting her plaint at the disgrace that had been brought upon the family by the daughter's misconduct.

It would appear that the keeping of such offenders for many hours in the stocks is an exemplary measure and is done for the effect which it will have on the community at large. The punishment which they are to receive is often decided on long before its infliction, but they are kept in the stocks as an example to the people at large

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About a week later, Alipio's younger brother 'stole' Carmelina, and they went into hiding up an estuary, for some time. Everyone was looking for them. Alipio eventually found them and brought them to his house, whereupon they all became drunk. One result of this drunkenness was an attack by Alipio

on his brother. A few days later, the /ún^{y}i/ found them and removed Carmelina to his house, and from there she was sent to a man from the Río Onzole. In the meantime, Carmelina's brother became enamored of Alipio's sister. He 'stole' her, and they hid for a week, but were caught by Alipio when they came out of the monte. He took his sister home, declaring that she still had a lot of work to do around the house, such as making fans for sale on the coast. The young man 'stole' her again, apparently keeping her for a considerable time, at least sufficient for it to become clear that the woman was now pregnant, and so they remained together. At Punta Venado, during one of the fiestas, the /ún^{y}i/ ordered them to be whipped twenty lashes.

Carmelina was crippled, and yet she was eagerly sought after by two men, in marked contrast to Chapiro's crippled wife. The choice of marriage partners for both Alipio and Chapiro had been considerably restricted, due to their poor work habits. Alipio's brother posed something of a problem. It is not known that he was lazy also, but certainly the reputation of his

A case of double desertion and incest.

684x

In this case the man had forsaken his wife and for three months had been living with his first cousin, who had deserted her husband. Each of the culprits, therefore, was charged with the double crime of desertion and cohabitation with his first cousin. These are considered great breaches of tribal law and are severely punished . . . The offenders were placed in the stocks, remonstrated with by relatives and friends, and finally whipped. In this case the man received a hundred and seventy-five lashes, . . . of the cat-o'nine-tails, and in addition was required to pay a fine in money amounting to about fifteen or twenty sucres. The woman's punishment was a hundred and twenty-five lashes . . . The greater severity of the punishment in the cases of these two offenders was due to the fact that they were first cousins . . . (Barrett 1925:404-405).

684x
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At the present time there is a good deal of variation in the handling of incest; however, it is of general concern, and anyone will report such activity that he or she has witnessed. In one instance, the parties to the affair were not even aware that they were related. Ignorance was not a valid excuse however, and both kin and non-kin hastened to make the facts public. Punishment was swift and applied equally to both parties. Punishment is not however, always equal. In some instances the initiator of the affair is considered to have greater guilt and receives heavier

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punishment, and in other cases, punishment may be reduced upon the request of family members. The balancing of relative guilt and the concern with family members for reducing the punishment are illustrated in the following two cases. 684x 696

Adultery between a woman and her son-in-law. 684x
Several years ago the mother of Buru Cimarron was whipped together with her son-in-law for making love. They were seen by her daughter. They were punished during the Easter fiesta with sixty lashes each. Next year, the same thing occurred and they were both given one hundred and ten lashes. The punishment took place in the morning. That afternoon, Buru fought with his brother-in-law, and he also hit his mother. When the /ʌ̃ʸ ʟ/ scolded her she did not utter a word in her defense. The son-in-law claimed that she was the one who began the affair. When the sentence was to be announced, Buru shouted that his mother should not be punished as much as the man. On the other side, the family of the man pointed out that the woman was the one who started the affair and so she should receive more lashes than the man. It was decided to give them both the same amount. 684x 696

The incestuous widow. The widow of the late /ʔnʸi/, Arcilio, became pregnant by the son of Arcilio's brother, Arcide. They were both sentenced to fifty lashes but the boys' mother complained that this was too much, and that thirty lashes would be sufficient for her son. No one spoke up for the widow, and so she received the full fifty lashes for incest, even though prior to her marriage to the late /ʔnʸi/ she and the boy were not related.

As sexual matters fall into the realm of sin for the Cayapa, a determined sinner, in the last analysis, can only be handled by God and not by law. The Cayapa are unable to cope effectively with a determined deviant, in most instances. Attitudes towards incest outside of the nuclear family seem to be changing, as illustrated in the following case.

When incest is no longer incest. Lorenzo Añapa of the Río Camerones was married to his /ápinatacúkki/, 'father's brother's daughter.' They lived together for two months and then left to attend a fiesta at Punta Venado. Camilio Blanco notified the /ʔnʸi/, Arcilio, who ordered that they each be whipped forty lashes.

684x 696

684x 178 [783]

684x 178 835 588

[694]

house as he. The fact that they were closely related was not brought up at all, and the adulterous relationship seems to have been uppermost in mind. His wife was the woman who had beat the adulteress. No one seems to have brought forth a specific charge; rather, the state of affairs seemed to have been known to all, and in fact, the adulterous pair knew that they would be punished during the fiesta. The /ʌ̃ʷʸi/ stated that they would both have to be punished, that the man should receive ten lashes and the woman fifty. The woman had obviously prepared for this as she was well wrapped in several layers of heavy ceremonial skirts. She was taken next door to the main dwelling where she assumed the position for receiving the blows by bending forward slightly at the waist. The blows were applied heavily by one of the officials in full view of all the interested by-standers. After her punishment the woman left and sat alone in one of the cubicles on the other side of the house, the area used for sleeping. She remained there alone all day long. Eventually the man was brought into the main dwelling. There was a good deal of joking and laughter among him and the other officials. He

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bent over slightly and received two incredibly light blows. He then left and went to the house next door. Within three or four minutes the sound of a brawl was heard from that quarter. This man was beating his wife and throwing her around the room like a French Apache dancer. This went on for a few minutes more, and then several men took him off to one side and calmed him down.

Later, several people, including the *fiscal*, were asked by the writer why it was necessary to punish adultery, and, without exception, they replied that it was a sin against God. Only one Indian expressed indignation at the light sentence and punishment accorded the man. When queried, the others either smirked or laughed outright. One fellow pointed out philosophically that the officials were only looking ahead, "as their time for punishment might not be far off."

Age seems to be a mitigating factor for women, and it is felt that a young single woman should not be punished for cohabiting with a married man. It is said that by her behavior she showed that she wants a man and so should be married. Quite often cognizance will be taken of the protests of relatives of the accused in reducing punishment.

in reducing punishment.

A young fornicator defended by a cousin. A very attractive young girl who appeared to be about fifteen years of age was brought forward by Pindaleão, the Negro caretaker of the Church. She shrank back from him and appeared frightened by the whole affair. Several of the officials clustered around her, saying that she had sinned. The chief was off to one side, lying in his hammock, seemingly not paying any attention. The girl replied so softly to the charges that the writer was unable to hear the responses. One of the officials who evidently knew of the affair shouted, "It's a lie!" The punishment was set by the officials at fifty lashes; however, a man from the crowd spoke up, saying, "I am her cousin, don't punish her!" At this, there was a brief discussion by the officials, and it was agreed that the girl was too young to be whipped, but because she had slept with a man, it was felt that she wanted a husband and the officials said that one would be found for her.

The general feeling that adultery is a sin that must be punished carries through so that even if the

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cuckold declares his wife innocent, his words fall on deaf ears. Punishment, however, may be ameliorated in a very typical Cayapa fashion:

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The cuckold protests in vain. Gabriel had heard that his mother's sister's daughter had been committing adultery and he resolved to punish her during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado. About mid-night, a group of officials were excitedly whispering in one corner of the room. Suddenly, they left in a body and crossed the plaza to another house which was dark and quiet. They whispered among themselves for a little while and then went in as a group. Off to one side, a man and a woman were sound asleep under blankets. The man was awakened, and it was explained to him that his wife was being charged with adultery. The husband immediately protested that she was innocent, and they argued back and forth for a few minutes. While the argument was in progress, the woman awoke, and she too protested her innocence. The officials, however, were adamant, and so the couple got up, and everyone walked over to the main house. When the assembly arrived at this house, another group of officials, who looked for all the world

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as though they were having the time of their lives, dashed out and returned very shortly, dragging a set of stocks that had been stored under the late /unʸi/, Arcilio's, house. Evidently the woman was going to be displayed as a horrible example! She kept up a running argument with the officials and denied the charge. Her husband backed her up, but to no avail. She was to be whipped fifty lashes. As the charge was completely unexpected, the woman had not prepared her ceremonial skirts and only wore a thin red rayon dress. With the first blow, she yelped in pain and turned to argue with the castigator. After a pause, another blow landed with the same results. After each blow, there were long intervals, probably out of consideration for the woman's pain. While the punishment was in progress, the castigator offered the culprit a bottle of rum from which to drink. However, a woman in the audience kept exhorting him to apply the lash heavily. In addition, she shook her fist at the rum drinking culprit, shouting that she had caught her with her husband in <u>flagrante delicto</u>. The malefactor's husband made a gesture of annoyance at the woman and told her to keep quiet. When she continued

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the harangue, the husband walked over to her and pushed her roughly away. The shouts, the shoves, and the punishment continued for about an hour. The woman alternately drank from the rum bottle, rubbed her buttocks for a few seconds, assumed the appropriate position, and received the inevitable blow. Her husband kept urging lighter and fewer blows. Suddenly, the /ũn^{y}i/, who had been sprawled in his hammock, drunk and seemingly oblivious to what was going on, leaped to his feet, livid with rage; he berated the castigator for taking so long. It was decided therefore, to reduce the number of lashes. By the time the punishment was completed, the woman was quite drunk and consequently feeling little pain. Unexpectedly, a man shouted from the audience that there was too much leniency and this evil doer should receive the full sentence. An 'uncle' of the woman quickly retorted that she had been punished sufficiently. The two men exchanged angry words and fought briefly. The woman's husband, who by now was quite drunk too, took his wife by the arm, and the two of them began cavorting around the room.

Given the facts as described, one wonders if the

woman had really been punished. Certainly, initially the intention was present, but the proceedings soon became a travesty as all of the participants became progressively drunker. It is of interest to note that only the woman was tried, and no mention at all was made of the man or men involved. It seems to have been generally accepted that she had been taking the initiative in her sexual adventures. For the Cayapa, extra-marital sexual behavior is sinful, and at the root of all sin are women. Assigning initial guilt to women sometimes requires a certain amount of mental gymnastics which is quite ludicrous as in the following instance.

684x [696] [273]

[837] [783] [562]

The blame is placed on the woman because she did not say no. A 'nephew' of Arcilio was single. He made love to the wife of Arcilio's son and they were seen by the /ún^{y}i/. Arcilio, however, was "ashamed" and said nothing then but charged them during the Easter fiesta at Punta Venado. The woman blamed the man, but he in turn said that it was all her fault because all she had to do was to refuse his advances. They were both punished with eighty lashes.

684x 837 562 [694]

sending of a commission too expensive. 595 684x

Polygyny defended as the right of the wealthy. Rosenda was tried by the late /ʉnʸi/, Arcilio. He responded to Arcilio's statement that "Jesus never ordered man to have two wives" by saying that the devil told him to get a second wife. He also pointed out that he was a very rich man and could well afford to maintain two women and that he needed two wives to help him cultivate all of his banana fields. Fifty lashes were ordered, but Rosenda protested and he was only given twenty lashes. Because of the reduction in the number of lashes, he was fined thirty sucres. [It is also said that he threatened to kill one of the officials before being sentenced.] The woman received fifty lashes and that same day was given to a man from Sapallo Grande. Later that day, the woman and her new husband were overtaken by Rosenda at San Antonio just a few miles above Punta Venado. Rosenda told the groom that he was the woman's husband, that he had been drunk and had never ordered her sent away. The man from Sapallo Grande "was somewhat stupid," and handed her over. That night, Rosenda and his wife slipped down the river past

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returned, he found that his pigs were gone. He suspected Perdomo of having taken them, and for one year he questioned residents of the area for evidence. At last he found the Negro who had bought the pigs and he identified Perdomo as the man from whom he had bought them. Lorenzo took this evidence to the late /ʌnʸl/, Arcilio, who returned with him and held a hearing. Perdomo was present, but said very little in his own defense as Ramón, a Negro employee of the man who had purchased the pigs, identified Perdomo as the seller. The pigs had been sold for five hundred sucres, and the /ʌnʸl/ ordered Perdomo to pay four hundred sucres to Lorenzo, fifty sucres to the witness, Ramón, and fifty sucres as a fine to the /ʌnʸl/, who had lost two days work to attend to this matter.

Perdomo was not permitted to keep any of his ill-gotten gains nor, aside from the shame of being uncovered as a thief, was he penalized in any manner. As a rule, irregularities involving pigs are settled quickly. If a pig eats the produce from someone else's garden, for instance, payment is made for the produce without question. Occasionally, however, a quarrel involving pigs may become quite serious as is seen in the following

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possible to reach, inasmuch as the religious element of sin is also a factor, and the /ún^{y}i/ cannot condone sin. He must condemn the parties involved in the polygynous marriage. The dispute does not involve a conflict of interests, as in the land cases, but rather new values that markedly conflict with traditional values. The individuals holding the new values refuse to accept an aligned decision, that is, a decision based in effect on an "alliance" with the believers of the traditional values. Ultimately, if the unilateral decision against polygyny cannot be enforced, it is superseded by de facto compromise. Thus, if the parties have been punished once but persist in their sinful behavior, further punishment is left to God, and the polygynous union may continue.

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For cases of incest and adultery, the conflict of interest, although present, is minimal. In addition, conflicting values are not an issue, as no one seriously presents a new value position that encourages incest and adulterous behavior. The nature of incest and adultery is such that a compromise solution, while not impossible perhaps, is improbable. In these cases, where sinful behavior is at issue, the official can adopt a unilateral

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

means of a string, called ya"tcua, which passes about the neck. 224 411

The blow-gun is carried over the shoulder or in the hand, but always with the point forward, since if it were reversed there would be danger of the mouth-piece being broken in passing through the jungle. When not in use the blow-gun is carefully keep in such position that no uneven strain comes upon any part of it, causing it to bend and thus to spoil its efficiency. It is frequently placed in the thatch under the eaves or in the loft of the house, but often it is suspended vertically by means of a string.

The blow-gun is an excellent and effective weapon for hunting all sorts of mammals and birds which live in trees or otherwise above the ground level, but for those which live always upon the ground and for birds on the wing this instrument is of little use, since it is not feasible to shoot horizontally or, in fact, at any considerable angle to the perpendicular, owing to the deflection due to gravity. Especially is this the case if the object shot at is small. The best results are obtained by getting almost directly under the object to be shot at and by this means practically overcoming the influence of gravity. Thus the blow-gun is especially used in shooting those mammals and birds, such as monkeys, squirrels, guatins, parrots, toucans, and a variety of other species, which are almost always to be found in trees.

The Cayapa were at all times inclined to be peaceable, but wars were sometimes forced upon the most peace- 126 721

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

177 439 226 227 325

said that when this method of fishing was first introduced through contact with the early Spaniards, crude hooks were fashioned by hammering out pieces of iron.

226 At the present time this method of hook-and-line fishing is so much in vogue that almost every man has his special little canoe and a special short paddle which are used almost exclusively for fishing. It is customary to paddle for some distance against the tide or current and then to fish back down with the current along the bank. In this way little effort is required in paddling, and a sculling motion of the paddle with the left hand is sufficient to keep the canoe in its desired course. With [227] a pole and line go a small, hemispherical, calabash dish of angle-worms, a small bottle-shape basket (pl. XCIII, 3) of grasshoppers, or a calabash of a certain small reddish fruit, all of which are used as bait, each according to the kind of fish sought.

On rare occasions the trot-line, called weñgûtcû'a (?), such as that shown in pl. CXIX, 1, is used. The main line, called señgi'ri, is made usually of the coarser string fiber called by the Spanish term cosadera, while the small "leaders," called simply sañdô'a, to which each separate hook is attached, are made of pita string.

WAR

721 The Cayapa maintain that in ancient times they rarely went to war, and then only on the greatest provocation, as, for instance, when they were harrassed by the former inhabitants of their present domain until forbearance was no longer possible and they descended from their

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

old mountain home at Pueblo Viejo and wiped their enemies out of existence.

In the only instance of war which the Cayapa describe fully, it appears that they organized themselves into war-parties and systematically invaded the enemy's territory. Predatory raiding was never practised by them, perhaps on account of their isolated position as well as by reason of their non-militant character.

The lance was the chief weapon used in war, though the bow and arrow seem to have been used to a slight extent in more recent times. The blow-gun with its poisoned dart was also used in war to some extent. It is claimed that the pre-Cayapa inhabitants of this region used throwing-stones with good effect. The sling, however, appears to have been unknown, the stones being simply thrown with the hand.

MANUFACTURES

Canoe-making and Canoeing

The rivers of the Cayapa region provide practically the only means of travel until the limit of navigation by canoe is reached. In fact, the streams provide almost the only means of travel at all, owing to the density of the jungle and to the fact that practically *all of the Cayapa live along the rivers below* the limit of navigation. The few trails through the higher mountains are almost never used except when journeys to the interior are made. On the other hand, there are various short trails extending back into the hills

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

726 loving. It is said that on those rare occasions when the Cayapa engaged in hostilities, the blow-gun was used as a weapon, though the lance, called tsū'ta, seems to have been preferred. This weapon, six or seven feet in length, is made entirely of palm-wood, with a simple, very sharp point. A rude lance is used even at the present time in hunting certain mammals, especially the guanta (Cayapa wala'mbū), a large rodent which lives in a burrow. Armed with a lance, the hunter sits near the entrance to one of these burrows until the guanta comes out to feed, when he is able to spear it. On rare occasions also the lance is still used in hunting the wild hog and the peccary, which are both still fairly abundant in the jungle.

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The bow and arrow, the use of which is claimed to have been derived by the Cayapa from their old enemies, the former inhabitants of the Rio Cayapas, is not very clearly remembered by them, for the reason that it has not been in use for many years. The arrows are said to have been about a yard in length with shafts made from a species of wild cane, called by the Spanish name caña brava and by the Cayapa nya'nyī. The points were made of hard palm-wood. The bow and arrow appear, however, *to have been comparatively little used by them* at any time, and almost never as an implement for hunting. No names other than the Spanish terms for these two weapons could be learned.

224 No nets or snares are used by the Cayapa in the capture of mammals or birds, and only one form of trap is employed. This is the small deadfall shown in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

vations extending over a series of years were available, it would probably be found that the precipitation varies considerably from year to year. For instance, according to reports the winter months of 1909–10 were attended by an unprecedented rainfall. On the whole, therefore, it is safe to assume that the observations of the engineers referred to represent a fair average of the precipitation of this region. 132

In consequence of the great rainfall and the constant saturation of the ground, floods are frequent along all the rivers of this region. These freshets come, of course, only when there is a continuous and an unusually heavy fall of rain for several hours, or, as sometimes happens, for several days. In the latter event the Rio Cayapas rises several feet at its mouth, which is itself upward of a mile wide, and where the lowness of the bordering lands permits the stream to spread over wide areas. Farther up-stream, where the hills confine its waters, the river rises much higher; and at some points, where for considerable distances there are no low flood-plains and where the banks are steep, it rises as high as fifty feet. 133 731

As a result of such conditions there has been developed a form of *pile-dwelling*, the *floor of* which is raised from six to twelve feet above the ground. The Cayapa always endeavor to build their houses as near the river as possible, on account of their dependence on it as a means of travel and for other purposes. The floods, however, must always be taken into account in selecting a site even for such a pile-dwelling, since at times of such 731 [342] 361 [487]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

floods it not infrequently happens that the waters rise so high as completely to surround the house, and indeed sometimes to within a few inches of its floor.

The excessive rainfall naturally produces great humidity,[1] which would be very oppressive were it not for the fact that the sky is almost constantly overcast, so that the full power of the sun is rarely felt in the region. This fortunate circumstance renders the climate, which would otherwise be almost intolerable, very equable and pleasant.

Resources

Trees and plants

By virtue of the climatic conditions above set forth the vegetation of the Cayapa region is typically tropical. Almost every foot of ground is covered by a dense jungle growth comprising many species of trees, palms, shrubs, and smaller plants, and characterized by an abundance of vines and parasitic vegetation. So dense is this growth that it is practically impossible to travel on land even a short distance without the use of a machete.

Among the most important and characteristic plants of the region are the various species of palms, many of which are put to use by the Cayapa in one way or another. In the following list of the trees and plants of this section are given the Cayapa and the local Spanish names of those palms which are most useful to the

[1] One of the engineer's reports, above referred to, places the humidity at an average of about 80 per cent.

Cat. 116, pp.
9-11 AJ
[p. 6]

The pressure lantern remained in Gabriel's house. About two weeks later when the lantern had not been returned to him, Chapiro went looking for it at night in Gabriel's house, but he couldn't find it. He kept asking for the lantern, and eventually, after two or three months, it was returned to him. 156 684x

The lack of interest on the part of the young woman, coupled with Chapiro's poor reputation, apparently led Gabriel to make it clear to Chapiro that he did not want him as a son-in-law. A year or two later, the /ʌ̃nʸi/, Arcilio, died and Gabriel became the chief. Gabriel now began to consider Chapiro's threat to his daughter, who was now married. He ordered Lorenzo Añapa and Aurelio Añapa, two of the /ʌ̃ʸi tala/, to go up to Zapallo Grande during Christmas and to bring back a wife for Chapiro. They found a woman who was lame and not very eagerly sought after as a marriage partner, inasmuch as she could not work effectively in the monte. They brought her to Chapiro's house and presented her to him. He refused to take her, but Lorenzo said that if he did not take the girl, he would beat him. Chapiro then agreed to 156 584 627 [732] [581]

on his brother. A few days later, the /ʌʷʸʟ/ found them and removed Carmelina to his house, and from there she was sent to a man from the Río Onzole. In the meantime, Carmelina's brother became enamored of Alipio's sister. He 'stole' her, and they hid for a week, but were caught by Alipio when they came out of the monte. He took his sister home, declaring that she still had a lot of work to do around the house, such as making fans for sale on the coast. The young man 'stole' her again, apparently keeping her for a considerable time, at least sufficient for it to become clear that the woman was now pregnant, and so they remained together. At Punta Venado, during one of the fiestas, the /ʌʷʸʟ/ ordered them to be whipped twenty lashes.

Carmelina was crippled, and yet she was eagerly sought after by two men, in marked contrast to Chapiro's crippled wife. The choice of marriage partners for both Alipio and Chapiro had been considerably restricted, due to their poor work habits. Alipio's brother posed something of a problem. It is not known that he was lazy also, but certainly the reputation of his

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brother did not give him any advantage. The reluctance of some families to part peacefully with their unmarried female members stems in part from economic factors. Even though Carmelina was crippled, she was still of great assistance to her mother. Similarly, Alipio hoped to realize some profit from his sister's handiwork before permitting her to marry. As Carmelina's mother did not object to her daughter's marriage to the man from the Río Onzole, it can be assumed that he was more desirable as a son-in-law than either Alipio or his brother. She probably realized that she would not be able to prevent her daughter from leaving home much longer since the girl had made it clear, after her brief sojourn with Alipio, that she wanted a man--any man.

584

The marriage commission as a device for arranging marriages is apparently very common although it is not always eufunctional. Quite often more problems are raised than are settled by the commission's attempt at match-making as witnessed in the following case.

among the Cayapa. It is forbidden by the Church through the person of the priest, who is seldom seen. Many Cayapa maintain that divorce is not proper. At the present time, divorce is possible for both sexes, but it is much more difficult for a woman to obtain. In one instance, a woman was married to a mental defective and she left him with the full approval of the community. In the case of the crippled Julio Tapullo, his wife was not permitted a divorce even though Julio had been very miserly with her. On the other hand, a man may divorce his wife if she is barren or has too many still-births. In one case, a man beat his wife because she only gave birth to girls; he threatened either to kill her or to throw her out of the home (divorce), if the next child were a girl.

The divorce procedure is quite simple. The woman is simply told to leave! There is usually some grumbling by the woman's parents, but to my knowledge, complaints are never made to any of the officials. Julio Tapullo's case above was complicated by polygyny.

Santiagueño hires a Negro to bring his children back after his wife left him. Santiagueño Anapa's first

uncertainties. These uncertainties are carried over into the new period of chieftainship wherein there is a great difference between the people's perception of authority and their expectation of authority. Gabriel is not seen as a strong chief but, rather, as a man who drinks excessively and as a result, is unable to function as a chief should. At this point political behavior took two forms among the Cayapa. On one level, individuals were seen expressing dissatisfaction with Gabriel as the newly installed /ún^{y}i/ and threatening to go to Quito, the national capitol, to have him replaced. The youngest son of the late /ún^{y}i/ was voicing complaints that by rights he should have been the /ún^{y}i/ because he speaks excellent Spanish in marked contrast to Gabriel. Most of the complaints seemed to emanate from the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas, more especially from the region of Pichiyaco, the home of the late /ún^{y}i/. Complaints were voiced that Gabriel could not speak good Spanish, that he could not perform his duties, that he could not settle disputes, that he was /vinrúku/, "a drunkard." As the time drew near for the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado, many people

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began saying that they would attend the fiesta at one of the other tribal sections rather than attend one headed by an incompetent drunkard. Others said that if they attended, they would not ask Gabriel to settle their disputes; rather than this, they said, they would go to the national authorities. Gabriel was clearly not very secure in his position. The behavior of the people in these instances was political because there was a shifting of support from one authority to a contender. Furthermore, the shift of support was ideologically motivated in terms of values concerning the nature of the chieftainship (cf Easton 1958; Silverts 1960). Gabriel's reaction to this was to drink more. Often when I would be talking to one or more Indians, Gabriel would appear on the scene, quite drunk, and begin to electioneer in a loud voice. He would tell the Indian(s) that he was responsible for my being there and that they would all benefit by my knowledge of hypodermics and penicillin. Whenever I saw Gabriel, he was obviously drunk; these observations extended over many months.

The personal crisis for Gabriel seems to have

been met during the Christmas *fiesta*. He took no overt steps to assert his authority beyond stating to a few Negro bystanders that he was the /ʌ̃ʔʟ/. He remained drunk a good deal of the time but so did most of the other *fiesteros* including women and, at times, children. Little by little, people became aware of the fact that there was indeed an /ʌ̃ʔʟ/ available, and a few began drifting over to where he lay drunk, sprawled in his hammock; despite his inebriation, /kavítu/ "complaints," were presented to him. It turned out that most of the disputes to be settled were from the area that had initially manifested greatest opposition to Gabriel. Gabriel, therefore, began to function as the /ʌ̃ʔʟ/ in fact, as well as in name; however, his performance was not at all satisfactory. For example, on one occasion when he was asked to cure a sick child because he had studied curing with a *bruto* from *Zapallo Grande*, he was ineffective in carrying out this ritual because of his drunkenness.

As the *fiesta* were on day and night without dissolution for a full week, the second level of political

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behavior began to develop. Individuals, all very drunk, and occasionally two or three holding each other up, would stand in front of Gabriel and lecture him on his drunkenness. This was not the way an /ún^{y}i/ should act, they would say; he must be sober; he must change his ways, or the people would not listen to him. From time to time his wife would place herself before his supine form which was sprawled occasionally on the floor, but most often in his hammock. She would loudly and clearly, in front of the assembled crowd, harangue him in the same vein, telling him to sober up and get out and behave as an /ún^{y}i/ should. Scenes like these were repeated throughout the year at various small parties and again at Punta Venado during the next Easter season. The attendance during Easter was markedly less than at the previous Christmas gathering. Political resistance had not died down. The situation described above has all of the elements of a comedy [drunks moralizing to a drunkard], but Gabriel was an element of poignant tragedy within the comedy. The previous year he had not been a drunkard, but that year he was not the /ún^{y}i/.

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After assuming office he merely continued his usual drinking behavior which apparently was the culturally normal pattern. A normally intoxicated Cayapa cannot settle disputes adequately nor can he maintain law and order effectively. An important point also is that the sober Cayapa feels absolutely no guilt or shame for his behavior while drunk. His work routine has not been disrupted, his family is not neglected, no one points a scornful finger at him. For the Gabriel, the situation was quite different. The instant he became the /ũnʸi/ he was expected to change a lifetime of habit formation. Political behavior involving the shift of support from one authority to another entered a phase of psychological warfare. A new authority was to be created and the old one destroyed psychologically. The new authority was to be created in the image of what the people felt an /ũnʸi/ should be like. The lack of congruence between the people's expectation of authority and their actual perception of authority created a situation of intense ambiguity wherein Gabriel was being culturally defined as an alcoholic. The ambiguous nature of his position,

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the presence of very heavy, culturally-approved drinking, and the constant moralising and expressions of political disaffection brought Gabriel to the inescapable cycle that began to isolate him as the only apparent alcoholic in a society of heavy drinkers. It may be that as Gabriel begins to succumb to addictive alcoholism, the individual pressures exerted politically will begin to mold his personality in a new direction; as the gap between expected and observed authority progressively narrows, political behavior will progressively decrease, and the Cayapa governmental system will approach a measure of stability.

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Not only was Gabriel's authority on probation within the Punta Venado group but it was completely rejected by the people of the other tribal sections. Gabriel felt that as the senior [illegible] he should be in charge of all Cayapa affairs. Barrett reported that during his stay, Gabriel's father was in effective control of all of the Cayapa sections, leaving to the other chiefs only minor matters (Barrett 1960, personal communication).

Gabriel attempted to assert some measure of

San Miguel section and, after reaching an agreement on the location of a house, I made a down payment for the purchase of roofing material. Two weeks later I returned with my family, but was told that we could not settle in the San Miguel section: the inhabitants were afraid of us, as they had heard we were cannibals. The rumor had been started by people of the Punta Veradu section who wanted us to live with them. Earlier, a resident missionary had started a small dispensary among the San Miguel group, and another missionary was conducting a very large medical practice in the Espalla Grande section. Since the people of Punta Veradu wanted a medical program, too, they started the rumors of our cannibalistic propensities to frighten the people of San Miguel into rejecting us so that we would move in with them. They told the stories with such gusto that for a brief period, even after we settled among them, they believed the fantasies were indeed true.

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It is not only the complex of sphincter training, nursing and weaning that convinces the young boy that the world and its objects are threatening and cannibalistic, but play behavior also. A common game that parents and older siblings play with young males is to

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Furthermore, treatment by magic is almost the only 755
remedy known to the Cayapa, and implicit confidence is reposed in the shaman with his conniving spirits. It may be said that almost without exception no herb remedies are taken internally, and very few are applied externally.

For cuts or serious bruises where it is obvious to the 752
Cayapa mind that spirits are not at fault, the wound is generally sealed with brea, the wax of a small bee. This is applied while hot, and appears to have a genuine medicinal value, since it tends to sterilize the affected spot and reduce the probability of infection, so deadly in tropical countries. Similarly a piece of green leaf may be placed over a cut or bruise or over a running sore to protect it from the air, and especially from annoying and dangerous insects. This treatment is used especially for the ulcers which result from the bite of a small mosquito found in large numbers in this part of the tropics. Almost any kind of a leaf serves this purpose, and the treatment has of itself no aseptic virtue.

For anything more serious than a cut, bruise, or ulcer, no treatment is used other than bathing the wound occasionally and perhaps bandaging it, since such cases are considered too serious to yield to treatment. This is 752
especially true of an ailment caused by something of 755
foreign origin, as a gunshot wound, which, being due to an instrument of which the Cayapa have no aboriginal knowledge, cannot be cured by a shaman. If, on the other hand, a wound of this kind results in complications, such as increased temperature, a shaman is summoned to treat it for the reason that the affection is obviously due to the presence of malevolent spirits; but the Indians

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

752 753 maintain that a shaman never attempts to cure the wound itself. A case of this kind observed in 1909 was that of a young man who had been accidentally shot at close range. There were seven buckshot holes through the calf of the leg, and each formed an ugly gangrenous wound. When first seen seven days had elapsed since he had received the wounds, but no treatment, magic or otherwise, had been given other than the bathing and bandaging above mentioned.

756 778 A shaman's paraphernalia consists almost invariably of three classes of objects. First, one or more small lance-shape wands of black wood, each possessing special magic power from the spirit or spirits residing therein; second, a bottle of a decoction of rum and bejuco; third, a number of smooth black stones, potsherds, and similar objects of unusual forms. Especially valued are the ancient stone axes, either whole or fragmentary, which are found now and then about old village-sites and mounds or along the banks of streams. These objects, as before stated, are all supposed to be inhabited by spirits. One may be the abode of only a single spirit, while another may contain as many as ten or a dozen. One stone ax, for example, in possession of a shaman near Punta Venado, was said to contain five spirits. When an attempt was made to purchase this ax from him, he was greatly in doubt whether it would be wise and proper for him to part with it. To settle the matter he sprayed the stone with the decoction of bejuco and rum, and sang and whistled to it for a considerable time, meanwhile gazing at it intently. At last he pointed out the exact positions

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of witchcraft. Barrett records that very little attention is given to wounds per se beyond the application of hot beeswax or a leaf to keep off the insects; however, a few individuals have specialized in the setting of broken bones. Apparently, this specialty is not taught, but a person who wants to engage in this activity practices by removing the corn kernels from a dry ear of corn and then replaces them in their sockets under cover of the husks. This is said to develop finger dexterity and the sense of touch. With growing competence the neophyte bonesetter practices mending the limbs of domestic animals, and eventually, the first human patient requests his services. Clean fractures seem to be rather easily handled, and it is said that "green-twig" fractures are similarly mended. The price for this service is high, ranging from 500 sucres to over 1,000 sucres.

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For illnesses caused by spirit possession or spirit loss, a brujo or witch is needed. There are no special requirements for becoming a brujo beyond the desire and money to pay for instruction. As the prophet is seldom honored in his own country, so the Cayapa

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2: Morra E-4 (no date) 1961 SD6 Cayapa SD6

But the soul is believed to linger after death, and the methods used to encourage its departure are strictly aboriginal. A young couple's marriage may not be consummated until solemnized by the visiting padre, but the admonitions of the village chief to both bride and groom reinforce the authority of native jurisdiction. The annual Easter whipping of the whole community is also native.

Barnett could find no clear-cut creation story. The universe is believed to be made up of three superimposed worlds, with human life centered on the middle one. Men share this middle world with many spirits, some malevolent and other benevolent, all of whom are busy affecting human happiness and goals.

Sometimes the spirits must be exorcised, as when they cause illness. For this a shaman is called, and, with the cooperation of neighbors, he drives out the spirits amid much singing, smoking, and sprinkling. The shaman also may seek out the cause of illness.

Almost anyone can become a shaman by undergoing intensive training and acquiring a set of spirit helpers. There seems to be no "predestination" for this career, though Barnett was apparently unable to get enough information on this point. Like the chief, the shaman is not a full-time professional.

Because of his magic control of spirit powers, the shaman can be a force for evil as well as for good. It is he who causes illness and eventually death. There is a great deal of similarity between the behavior and the paraphernalia of the Cayapa shaman and that of the Highland medicine man.

THE COLORADO

The *Colorado*, or, as they prefer to call themselves, *Tsatchela* or *Tsachila* Indians, share with the Cayapa the distinction of being the last surviving aboriginal group in the Lowlands of western Ecuador. The two groups know about each other and even occasionally visit back and forth; but they speak mutually unintelligible languages, and their ways of life are quite distinct.

In contrast to the Cayapa, the *Colorado* are rapidly disappearing. Their territory and their numbers have been shrinking constantly, and one can easily foresee the time when the group will become extinct. They have not been able to withdraw before the pressure of "civilization," and they have been incorporated to a large degree into the Highland plantation system known as *concertaje*. The area they occupy on the upper reaches of several affluents of the Esmeraldas and Daule Rivers in the western part of Pichincha Province has been an area of heavy colonization in recent decades. During World War II an all-weather road was opened which increased the area's accessibility to colonization from the Highlands.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

586 684 in which, in order to escape the wrath of public opinion and castigation by the officials, offenders against the divorce laws have left the Cayapa country entirely and taken up their abode in Colombia or in the interior of Ecuador. The same applies to the laws relating to 582 684 marriage between near relatives. The evasion or the open violation of either the laws of divorce or those governing consanguineal marriage are, however, of such rare occurrence that the laws may be said to operate almost perfectly, and they, together with the laws requiring chastity and fidelity in both sexes, certainly produce a salutary moral effect on the community. In fact, it is most exceptional to find a tribe or a community of the size of the Cayapa in which the ethical standards are so high and so strictly observed.

DEATH

761 As was stated in speaking of medicine practices, death is ordinarily attributed to the presence of malevolent • 753 spirits in the body, whither they find their way by various 776 means. For instance, they may be placed by some [754] malicious shaman in the soul of the individual as it wanders about during sleep, or they may enter directly into the body as one passes some particular spot believed to be infested with these malicious, disease-breeding spirits.

774 There seems to be a difference of opinion as to the 775 soul. One informant maintained that there are numer- 177 ous souls, each residing in a different part of the body; that the one in the chest is the largest and most im-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

MEDICINE PRACTICES. SHAMANISM

753 [778] Among the Cayapa practically all illness is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits. In large measure the particular spirits which cause illness reside in small, black, water-worn stones, in fragments of ancient pottery, in mammals, snakes, insects, and the like.

By the entering of one of these spirits into the body of an individual, and especially, as is usually the case, if one of the mentioned objects which is the special abode of this spirit enters also, a serious and often fatal illness results. This illness may take the form of any one of the numerous diseases common to the tropics.

There are various ways in which one of these spirits may enter the body. It may, for instance, enter directly into the body itself as the individual is passing the abode of the spirit, or it may enter the soul of the person which, while he sleeps, is traveling about the earth. In the latter case the spirit, on the return of the individual's soul, is taken into the body and the same symptoms and illness result as when it enters directly without the medium of the soul.

755 In almost every case a cure may be effected, provided a competent shaman is called in time. Each shaman has his own method of treatment, but in general these methods are similar and consist of (1) whistling and singing to call certain guardian spirits to the shaman's aid; (2) when these spirits have been summoned, the affected part of the body is sprayed with a decoction of rum and bejuco, and is massaged and rubbed with the hands or is sucked with the lips in order to draw through

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The Soul

The soul, called kə'nt, inhabits every human body as well as the bodies of certain other animate beings. In general it has the form of the body that it inhabits, and has the power of leaving the body during sleep and of traveling about at will. In their travels the souls visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends, etc., and are subject to considerable danger while thus wandering about. A shaman with malicious intent may by his magic summon one of these wandering souls and, by appearing friendly, may gain its confidence sufficiently to induce it to drink chicha, thus partially intoxicating it and enabling him to insert within it a pebble, a snake, an insect, or some other object which will work ill. On returning to its body, the soul takes with it this malevolent object, which also enters the body. As a result, illness follows almost immediately and the person dies within a short time, usually at or just before sunset, unless properly and promptly doctored by a shaman. Such illness is said to resemble an attack due to a natural cause, which is to say that it resembles an attack caused by the entrance of similar objects into the body by means other than through the agency of the soul; for it must be remembered that all illness other than that resulting from wounds, bruises, or other visible external means, is attributed to the presence of one or more of these magic objects in the body. It is said that fevers, for instance, which result from the presence in the body of these malevolent objects brought to it by means of the soul, cannot be distinguished in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

753 [164] their symptoms from fevers resulting from drinking water in a new region. This alludes to the fact that in this region it almost invariably happens, even with people in perfect health, that if they travel from the coast into the interior mountains, or vice versa, they become ill for a short time with a fever of greater or lesser gravity. This is attributed directly to the change of drinking water, though in the Cayapa mind there is here also a direct connection with spirits.

754 778 A still greater danger to the soul as it travels about during sleep arises when a shaman sets a trap or a deadfall at any point he thinks a soul is likely to pass. If the soul gets into this trap or deadfall, it is killed, so to speak, and its owner never awakens. The soul itself, being immortal, later escapes from the trap or deadfall and passes on with its future existence, but once the life has left the body which it formerly inhabited, the soul is never able to return to it.

775 After death, souls travel about as they do in sleep, frequenting for a time special burial places and the homes which their bodies formerly inhabited. They would, if unmolested, continue indefinitely to go about their former haunts, but, owing to the danger to the living from their presence, means are taken to expel them. The expulsion of these souls, as also of malevolent spirits, by one or more shamans has been described in detail in speaking of medicine practices.

776 By many it is claimed that certain mammals, birds, reptiles, and other animate objects do not possess souls, but by others it is claimed that every animate object has a soul. Inanimate objects, such as waterworn

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

He always has stored large quantities of the eggs of these birds, especially those of the large species of grouse known locally as perdiz. The house furnishings are similar to those of the Cayapa, except that the coiled equis, a very poisonous snake, is ordinarily used for a bench or seat, while the coiled boa is used as a receptacle for serving food.

In personal appearance the bû"tcûlya is similar to the Cayapa, except in color. By some he is said to be whiter and of a more reddish cast than the Cayapa, but by most his face is said to be bright yellow, for the reason that he paints it all over with yellow achote. It is claimed that the rest of the body is not painted. The women bû"tcûlya are said to be very beautiful and to have long flowing hair. By some it is claimed that the bû"tcûlya have bodies of normal form, but by most informants they are said to have no buttocks or anus, and hence are unable to defecate. For this reason they never eat, but gain sustenance from the water they drink, and especially from the steam and aroma arising from boiling meat and other foods. Although unable to defecate, they can urinate and hence are able to drink water and inhale steam. Their genital organs are perfect, but they are incapable of sexual intercourse except in bright moonlight.

In ancient times the bû"tcûlya were much feared by the Cayapa because the sight of one of them would bring illness and ultimate death, and also because they would steal children and even adults. In more recent times, however, it is claimed that they do not steal people, but confine their depredation to dogs, pigs, and chickens, and the vegetal foods raised by the Cayapa.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

776 carry people away bodily at the present time, they nevertheless entice them to their caves, but this is said to be done out of a spirit of sociability and not with the desire of doing them bodily violence, though there is considerable danger attached to a visit to such a cave. These spirits, though ordinarily invisible, have the power to make themselves visible to human beings at will and when a person is off in the jungle, or in any lonely place, he is likely to be visited by a bū"tcūlya and invited to return with the spirit to his cave. If he goes and enters only the outer chamber of the cave, he can return, but if he is enticed into the inner chambers, escape is impossible, for these are guarded by vicious jaguars and pumas. On entering an outer chamber a guest usually is invited to sit upon a bench consisting of a coiled equis, and is offered food upon plates made of coiled boas. Stories are told of people who, on falling asleep or becoming intoxicated in some lonely spot, have been enticed into one of these caves by a bū"tcūlya and have seen and experienced various things in the outer chamber and yet have escaped
•[753] and returned home. After such an experience a person is likely to become ill, and if not properly doctored by a shaman will ultimately urinate blood and then die. Merely to see and to talk with a bū"tcūlya, however, is not of itself fatal as is the case with some other classes of spirits.

An experience is related by a Cayapa who once had occasion to make a canoe at a place back in the hills and far from his house, so that it was impossible for him to return home every day. He therefore, as is customary, built near his work a small "rancho," or temporary house,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

776 and birds, all very large and fat, which he kept as pets. He then invited the old man to sit upon his bench, which was a coiled equis, but the old man declined. He then offered him a cup of champo, a drink made of corn, the cup being a coiled boa. Again the old man declined. The spirit then invited him to go enter the inner chambers of the cave, but on approaching these the old man found them guarded by jaguars tied at each side of the entrance, which so frightened him that he did not dare to proceed. He had not gone more than about twenty-five feet into the cave, so was enabled later to escape. He sat in the outer chamber for some time, and talked with the bû"tcûlya, who explained his mode of life, how he obtained his food, and various facts concerning himself and this class of spirits, all of which the old man related on returning home. This old man returned the same day; but in the case of another Cayapa who was enticed into a cave of the bû"tcûlya, he was detained for three days, but the spirit was not able to induce him to enter one of the inner chambers. During his entire stay the spirit from time to time offered him foods of various kinds upon plates made of coiled serpents, all of which he refused. At the end of the third day he was permitted to return home, although he was much more dead than alive from the ordeal through which he had passed. The man almost immediately became ill, his body was covered with sores, and in the course of a week he urinated blood [753] and died. After such a protracted visit to the cave of one of these spirits, death is almost certain.

That the mammals and birds kept by the bû"tcûlya spirits in their caves are so large is said to be because

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Some dance on their feet, some on their hands, and some on two long fleshy projections like horns or ears which grow on top of the head, but which are quite different from the ears of men. These spirits are about the size of the Cayapa, and live in family groups in their village as do human beings. Their skin is very black, and their hair kinky and bushy. The mothers carry their babies upside down on their backs. The women wear simply a black skirt, while the dress of the men consists of short trousers reaching almost to the knees, and a reddish short-sleeved shirt. In the mountain region nearer to the home of the ûra"tû they are a great menace to the people, since they steal human beings bodily, and merely to see one of them assures illness of some kind and probably death in a short time.

KÛ'ME

Another dangerous class of spirits is the kû'me, who live in the mountains and in deep pools in the river. These are described as being of about the size and general appearance of human beings, but with very black skin. The kû'me always go about with their heads thrown far back, so that they face the sky and are unable to look forward. They travel late in the afternoon and at night, and are in the habit of pursuing people who are out at such times. If a person is caught by one of the spirits, and especially if he is hugged by the spirit or if the spirit's breath touches his body, illness is sure to follow and death is certain unless the patient is properly treated by a shaman. These spirits are entirely invisible

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

753 776 to ordinary human beings, and when they attack a person they remain with him throughout his illness and until death, when they snatch the soul as it is departing from the body and carry it away. They may be seen and driven away, however, by shamans who have drunk of the decoction of rum and bejuco, and who are able to chant the proper incantations.

pi"tcûlya

776 Especially dangerous to canoemen are the pi"tcûlya, a class of spirits which live in caves in the bed-rock at the bottom of deep pools and at various places along the banks of rivers. In these caves the families of pi"tcûlya live in the same relations as do those of the Cayapa. Their women are especially beautiful and all have very 776 long flowing hair. In the evening and at night, especially 753 if the moon is bright, these spirits rise to the surface of the water and sport about, and it is at such times that the danger to canoemen in passing is greatest, since to see one of these spirits, and especially to approach so near that the spirit may blow its breath upon one, assures a severe attack of fever and is likely to cause death, although the patient may be cured by a shaman. The 776 pi"tcûlya women wear a black skirt, and the men employ the same kind of clout and shirt as those of Cayapa men. All wear very large necklaces of various objects made by the prehistoric inhabitants of the region. Both sexes paint yellow all exposed parts of the body. Like certain other spirits, they are unable to eat solid food, but subsist on the steam and aroma rising from cooking fish.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

of the river takes its course, thus traversing a distance of five miles or more in reaching the same level that the smaller and more rapid stream reaches in a comparatively few feet. It is this long bow in the main stream which gives this point on the river the name of La Herradura, "the horseshoe." During periods when the water of the river is at the ordinary level, the shorter stream is small, but in times of flood it is a raging torrent. By the time the water has run its short course and reënters the main stream, it attains a high velocity and shoots a powerful, billowy current far out into the main stream which here widens into a deep basin. At the sides of this current are numerous eddies, and often great logs and even whole trees are held by them and whirled about for hours, in which process large limbs are twisted from trunks and everything fragile is splintered into bits. It is impossible for a canoe to pass through this pool at such a time; it is, in fact, none too safe to skirt the extreme edge of the pool opposite the torrent which enters it, on account of swirling logs. It is small wonder, then, that the Cayapa should conceive some great supernatural force to be hidden in this pool. It is said that up to within the last few years there lived in this pool a school of immense bright-red fish, which were a constant menace to travelers. Even to see one of these fish assured the illness of a person, and death was almost sure to follow. Still more dangerous was it to touch one of them. These monsters had a trick of floating as if dead upon the surface of the pool, especially when the water was at normal level and the surface reasonably calm. Curiosity of passers-by sometimes tempted them to paddle near

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

enough to take a good look at the red object, or even to touch it, either of which proved fatal. At last, however, some powerful shamans visited the pool and by their incantations were able to impound the fish in a cave in the bed-rock at its bottom. They then sealed the mouth of the cave, it is said by some, with iron, so that for some years the pool has been passed without harm. However, there is still fear that the fish may some day break their bonds and again come to the surface and menace the lives of canoemen.

PĪ PĪ'NĪ

While there are many large pools along the Rio Cayapas which are given the general Spanish name charco, there is one so large and important that it is always known as El Charco. This is situated at a point about three miles down-stream from the confluence with the Rio Onzole. It was the former habitation of a kind of dangerous fish, or serpent, called pī pī'nī, literally "water serpent," concerning which the following story is told:

In former times El Charco was much larger than at present, covering the plain now adjacent to it and reaching from hill to hill on each side. Here lived an especially large pī pī'nī, which devoured everything coming down the river. It had a mouth twenty fathoms wide, and everything, including all driftwood and even entire trees that floated down-stream, was consumed by the monster. Within this great serpent there was an immense dry area in which accumulated all the logs and trees that

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Adults and children are buried in a cemetery area called the panteón, while infants are buried directly inside the church. When an /inʔi/ dies he is buried immediately outside the church entrance underneath the church bell that is suspended from the projecting roof. The Cayapa maintain that it is very important to be buried in the ceremonial center to which one belongs. Ceremonial allegiance is inherited in the patrilineal line and even though one has spent all or most of his life living in one of the other tribal groups, they believe that one should still be buried in the proper center. If a Cayapa should die far from home, he is interred at the site of death. Thereafter, attempts are made to bring the bones back for a proper funeral and burial. A casket is made, and the bones are laid out. The mourning and gaiety described above are carried out, but in a much more perfunctory fashion.

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Medical Practices. Illness for the Cayapa is mainly a matter of soul loss or spirit possession. To a lesser extent, the cause of the illness may be the presence of small physical objects such as stones or thorns which have been placed within the body by means of witchcraft.

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The witches' paraphernalia consists of archaeological artifacts that were made by the people resident in the area prior to the Cayapa occupation. A

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

either carried far into the hills and there deposited in some lonely, out-of-the-way spot, or it is placed to dry in the upper part of the house for about a month, when it may be thrown away in a place where no one is likely to find it. When the umbilicus finally sluffs from the body, it is kept in the house for a month or so and also thrown away in some secluded spot.

This great care that no one shall come upon either the umbilical cord or the afterbirth is apparently not due to fear that the child or a member of its immediate family will be injured if either should be found, but it is claimed that the magic effect upon a person encountering either would be very serious, and might even result in death. No evidence could be obtained that would point to the use of either the umbilicus or the placenta by shamans or others for bringing about magic spells or other malevolent effects.

Immediately after its birth, the child is bathed in warm water and its entire face is painted with red achote, but neither the child nor the mother is obliged later to undergo any purification or other ceremony.

NAMES

According to their profession of the Roman Catholic faith the Cayapa baptize their children for the first time within a few days after birth. This first rite is performed by a man and a woman, special friends of the family, who are selected by the parents. If the child is a boy, he is held by the man who is to become his godfather while the woman who is to become his godmother

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

in which, in order to escape the wrath of public opinion and castigation by the officials, offenders against the divorce laws have left the Cayapa country entirely and taken up their abode in Colombia or in the interior of Ecuador. The same applies to the laws relating to marriage between near relatives. The evasion or the open violation of either the laws of divorce or those governing consanguineal marriage are, however, of such rare occurrence that the laws may be said to operate almost perfectly, and they, together with the laws requiring chastity and fidelity in both sexes, certainly produce a salutary moral effect on the community. In fact, it is most exceptional to find a tribe or a community of the size of the Cayapa in which the ethical standards are so high and so strictly observed.

DEATH

As was stated in speaking of medicine practices, death is ordinarily attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body, whither they find their way by various means. For instance, they may be placed by some malicious shaman in the soul of the individual as it wanders about during sleep, or they may enter directly into the body as one passes some particular spot believed to be infested with these malicious, disease-breeding spirits.

There seems to be a difference of opinion as to the soul. One informant maintained that there are numerous souls, each residing in a different part of the body; that the one in the chest is the largest and most im-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

quently it has the form of a dwarf or even of a normal human being, especially if its abode is an inanimate object. These spirits may leave their abodes and travel at will, or they may take their abodes wish them. They have great magic powers, both for good and for evil.

In addition to the benevolent offices of the shaman, he may exercise a malevolent function by calling spirits to his assistance for the purpose of killing or otherwise doing harm to his enemies. The spirits which he uses for this evil purpose may be those which he uses for good in other cases—they may aid him in killing an enemy at one time and in curing a friend at another.

The abodes of spirits are numberless. They may live within almost any smooth water-worn stone, especially a black or a red one; they are always resident in prehistoric potsherds, especially those of human or animal form; and abide also in almost any object of stone or other hard material of unusual form, particularly if it is smooth. Many mountains and hills contain spirits, both within them and on their slopes and summits. Also nearly every mammal, bird, reptile, and insect is the abode of a spirit entirely distinct from its soul or shade. It is these many spirits residing in both animate and inanimate objects that are the media by which shamans work their magic for both good and evil. A spirit is sometimes called forth from its abode to serve the shaman while thus separated from the object in which it dwells; but it may equally well serve him while in its abode, in which event the object in which the spirit abides accompanies it on its mission.

Furthermore, treatment by magic is almost the only

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The Soul

The soul, called kū'mī, inhabits every human body 774
as well as the bodies of certain other animate beings. In general it has the form of the body that it inhabits, and has the power of leaving the body during sleep and of traveling about at will. In their travels the souls visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends, etc., and are subject to considerable danger while thus wandering about. A shaman with malicious intent 754
may by his magic summon one of these wandering souls and, by appearing friendly, may gain its confidence sufficiently to induce it to drink chicha, thus partially intoxicating it and enabling him to insert within it a pebble, a snake, an insect, or some other object which will work ill. On returning to its body, the soul takes with it this malevolent object, which also enters the body. As a result, illness follows almost immediately and the person dies within a short time, usually at or just before sunset, unless properly and promptly doctored by a shaman. Such illness is said to resemble an attack 753
due to a natural cause, which is to say that it resembles an attack caused by the entrance of similar objects into the body by means other than through the agency of the soul; for it must be remembered that all illness other than that resulting from wounds, bruises, or other visible external means, is attributed to the presence of one or more of these magic objects in the body. It is said that fevers, for instance, which result from the presence in the body of these malevolent objects brought to it by means of the soul, cannot be distinguished in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

753 their symptoms from fevers resulting from drinking water in a new region. This alludes to the fact that in [164] this region it almost invariably happens, even with people in perfect health, that if they travel from the coast into the interior mountains, or vice versa, they become ill for a short time with a fever of greater or lesser gravity. This is attributed directly to the change of drinking water, though in the Cayapa mind there is here also a direct connection with spirits.

•757 A still greater danger to the soul as it travels about 775 during sleep arises when a shaman sets a trap or a deadfall at any point he thinks a soul is likely to pass. If the soul gets into this trap or deadfall, it is killed, so to speak, and its owner never awakens. The soul itself, being immortal, later escapes from the trap or deadfall and passes on with its future existence, but once the life has left the body which it formerly inhabited, the soul is never able to return to it.

775 After death, souls travel about as they do in sleep, frequenting for a time special burial places and the homes which their bodies formerly inhabited. They would, if unmolested, continue indefinitely to go about their former haunts, but, owing to the danger to the living from their presence, means are taken to expel them. The expulsion of these souls, as also of malevolent spirits, by one or more shamans has been described in detail in speaking of medicine practices.

774 By many it is claimed that certain mammals, birds, reptiles, and other animate objects do not possess souls, but by others it is claimed that every animate object has a soul. Inanimate objects, such as waterworn

small temporary shelters called by the Spanish term *ranchos*. In general construction these *ranchos* are similar to the permanent houses, but they may be only a foot or two off the ground. As the property holdings of most Cayapa are scattered, many build second permanent houses at other convenient sites and alternate residences as the farming situation dictates. If relatives have a house in the area already, then a new house need not be built, and shelter is taken with the kin. It is possible for a family to have no permanent abode of its own but rather to shift back and forth between relatives who happen to live near their property. This, however, is a very rare occurrence, and in the few cases recorded, I suspect that it is transitory. A "complete" person "*un hombre completo*" to be fully adult should be master of his own house. Pedrito Alape, for example, was living with relatives, but he was bewitched and suffered from many illnesses, and in addition his land was "spoiled" by witchcraft. Despite this, he still felt that the best thing for him to do was to get some land elsewhere, and set up an independent household.

Subsistence Activities. Farming is the main occupation

If the mother should die first, then no attempt is made to remove the child. Births that result in death are said to have been caused by witchcraft. Insofar as I was able to determine, no counter measures are taken for revenge. 845 [754]

When labor pains begin, the woman is given a hot drink of rum, lemon, and sulfur. Some women claim to have had painless births, and others claim it hurt each time. After the delivery the mid-wife cuts the umbilical cord /pwali^{9}i/ with a metal knife. The mid-wife buries the umbilical cord under the house about two hours following the birth. It is said that if the cord should be thrown away, then a malignant spirit would get it, and turn it into an animal that kills people. Also, if the cord were not properly buried, then the mother might die of hemorrhage. 844 [278] [412] 846 [776]

After the delivery the mother remains at home for two months. She does light tasks about the house, but she does not go to work in the fields. She observes some food taboos during this period such as being forbidden to eat crabs, clams, or meat. If the taboo is broken, it is believed that she will lose her [242] [784]

vicinity. It may kill people whom it encounters alone. The third soul, the bald ghost is dressed in white and remains by the grave. "In the old days, it would fight with its enemies, but nowadays this does not happen." The /kíme/ has the form of the body it inhabits, and it has the power of leaving the body during sleep, and of travelling about at will. In their travels, the souls visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends, and distant places. At these times the soul is in danger of being harmed by witchcraft: if the /kíme/ is prevented from returning to its body, that person must die.

In common with much of the Catholic world, the Cayapa believe that a deceased infant has not had a chance to sin and so goes directly to heaven as an angel; however, if the child had been conceived in sin, then they maintain that it is an abomination, and non-Christian. In this case they feel that the Christian thing to do is to kill the neonate, but the status of the soul of the infant is not clear. On the question of the immediate transit to heaven of the infant's soul, the Negroes are the authorities for the Cayapa. As an instance, the wife of Pablo Canalebu of Encanto, died

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Adults and children are buried in a cemetery

area called the panteón, while infants are buried directly inside the church. When an adult dies he is buried immediately outside the church entrance underneath the church bell that is suspended from the projecting roof. The Cayapa maintain that it is very important to be buried in the ceremonial center to which one belongs. Ceremonial allegiance is inherited in the patrilineal line and even though one has spent all or most of his life living in one of the other tribal groups, they believe that one should still be buried in the proper center. If a Cayapa should die far from home, he is interred at the site of death. Thereafter, attempts are made to bring the bones back for a proper funeral and burial. A casket is made, and the bones are laid out. The mourning and gaiety described above are carried out, but in a much more perfunctory fashion.

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and chanted a curious mixture of Spanish and what may have been unintelligible magical Quechua words. The Spanish element predominated, but not as connected discourse. The manner of chanting made comprehension extremely difficult for me, but the sequence may be described as stretches of humming, interspersed with unintelligibility, peaked by the words "moreno . . . indio bravo . . . enfermidad . . . brujo . . . ," that is, "Negro . . . wild Indian . ... sickness . . . witch . . . ." From time to time there were straight Spanish incantations: "This man is sick, I know, I know, cure, cure, Negro." The Negro is included in the list of powerful words because it is felt that Negroes often practice black magic against the Indian; similarly, the Indio Bravos were a powerful people whose very stone and pottery artifacts retain their ancient power. The witch is included for obvious reasons, and Spanish is used probably because it connotes power. A man who controls Spanish controls the outside forces to a degree impossible for a monolingual Cayapa.

On occasion, Alejandro would take a mouthful of rum and blow it out in the direction of the patient.

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ugly to bear, and that I must leave before he began his cure, but the other two assured him that I was a "good gringo." By this point, the three brujos were quite drunk, and unable to function. The father took the child back to the main house, where it died early the following morning.

It is felt that brujos can kill as well as cure, but except for one instance, excessive sorcery was never attributed to Cayapa brujos. The father of Perdomo of Encanto was a brujo who was killed because "he killed too many people." This was the only instance recorded and it was apparently done on an individual basis and not through the legal apparatus.

Government. The Spanish governmental nomenclature can be found with varying degrees of completeness in each of the four tribal sections. The list as noted by Barrett included the following: "Governador, secretario de la gobernación, teniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento." (Barrett 1925:312). In 1960, the terms alcalde, comisário, and teniente político were apparently no longer in use, and no one knew of any individual who occupied any of these offices.

Today, as in 1909, there are apparently three

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that the brother was much too young, whereupon Margarita agreed to marry Cristobal even though he was already married. They were subsequently married by a priest. Santian, Cristobal's brother, resented this and complained to the /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio. Margarita claimed that the charges were not true and that she had, indeed, been delivered to Santian and was living with him. Arcilio ordered Cristobal and Margarita to receive twenty lashes. The sentence was minimal because they claimed "never to have embraced." Then they were told that they would receive two hundred lashes if they made love from then on. When they returned to Viche from Punta Venado, Margarita lived with Santian for about four months; following this, Cristobal took her back. The brothers had harsh words but did not exchange blows. Cristobal's two wives appeared to live together amicably. About a year later the father of the first wife took his daughter back with him. She had been crippled for some time, and people were saying that Cristobal had bewitched her. When her father died soon afterwards, Santian accused his brother of having killed him. Cristobal's first wife confirmed this. However, Cristobal and Margarita denied the charge. When the /ún^{y}i/ asked

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why he had delivered Margarita to his brother who was too young for marriage, he remained silent. The punishment was to be fifty lashes each, but since they kept protesting their innocence, the sentence was reduced to twenty lashes each.

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About a year after the death of Cristobal's first father-in-law, a son of the dead man named Gorce Cimarrón went to Colombia to hire a Cholo witch in an attempt to find out who had killed his father. The Cholo reported that Cristobal was the guilty one; so Gorce went to Cristobal's house and accused him of the murder, but Cristobal did not reply. Three days later Cristobal was dead. Several years later, one of Cristobal's brothers, Arcinto, heard of the affair and went looking for a witch. Gorce died a few years later, and his death was said to have been caused by the witch hired by Arcinto. Arcinto still lives in Viche where he also has two wives. He has never been punished as he never goes to the ceremonial center for fiestas.

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In the space of certainly not more than a decade the above case is found in at least one alternate version.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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Mariano takes a second wife. Mariano lived up the Río Esmeraldas and was married to the daughter of Pedrito Añapa's paternal grandfather. They had three children, two girls and one boy. Mariano went looking for another wife near San José on the Río Cayapas. He had divorced his first wife and her father was very angry over the affair. Consequently, the woman's brother went to talk to Mariano who said that he had taken divorce action because this woman did not work or cook well. He also complained that she was older than he and slightly lame. Mariano was a witch, and he told the first wife's brother that he was going to kill his father. About a year later, the old man did indeed die. Following this, the brothers of the first wife went to Santo Domingo de los Colorados and found a Colorado witch who told them that the death was caused, not by God, but by a man--namely, Mariano. For two hundred and fifty sucres the witch offered to kill Mariano. The price was paid and Mariano died about four months later. The affair ended at this point with no attempts at revenge.

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While there are differences in names and locations and in the length of time leading to the death

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of the father-in-law, the plot is the same and the kinship relations of the dramatis personae are the same. In both versions, the murdered man's son goes to seek revenge with the aid of foreign witches. The first version reports that Cristobal came up from Viche to cure Margarita, while in the second version, Mariano came up to San José. Margarita who is the wife of Alejandro of Encanto was said to have been the second wife of Cristobal and she was born near San José. While the unity and historicity of the two tales is not certain, it is reasonably sure. It is of some interest that polygyny is not a factor in the second version. In both stories, the first wife leaves the home with apparent reluctance. The second version was told to me by a member of the first wife's family and leads me to believe that the bone of contention that initiated the chain of events which culminated in murder was not polygyny but, rather, the divorce. It is of considerable interest to note that in the first version, Arcinto is said to be still living with two wives in Viche up the Río Esmeraldas and that he has never been punished. Clearly, one can avoid punishment by leaving the community at a distance sufficiently great to make the sending of a commission too expensive.

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Punta Venado and went up the Río Onzole. They were never punished again.

A brief alternate version of the above case has it that Rosenda was never punished "because he is an evil man who can afford to kill people by witchcraft. He also owns a revolver." Another statement was recorded from Gerardo of Encanto, who said that Rosenda had been punished with twenty lashes and fined thirty sucres. He then got rid of the second wife, but he took her back within a year. "People gossip but nothing more can be done, as he has been punished."

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This case was recorded on September 16, 1960. On the eleventh of September, Rosenda's first wife came up to Encanto to visit with the mother of the Cimarrón brothers. [She is 'family' with the mother but not with the sons.] She had come up from the Río Onzole alone and had told Rosenda that she was ill and wanted to look for a brujo. For this, she felt that she needed one hundred sucres, but Rosenda would not give her more than forty. The woman was very angry about Rosenda's lack of concern for her "illness." She told the people in the Cimarrón house that she wanted to leave her husband and go to her father on

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4 Altschuler E-S (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

diet now, but the leaves are in demand for roofing material. Another cash crop is hardwood trees, but they are not often planted; enterprising individuals cut them out of the unclaimed forest.

Land is seldom held in one large block. It is usually scattered about among other holdings so that, quite often, choice properties are separated by distances involving several day's travel. Many Cayapa have two houses, each built as close as possible to their main holdings. Inevitably, they must spend considerable time away from large sections of their property and, as a result, Negroes often illegally harvest standing crops or, perhaps, plant their own. Negroes may buy land from the Cayapa, but as the banana economy continues to boom, the Indians are more and more reluctant to sell. Sometimes usufruct is rented by the Negro, usually for a share of the profits, but arguments invariably develop. It is said that the Indian is always at a disadvantage in his dealings with the Negro because of the latter's readiness to engage in witchcraft and "spoil" the land for the Indian owner. If several members of an Indian's family sicken or die, after a recent quarrel with a Negro about land, it is assumed that witchcraft has been

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at work and that the land is spoiled. The Indian will then sell the land for the best price offered but will often take a lower price to avoid selling to the Negro held to be responsible for the witchcraft.

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Sometimes, boys and young men are given sections of land as advance inheritances which they work as they wish, and their work validates their claim to the inheritance. Generally, only those children who have consistently helped the parents work the land are entitled to inherit. Ill will between parents and children need not enter into consideration at all. Maximino Añapa, for example, a son of Marianito Añapa of the Río Camerones, as a very young child was sent to live with his mother's brother in Muisne on the coast, possibly to get him away from an influenza epidemic in the inland area. He stayed with his uncle for many years and helped him work the land; later he cut some out for himself. He used to return to his parents' home for visits of varying lengths of time, but the main attraction for him, however, seems to have been the school at Encanto. When needed, he helped his father work the land; however, he will not inherit any of the land because he said that it had all been promised to his brothers. Since he

[164]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the floor and the stone inverted over it to keep its grinding surface away from the dogs. When again needed it is cleaned by taking a cooked plantain, grinding it upon the stone, and rolling it around thoroughly over the grinding surface. This process takes up all the fragments of plantain left from the previous grinding, and thoroughly cleanses both the mealing stone and the muller. The ridges on the two sides and one end of the mealing stone help to keep the plantain from flying off during this grinding. The lack of a ridge along the second end, however, is of advantage in grinding green corn, which process has already been described.

Now and then the mealing stone and muller are used for treating other products, such as the inner pulp of the fruit of a tree called ma′iñ-tcī, which is ground and mixed with balsa charcoal to make the black face-paint called ma′lyū.

The only other native stone implement is that used as a sinker on the seine and the casting net. These sinkers are simply waterworn pebbles ranging from two to four inches in length and from an inch to two inches in diameter. They are called cūpū′ka, a general term signifying stone, and appear to have no special name. In large measure these pebbles, unworked, are rolled in the leaf called ū′tya haki and tied directly to the lower edge of the net; but now and then are found sinkers of such form that they are likely to become detached from the net, hence these are provided with rough notches or even surrounding grooves.

Certain smooth stones, and especially black ones, are used in treating the sick.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

above tabulation, these several distinct forms of baskets have special uses. The four types of burden-basket are used almost exclusively for carrying heavy loads upon the back. The two types made of hoja de chapil are, as above stated, only for temporary use and are worthless except while the leaves are green. They are also sometimes used, even after they are dry and brittle, by the shamans in their medicine practices. The other two types, which are made of the very durable pitigua, are sometimes used as storage receptacles about the house when not needed for carrying burdens, which is their primary use.

The flaring basket, kū'bī (pl. XCII, 7), is carried by means of a single band provided with a special, wide head-band that passes across the top of the head as the bearer bends forward. This is primarily a woman's burden-basket and is used in the daily home life of the people for bringing fruits and other products from the fields and in a multitude of other ways. It is, however, rarely used in carrying wood, which is so often one of the most important functions of burden-baskets among aboriginal peoples. Wood is usually brought by the canoe-load from some point near the river where a suitable dead tree can be found.

The straight-walled basket, fe' pickalyī (pl. XCII, 6, 8), is made especially for carrying burdens considerable distances, as on long trail journeys into the interior. Within their own territory these baskets are rarely needed by the Cayapa, since practically all travel is by canoe. Such a basket is provided with two burden-bands attached near the top and the bottom respectively,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

MEDICINE PRACTICES. SHAMANISM

753 Among the Cayapa practically all illness is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits. In large measure [778] the particular spirits which cause illness reside in small, black, water-worn stones, in fragments of ancient pottery, in mammals, snakes, insects, and the like.

By the entering of one of these spirits into the body of an individual, and especially, as is usually the case, if one of the mentioned objects which is the special abode of this spirit enters also, a serious and often fatal illness results. This illness may take the form of any one of the numerous diseases common to the tropics.

There are various ways in which one of these spirits may enter the body. It may, for instance, enter directly into the body itself as the individual is passing the abode of the spirit, or it may enter the soul of the person which, while he sleeps, is traveling about the earth. In the latter case the spirit, on the return of the individual's soul, is taken into the body and the same symptoms and illness result as when it enters directly without the medium of the soul.

●755 In almost every case a cure may be effected, provided a competent shaman is called in time. Each shaman has his own method of treatment, but in general these methods are similar and consist of (1) whistling and singing to call certain guardian spirits to the shaman's aid; (2) when these spirits have been summoned, the affected part of the body is sprayed with a decoction of rum and bejuco, and is massaged and rubbed with the hands or is sucked with the lips in order to draw through

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the skin the stone or other object which, by traveling through the body, together with the spirit which resides in it, causes the illness. 755

Shamans or doctors form, to a certain extent at least, a special class by themselves, but, so far as could be ascertained, they have no secret or special organization. They are not, on the other hand, "predestined" or specially selected by natural temperament. Any one may become a shaman if he so wishes by simply training under the guidance and instruction of one or more old shamans of recognized ability. For this training he pays a stipulated sum, and is instructed every night until he has learned thoroughly the songs and incantations and the various rituals of his instructor, and also has become more or less familiar with the special spirits which his instructor invokes. He does not, however, rely solely on the spirits of his instructor, but sooner or later acquires others of his own. Likewise, he may devise new songs and incantations. 756 [465]

Not only has the shaman to cure by expelling the spirits from the body of a patient, but he has the more important function of expelling spirits from a locality or from a particular house infested with those which cause illness. This expulsion of spirits from a locality or a house is usually accomplished by several persons under the direction of a head shaman. A decoction of rum and bejuco is almost always used by the shaman himself in this exorcism; the other participants are provided with a kind of decoction made by soaking a species of native mint in water. A large number of cigars are also provided, and it is the blowing of the tobacco smoke, 789

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

along with the spraying of the decoctions from the mouth, that makes the particular locality or house untenable for the spirits. The shaman intersperses his blowing and spraying with incantations and with low whistling. He also carries a special lance-shape wand which he waves constantly with a forward motion.

In one instance in which the spirits were to be expelled from a house, the procedure was as follows: The party commenced at one end of the main floor and went slowly toward the opposite end. As they proceeded, each person thoroughly sprayed the floor in front of him and blew clouds of smoke into the air before him. Also every basket, bench, and pottery vessel, and every nook and corner wherein a spirit might be hiding, was thoroughly sprayed and smoked. The main floor being finished, the loft was treated in a similar manner. Next the party descended to the ground under the house, where everything was thoroughly sprayed, even to the pigs and chickens in their pens and coops. Finally, to be sure that the spirits had been completely expelled, the party proceeded, with its spraying and incantations, into the adjoining clearing, and even for a short distance into the jungle.

Such a ceremony is not an especially solemn occasion. In fact the participants laugh and talk throughout, much as if they were engaged in any daily pursuit. This expulsion of spirits is resorted to when several members of a family have been stricken with the same disease. For instance, in case several members have been attacked in succession with fever, one or more shamans are summoned and the spirits which are believed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

to be resident in the house or in the surrounding ground are expelled in the manner described. 755

Similarly after death, since the soul of the departed is believed to return to the house and may cause illness or even death of other members of the family, shamans are called in and the particular soul expelled.

Such a soul is not simply driven into the jungle, but ordinarily is driven into the ocean. It goes to one of two places: to the island of Gorgona off the southern coast of Colombia, or to a large mythical sandbar far out at sea. Sometimes souls are driven only down to the sand beaches along the ocean near the mouth of the river, or in some instances to some secluded and lonely spot far in the mountains. In any event the services of one or more shamans must be enlisted within a month or so after the death of a person in order that his returning soul shall not bring illness and perhaps death to any of the surviving members of the household. 755 775

In speaking of souls and spirits it must be borne in mind that as these two terms are here used they are not identical in Cayapa conception. Every animate being has a soul or shade which is a definite part of itself and without which life is impossible. This soul lives on after death. It has the form of the body it occupies, and has the power of leaving the body and wandering about when the body sleeps or is otherwise unconscious, and in this particular resembles a spirit. A true spirit, on the other hand, is a supernatural entity which resides in an object, animate or inanimate, or in a particular spot, but which has nothing to do with the existence of that object. It may take the form of the object it inhabits, especially if the object is animate; but fre- 774 776 774 776

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Further treatment by magic is almost the only 755

remedy known to the Cayapa, and implicit confidence is reposed in the shaman with his conniving spirits. It may be said that almost without exception no herb remedies are taken internally, and very few are applied externally.

For cuts or serious bruises where it is obvious to the 752
Cayapa mind that spirits are not at fault, the wound is generally sealed with brea, the wax of a small bee. This is applied while hot, and appears to have a genuine medicinal value, since it tends to sterilize the affected spot and reduce the probability of infection, so deadly in tropical countries. Similarly a piece of green leaf may be placed over a cut or bruise or over a running sore, to protect it from the air, and especially from annoying and dangerous insects. This treatment is used especially for the ulcers which result from the bite of a small mosquito found in large numbers in this part of the tropics. Almost any kind of a leaf serves this purpose, and the treatment has of itself no aseptic virtue.

For anything more serious than a cut, bruise, or ulcer, no treatment is used other than bathing the wound occasionally and perhaps bandaging it, since such cases are considered too serious to yield to treatment. This is 752 755
especially true of an ailment caused by something of foreign origin, as a gunshot wound, which, being due to an instrument of which the Cayapa have no aboriginal knowledge, cannot be cured by a shaman. If, on the other hand, a wound of this kind results in complications, such as increased temperature, a shaman is summoned to treat it for the reason that the affection is obviously due to the presence of malevolent spirits; but the Indians

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

752-755 maintain that a shaman never attempts to cure the wound itself. A case of this kind observed in 1909 was that of a young man who had been accidentally shot at close range. There were seven buckshot holes through the calf of the leg, and each formed an ugly gangrenous wound. When first seen seven days had elapsed since he had received the wounds, but no treatment, magic or otherwise, had been given other than the bathing and bandaging above mentioned.

756-778 A shaman's paraphernalia consists almost invariably of three classes of objects. First, one or more small lance-shape wands of black wood, each possessing special magic power from the spirit or spirits residing therein; second, a bottle of a decoction of rum and bejuco; third, a number of smooth black stones, potsherds, and similar objects of unusual forms. Especially valued are the ancient stone axes, either whole or fragmentary, which are found now and then about old village-sites and mounds or along the banks of streams. These objects, as before stated, are all supposed to be inhabited by spirits. One may be the abode of only a single spirit, while another may contain as many as ten or a dozen. One stone ax, for example, in possession of a shaman near Punta Venado, was said to contain five spirits. When an attempt was made to purchase this ax from him, he was greatly in doubt whether it would be wise and proper for him to part with it. To settle the matter he sprayed the stone with the decoction of bejuco and rum, and sang and whistled to it for a considerable time, meanwhile gazing at it intently. At last he pointed out the exact positions

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

and do not paint their bodies; they have large blue wings with which they fly from place to place, and the flapping of which causes the detonation we call thunder. They have no special abode, but frequent certain places more than others: especially do they frequent a particular high hill far up the Rio Cayapas. 776 821

Other informants differ in some particulars in their description of Thunder. By them it is said that he has no wings and does not fly, but that he and his wife sit constantly on top of a large tree on a high hill far away in the mountains. They are giants, with very massive backs, and are very strong. They have very long finger-nails, which are hard like rocks; these they shed from time to time and when found they are much prized by shamans for curing disease. Instead of having bluish bodies covered with bristles, the Thunders wear the ordinary attire of the Cayapa, but of a blue color. In addition they both wear blue caps, and both have long hair on their arms. When in a bad temper, Thunder talks loudly and growls, thus making the thundering noise. His bad disposition is especially manifest in the rainy season, while at other periods he is mild-tempered, growling only occasionally. Thunder's wife never has anything to say. It is said that up to about a generation ago the Thunders lived toward the lower course of the Rio Cayapas, but that in recent years they moved into a very remote part of the mountains and that thunder is consequently less frequently heard now in the Cayapa country. [755]

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of witchcraft. Barrett records that very little attention is given to wounds per se beyond the application of hot beeswax or a leaf to keep off the insects; however, a few individuals have specialized in the setting of broken bones. Apparently, this specialty is not taught, but a person who wants to engage in this activity practices by removing the corn kernels from a dry ear of corn and then replaces them in their sockets under cover of the husks. This is said to develop finger dexterity and the sense of touch. With growing competence the neophyte bonesetter practices mending the limbs of domestic animals, and eventually, the first human patient requests his services. Clean fractures seem to be rather easily handled, and it is said that "green-twig" fractures are similarly mended. The price for this service is high, ranging from 500 sucres to over 1,000 sucres.

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For illnesses caused by spirit possession or spirit loss, a brujo or witch is needed. There are no special requirements for becoming a brujo beyond the desire and money to pay for instruction. As the prophet is seldom honored in his own country, so the Cayapa

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maintain that the best witches are not Cayapa at all but rather the Cholo of Colombia and the Colorado of Ecuador. Next in order of preference are the highland Indians around Ibarra, and, finally, those Cayapa who have been instructed from the masters listed in descending order of preference. Those Cayapa who have been instructed by other Cayapa enjoy very little esteem. There is said to be a good deal of jealousy between witches, and in popular belief they are said to seek opportunities to kill off their rivals.

The Cayapa theory of spirit possession is that if one is wandering in the monte, a spirit may spy one and fall in love with one. The spirit then embraces the victim and enters his body. Spirits or inimical objects may be implanted in the body by witchcraft as well. When someone falls ill and lingers in illness for a time, the charge is made that an enemy is at work. The task of the brujo is simply to rid the body of the object or spirit that is causing the illness.

The witches' paraphernalia consists of archaeological artifacts that were made by the people resident in the area prior to the Cayapa occupation. A

spirit is said to reside in each piece. Black stone axes are especially potent, as are pieces of crystal that have been purchased in town. Tobacco is part of every curing; the smoke wafts the illness away from the body. A considerable amount of alcohol is used as well. The witch takes a mouthful of /ǐškala/, 'rum,' and sprays it out of his mouth with a loud "whoosh" at the patient's back; a considerable amount of rum fails to compress as spray, and the witch finishes the curing in an advanced state of inebriation! In general, the manner of effecting a cure is as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:344-352). However, I participated in one that differed considerably. I was told one day that a curing session was in progress at a point not too distant from my house. When I arrived, the cure had apparently been going on for some time. A middle-aged man lay on a reed mat that had been placed on the ground. Alejandro of Encanto sat off to one side leaning back against two parallel sticks that had been thrust into the ground to serve as a backrest. From time to time he alternately whistled short stretches of staccato sounds, that had a decided "blues" quality,

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and chanted a curious mixture of Spanish and what may have been unintelligible magical Quechua words. The Spanish element predominated, but not as connected discourse. The manner of chanting made comprehension extremely difficult for me, but the sequence may be described as stretches of humming, interspersed with unintelligibility, peaked by the words "moreno . . . indio bravo . . . enfermidad . . . brujo . . . ," that is, "Negro . . . wild Indian . ... sickness . . . witch . . . ." From time to time there were straight Spanish incantations: "This man is sick, I know, I know, cure, cure, Negro." The Negro is included in the list of powerful words because it is felt that Negroes often practice black magic against the Indian; similarly, the Indio Bravos were a powerful people whose very stone and pottery artifacts retain their ancient power. The witch is included for obvious reasons, and Spanish is used probably because it connotes power. A man who controls Spanish controls the outside forces to a degree impossible for a monolingual Cayapa.

On occasion, Alejandro would take a mouthful of rum and blow it out in the direction of the patient.

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While this was going on, Gerardo, a minor brujo who is also Alejandro's father, rolled up some hoja blanca leaves in the shape of a cone, and placed it on the head of the patient who, by now, was sitting up. The old man then ran both of his hands up the patient's body toward the head. When he reached the forehead he squeezed tightly, quickly gathered up the conical "duncecap," and ran off into the jungle where he threw it away. He had brought out some of the malignant spirits through the patient's head and into the hat. As this was going on, the patient kept looking at me out of the corner of his eye; finally he said to Gerardo, while pointing his lips at me, "He's real big;' at this, Gerardo asked if I would like to try removing some of the illness. I agreed with alacrity, and as I placed my hands along the patient's sides and began massaging upwards, he cried out: "/úra, úra/, which means "good, good." Gerardo and I worked together, and used up four cone hats. Throughout all of this activity, Alejandro kept humming and chanting, and taking long pulls at the rum bottle, and occasionally spraying some in our direction.

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At the conclusion of the curing ceremony, the

patient, who appeared to be wracked by malaria, declared that my power had helped him considerably. This comment was accepted with perfect equanimity by the two brujos who nodded and agreed that I did have big hands.

There appears to be no conflict between the Cayapa theory of disease and modern medical practices. On several occasions, Kalía, an active brujo, would come to me for medications to give his patients. The feeling was that the White man's medicine taken together with the native remedy could not be beaten; however, quite commonly, western medication is sought only as a last resort.

Almost everyone has a modicum of curing knowledge, but one would never dare to utter incantations that summon spirits, unless he has paid a teacher for knowledge. An unauthorized person who called the spirits would be killed by them. Most people will at one time or another attempt to effect a cure. A brief illustration of some of these points can be seen in the following events recorded during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado in 1959:

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado]

It was one thirty in the afternoon on Friday, when a very sick child was brought to the /ún^{y}i/ to be cured. Gabriel, was quite drunk, but he took the child and blew on the top of its head. He then passed the child to a Negress, who did the same thing, and then tossed the child up into the air. The /ún^{y}i/ then took the child and blew on its head again. The parents of the child stood by crying, as it was obvious that the child was in mortal danger. Some other Indians began taking turns blowing at the child's head, and one began to suck out at the nostrils, while another massaged the child's hands. The Negress suggested using some chocolate, but this advice was ignored. I offered some sulfa pills, but the father refused them. The /kapitán/ then began rubbing a commercial menthol ointment around the child's face, neck and chest. While he was doing this, the /ún^{y}i/ slumped down in a corner of the room and passed out drunk. The Negress kept urging the /kapitán/ to rub some of the ointment on the child's back, and he did so. Then the mother took the child, and offered it the breast, which was refused.

The child was gasping very hard. At this point, the father took off his western styled shirt, and put on a yellow Cayapa shirt. As he was doing this a young man took hold of the child's right wrist, and began blowing on the fingers, while another began to briefly blow on the child's head.

Eventually, the number of people working on the child dwindled to three men, including the /kapitán/, who are said to be brujos . . . they removed the child to an abandoned house site, and they sat on a log discussing what to do. Each brujo, as he drank from a bottle of rum, stated that he would use a very important and strong incantation; and then with a long look at the others, added, "and I am not afraid either." One began to whistle and chant, and another began sucking at the child's mouth, while the third kept complaining that I was too

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ugly to bear, and that I must leave before he began his cure, but the other two assured him that I was a "good gringo." By this point, the three brujos were quite drunk, and unable to function. The father took the child back to the main house, where it died early the following morning.

It is felt that brujos can kill as well as cure, but except for one instance, excessive sorcery was never attributed to Cayapa brujos. The father of Perdomo of Encanto was a brujo who was killed because "he killed too many people." This was the only instance recorded and it was apparently done on an individual basis and not through the legal apparatus.

Government. The Spanish governmental nomenclature can be found with varying degrees of completeness in each of the four tribal sections. The list as noted by Barrett included the following: "Governador, secretario de la governación, teniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento." (Barrett 1925:312). In 1960, the terms alcalde, comisário, and teniente político were apparently no longer in use, and no one knew of any individual who occupied any of these offices.

Today, as in 1909, there are apparently three

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been met during the Christmas fiesta. He took no overt steps to assert his authority beyond stating to a few Negro bystanders that he was the /únʸi/. He remained drunk a good deal of the time but so did most of the other fiesteros including women and, at times, children. Little by little, people became aware of the fact that there was indeed an /únʸi/ available, and a few began drifting over to where he lay drunk, sprawled in his hammock; despite his inebriation, /kavítu/ "complaints," were presented to him. It turned out that most of the disputes to be settled were from the area that had initially manifested greatest opposition to Gabriel. Gabriel, therefore, began to function as the /únʸi/ in fact, as well as in name; however, his performance was not at all satisfactory. For example, on one occasion when he was asked to cure a sick child because he had studied curing with a brujo from Sapallo Grande, he was ineffective in carrying out this ritual because of his drunkenness.

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As the fiesta wore on day and night without dissolution for a full week, the second level of political

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Punta Venado and went up the Río Onzole. They were never punished again.

A brief alternate version of the above case has it that Rosenda was never punished "because he is an evil man who can afford to kill people by witchcraft. He also owns a revolver." Another statement was recorded from Gerardo of Encanto, who said that Rosenda had been punished with twenty lashes and fined thirty sucres. He then got rid of the second wife, but he took her back within a year. "People gossip but nothing more can be done, as he has been punished."

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This case was recorded on September 16, 1960. On the eleventh of September, Rosenda's first wife came up to Encanto to visit with the mother of the Cimarrón brothers. [She is 'family' with the mother but not with the sons.] She had come up from the Río Onzole alone and had told Rosenda that she was ill and wanted to look for a brujo. For this, she felt that she needed one hundred sucres, but Rosenda would not give her more than forty. The woman was very angry about Rosenda's lack of concern for her "illness." She told the people in the Cimarrón house that she wanted to leave her husband and go to her father on

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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land is acceded to the cultivator. The theft of rubber appears to be more an indication of industry than of wrongdoing, and whatever criminal aspects exist are usually expiated by the sharing of the profits.

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The stealing of pigs, however, is in a totally different category. Unlike land, there is never a clouded title to the ownership of the animals, and unlike land, the fact of ownership of the animals is sufficient to establish the owner's legal rights. Pigs are not worked as is land, and increased production is left entirely up to the pigs. No matter how hard a pig thief may work--and, sometimes, he must run for miles across difficult country to round up the animal(s)--his industry brings him no rewards when he is caught, because he has contributed no productive labor. As a matter of fact, pig-stealing is recognized as an offense, although the thief may not be punished. The following case is illustrative of this point.

The owner of stolen pigs tracks down the thief. Lorenzo Añapa became ill some time in 1957 and went to Sapallo Grande to consult the /ún^{y}i/, Jesusito, who is a curer. The treatment lasted two weeks. When Lorenzo

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

But the soul is believed to linger after death, and the methods used to encourage its departure are strictly aboriginal. A young couple's marriage may not be consummated until solemnized by the visiting padre, but the admonitions of the village chief to both bride and groom reinforce the authority of native jurisdiction. The annual Easter whipping of the whole community is also native.

Barrett could find no clear-cut creation story. The universe is believed to be made up of three superimposed worlds, with human life centered on the middle one. Men share this middle world with many spirits, some malevolent and other benevolent, all of whom are busy affecting human happiness and goals.

Sometimes the spirits must be exorcised, as when they cause illness. For this a shaman is called, and, with the cooperation of neighbors, he drives out the spirits amid much singing, smoking, and sprinkling. The shaman also may suck out the cause of illness.

Almost anyone can become a shaman by undergoing intensive training and acquiring a set of spirit helpers. There seems to be no "predestination" for this career, though Barrett was apparently unable to get enough information on this point. Like the chief, the shaman is not a full-time professional.

Because of his magic control of spirit powers, the shaman can be a force for evil as well as for good. It is he who causes illness and eventually death. There is a great deal of similarity between the behavior and the paraphernalia of the *Cayapa* shaman and that of the Highland medicine man.

THE COLORADO

The *Colorado*, or, as they prefer to call themselves, *Tsatchela* or *Tatchila* Indians, share with the *Cayapa* the distinction of being the last surviving aboriginal group in the Lowlands of western Ecuador. The two groups know about each other and even occasionally visit back and forth; but they speak mutually unintelligible languages, and their ways of life are quite distinct.

In contrast to the *Cayapa*, the *Colorado* are rapidly disappearing. Their territory and their numbers have been shrinking constantly, and one can easily foresee the time when the group will become extinct. They have not been able to withdraw before the pressure of "civilization," and they have been incorporated to a large degree into the Highland plantation system known as concertaje. The area they occupy on the upper reaches of several affluents of the Esmeraldas and Daule Rivers in the western part of Pichincha Province has been an area of heavy colonization in recent decades. During World War II an all-weather road was opened which increased the area's accessibility to colonization from the Highlands.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

622 624 village. The successor of an official is definitely known long before the death of the latter, but an official vacancy is not actually filled until the coming of the priest. Then, in the presence of all the other officials and anyone else who may wish to be present, the priest delivers an address in which he names the new official, announces his duties and privileges, commends him to the respect of the people, and charges him with the duties and responsibilities which he is about to assume. On the death of the chief, for instance, his duties are relegated to some other official, usually one of the "alcaldes," until such time as the priest shall arrive and inaugurate a successor.

465 622 681 None of these officials are supposed to receive compensation other than the honor and respect in which they are held. The chief, however, usually levies fines upon offenders, of which he takes personal possession and could, if he so desired, use a portion of them for his private needs, since no special account of such matters is kept by anyone. As a matter of fact such a thing rarely or never happens; on the contrary the chief uses the fines for paying the services of officers of the law whom he may send on missions of various kinds, such as bringing culprits to justice, settling disputes among his people, and the like. [756 776 789] A portion of the money he uses also for the payment of shamans whom he employs now and then to expel dangerous spirits from his village, from deep pools in the river, or from other places where these mysterious beings are supposed to endanger the lives of the people at large. [436] At the present time, when coins of Ecuador and Colombia are comparatively easy to obtain, fines are paid in money, but in earlier times they were always paid in commodities.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 ~~Cayapa~~ SD6

the skin the stone or other object which, by traveling through the body, together with the spirit which resides in it, causes the illness. 755

Shamans or doctors form, to a certain extent at least, a special class by themselves, but, so far as could be ascertained, they have no secret or special organization. They are not, on the other hand, "predestined" or specially selected by natural temperament. Any one may become a shaman if he so wishes by simply training under the guidance and instruction of one or more old shamans of recognized ability. For this training he pays a stipulated sum, and is instructed every night until he has learned thoroughly the songs and incantations and the various rituals of his instructor, and also has become more or less familiar with the special spirits which his instructor invokes. He does not, however, rely solely on the spirits of his instructor, but sooner or later acquires others of his own. Likewise, he may devise new songs and incantations. 756● [465]

Not only has the shaman to cure by expelling the spirits from the body of a patient, but he has the more important function of expelling spirits from a locality or from a particular house infested with those which cause illness. This expulsion of spirits from a locality or a house is usually accomplished by several persons under the direction of a head shaman. A decoction of rum and bejuco is almost always used by the shaman himself in this exorcism; the other participants are provided with a kind of decoction made by soaking a species of native mint in water. A large number of cigars are also provided, and it is the blowing of the tobacco smoke, 789

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

quently it has the form of a dwarf or even of a normal human being, especially if its abode is an inanimate object. These spirits may leave their abodes and travel at will, or they may take their abodes wish them. They have great magic powers, both for good and for evil.

In addition to the benevolent offices of the shaman, he may exercise a malevolent function by calling spirits to his assistance for the purpose of killing or otherwise doing harm to his enemies. The spirits which he uses for this evil purpose may be those which he uses for good in other cases—they may aid him in killing an enemy at one time and in curing a friend at another.

The abodes of spirits are numberless. They may live within almost any smooth water-worn stone, especially a black or a red one; they are always resident in prehistoric potsherds, especially those of human or animal form; and abide also in almost any object of stone or other hard material of unusual form, particularly if it is smooth. Many mountains and hills contain spirits, both within them and on their slopes and summits. Also nearly every mammal, bird, reptile, and insect is the abode of a spirit entirely distinct from its soul or shade. It is these many spirits residing in both animate and inanimate objects that are the media by which shamans work their magic for both good and evil. A spirit is sometimes called forth from its abode to serve the shaman while thus separated from the object in which it dwells; but it may equally well serve him while in its abode, in which event the object in which the spirit abides accompanies it on its mission.

Furthermore, treatment by magic is almost the only

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

752 maintain that a shaman never attempts to cure the
755 wound itself. A case of this kind observed in 1909 was that of a young man who had been accidentally shot at close range. There were seven buckshot holes through the calf of the leg, and each formed an ugly gangrenous wound. When first seen seven days had elapsed since he had received the wounds, but no treatment, magic or otherwise, had been given other than the bathing and bandaging above mentioned.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

of the five spirits which the stone harbored, and explained how each was angry at him because he had even thought of disposing of the stone. He of course refused to sell it, stating that it would be of no use to the purchaser for the reason that if the spirits were not willing that it be sold they would return, together with the stone, on the following night, to the basket in which he kept it, and that the purchaser would lose the price paid for it, since it would be impossible for him ever to keep the stone, no matter in how strong a receptacle it might be put, because the spirits were able to take it at will wherever they liked. 756 778

While these stones and other objects used by shamans in their practices are so highly prized and so carefully handled by them, little care is taken to guard such objects from contact with other persons. Ordinarily they are kept in an open basket upon the floor and within the reach of uninitiated adults as well as of children. There seems to be no fear that the mere handling of these objects will cause any ill effect on the uninitiated—it is only when such a person attempts to use one of them for the purpose of doctoring that there is danger. 756

As above indicated, objects containing spirits may be bartered among the shamans whenever the spirits themselves are willing, and they are sometimes sold without consulting the spirits; but if it is a particularly valuable object and the abode of several spirits, these are always consulted before it is disposed of. 756 778 437

Although there are several shamans in the three divisions of the Cayapa, shamanism is comparatively little practised, and the position of a shaman in the tribe 756

S. Barrett E-5 (1900-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6
Cholo

756 is not a very important one, The Cholo of the southern part of Colombia, on the other hand, are noted, at least among the Cayapa, for their knowledge of magic. In fact there are no fewer than five or six Cholo shamans who live constantly on the Rio Cayapas, and it is to these that the Cayapa often apply when in need of shamanistic services. The negroes of the region also have their shamans, who are often summoned by the Cayapa, particularly for the purpose of treating the sick. For the expulsion of spirits from a locality or from a house, however, the Cayapa rely almost entirely on either their own shamans or those of the Cholo.

RELIGION

The Universe

772 There is a gigantic being, called Tyapatcī tena′tū, who supports the lower world upon the palm of his hand. Upon the lower world, called ta′ñca, which means literally "within," is mounted a great pillar of gold and silver that holds up the middle world upon which we live. Upon this middle world there rests another pillar of gold and silver which supports the upper world, called ka′ica, above which there is nothing. The lower world is inhabited by the pehūrū pu′tyū; the middle world is inhabited by human beings and the various spirits, and the upper world is the abode of a still different people, ideas concerning which are not very clear.

In the lower world conditions are in every way the reverse of those in this world. There, for instance, the

3. Barrett E 5 (1908 1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

enough to take a good look at the red object, or even to touch it, either of which proved fatal. At last, however, some powerful shamans visited the pool and by their incantations were able to impound the fish in a cave in the bed-rock at its bottom. They then sealed the mouth of the cave, it is said by some, with iron, so that for some years the pool has been passed without harm. However, there is still fear that the fish may some day break their bonds and again come to the surface and menace the lives of canoemen.

pī pī'nī

While there are many large pools along the Rio Cayapas which are given the general Spanish name charco, there is one so large and important that it is always known as El Charco. This is situated at a point about three miles down-stream from the confluence with the Rio Onzole. It was the former habitation of a kind of dangerous fish, or serpent, called pī pī'nī, literally "water serpent," concerning which the following story is told:

In former times El Charco was much larger than at present, covering the plain now adjacent to it and reaching from hill to hill on each side. Here lived an especially large pī pī'nī, which devoured everything coming down the river. It had a mouth twenty fathoms wide, and everything, including all driftwood and even entire trees that floated down-stream, was consumed by the monster. Within this great serpent there was an immense dry area in which accumulated all the logs and trees that

the coffinmakers a gift of two or three liters of rum which is consumed on the spot. If the deceased is a woman, her husband goes through her belongings and sets aside items that are especially attractive and/or expensive, and these are later auctioned off at the funeral. The money received in this manner is used to pay for special masses for the dead. Finally when all is in readiness, the body is placed in the coffin. The funeral is held at a house that is on the main river to facilitate the final removal of the body to the ceremonial center for burial. The coffin is placed in a canoe which is piloted by a close male relative: father, husband, brother, etcetera. The pilot sets out alone with the corpse for the funeral site.

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One day I received word that the wife of Aurelio Añapa had just died from the bite of a venomous snake. She had been attended by a brujo for a period of four days to no avail. The following morning at about two o'clock, we heard faintly the mourning chant of the Cayapa. Slowly the sound came closer, and far up the river a light was moving steadily. Finally, after what appeared to us to be an interminably long time, Aurelio

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came close to our house. He cried out, wailing in the Cayapa manner, "Here is the house of Don Miltón where we used to go together; it gives me pain to think that we will no longer go there, ay . . ." At this he passed by our house, and we could hear him call out landmarks that were familiar to him and to his wife--landmarks that they would no longer see together. Finally he moved out of sight and out of hearing. We were quite disturbed over this, not only because she was a friend, but also because we had an ample supply of antivenom and had not been notified of the snakebite when we might have helped her. People were saying that Aurelio did not hire effective <u>brujos</u>. They said that the ones he hired were known to be ignorant of snakebite curing. Aurelio had been married for about ten years and had no children. His wife gave birth once prematurely, and the child died; ever since this, unfortunately, she had been sterile. This was a great sadness to them, for they wanted children very much. When I asked others why Aurelio had never adopted children, the answer always was, "He wants his own blood."

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of witchcraft. Barrett records that very little attention is given to wounds per se beyond the application of hot beeswax or a leaf to keep off the insects; however, a few individuals have specialized in the setting of broken bones. Apparently, this specialty is not taught, but a person who wants to engage in this activity practices by removing the corn kernels from a dry ear of corn and then replaces them in their sockets under cover of the husks. This is said to develop finger dexterity and the sense of touch. With growing competence the neophyte bonesetter practices mending the limbs of domestic animals, and eventually, the first human patient requests his services. Clean fractures seem to be rather easily handled, and it is said that "green-twig" fractures are similarly mended. The price for this service is high, ranging from 500 sucres to over 1,000 sucres.

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maintain that the best witches are not Cayapa at all but rather the Cholo of Colombia and the Colorado of Ecuador. Next in order of preference are the highland Indians around Ibarra, and, finally, those Cayapa who have been instructed from the masters listed in descending order of preference. Those Cayapa who have been instructed by other Cayapa enjoy very little esteem. There is said to be a good deal of jealousy between witches, and in popular belief they are said to seek opportunities to kill off their rivals.

The Cayapa theory of spirit possession is that if one is wandering in the monte, a spirit may spy one and fall in love with one. The spirit then embraces the victim and enters his body. Spirits or inimical objects may be implanted in the body by witchcraft as well. When someone falls ill and lingers in illness for a time, the charge is made that an enemy is at work. The task of the brujo is simply to rid the body of the object or spirit that is causing the illness.

The witches' paraphernalia consists of archaeological artifacts that were made by the people resident in the area prior to the Cayapa occupation. A

spirit is said to reside in each piece. Black stone axes are especially potent, as are pieces of crystal that have been purchased in town. Tobacco is part of every curing; the smoke wafts the illness away from the body. A considerable amount of alcohol is used as well. The witch takes a mouthful of /iškala/, 'rum,' and sprays it out of his mouth with a loud "whoosh" at the patient's back; a considerable amount of rum fails to compress as spray, and the witch finishes the curing in an advanced state of inebriation! In general, the manner of effecting a cure is as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:344-352). However, I participated in one that differed considerably. I was told one day that a curing session was in progress at a point not too distant from my house. When I arrived, the cure had apparently been going on for some time. A middle-aged man lay on a reed mat that had been placed on the ground. Alejandro of Encanto sat off to one side leaning back against two parallel sticks that had been thrust into the ground to serve as a backrest. From time to time he alternately whistled short stretches of staccato sounds, that had a decided "blues" quality,

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patient, who appeared to be wracked by malaria, declared that my power had helped him considerably. This comment was accepted with perfect equanimity by the two brujos who nodded and agreed that I did have big hands.

There appears to be no conflict between the Cayapa theory of disease and modern medical practices. On several occasions, Kalía, an active brujo, would come to me for medications to give his patients. The feeling was that the White man's medicine taken together with the native remedy could not be beaten; however, quite commonly, western medication is sought only as a last resort.

Almost everyone has a modicum of curing knowledge, but one would never dare to utter incantations that summon spirits, unless he has paid a teacher for knowledge. An unauthorized person who called the spirits would be killed by them. Most people will at one time or another attempt to effect a cure. A brief illustration of some of these points can be seen in the following events recorded during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado in 1959:

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado]

It was one thirty in the afternoon on Friday, when a very sick child was brought to the /ún^{y}i/ to be cured. Gabriel, was quite drunk, but he took the child and blew on the top of its head. He then passed the child to a Negress, who did the same thing, and then tossed the child up into the air. The /ún^{y}i/ then took the child and blew on its head again. The parents of the child stood by crying, as it was obvious that the child was in mortal danger. Some other Indians began taking turns blowing at the child's head, and one began to suck out at the nostrils, while another massaged the child's hands. The Negress suggested using some chocolate, but this advice was ignored. I offered some sulfa pills, but the father refused them. The /kapitán/ then began rubbing a commercial menthol ointment around the child's face, neck and chest. While he was doing this, the /ún^{y}i/ slumped down in a corner of the room and passed out drunk. The Negress kept urging the /kapitán/ to rub some of the ointment on the child's back, and he did so. Then the mother took the child, and offered it the breast, which was refused.

The child was gasping very hard. At this point, the father took off his western styled shirt, and put on a yellow Cayapa shirt. As he was doing this a young man took hold of the child's right wrist, and began blowing on the fingers, while another began to briefly blow on the child's head.

Eventually, the number of people working on the child dwindled to three men, including the /kapitán/, who are said to be brujos . . . they removed the child to an abandoned house site, and they sat on a log discussing what to do. Each brujo, as he drank from a bottle of rum, stated that he would use a very important and strong incantation; and then with a long look at the others, added, "and I am not afraid either." One began to whistle and chant, and another began sucking at the child's mouth, while the third kept complaining that I was too

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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> ugly to bear, and that I must leave before he began his cure, but the other two assured him that I was a "good gringo." By this point, the three brujos were quite drunk, and unable to function. The father took the child back to the main house, where it died early the following morning.

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It is felt that brujos can kill as well as cure, but except for one instance, excessive sorcery was never attributed to Cayapa brujos. The father of Perdomo of Encanto was a brujo who was killed because "he killed too many people." This was the only instance recorded and it was apparently done on an individual basis and not through the legal apparatus.

Government. The Spanish governmental nomenclature can be found with varying degrees of completeness in each of the four tribal sections. The list as noted by Barrett included the following: "Governador, secretario de la governación, teniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento." (Barrett 1925:312). In 1960, the terms alcalde, comisário, and teniente político were apparently no longer in use, and no one knew of any individual who occupied any of these offices.

Today, as in 1909, there are apparently three

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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about twelve years earlier. Off to one side in a small cubicle, a minor commotion was in progress. I walked over and saw a group of women standing around a woman who was seated with her back to me. When I asked what was happening, I was met with a burst of laughter and giggles. Men who were approached grinned and said that it "was an affair of the women." Perhaps an hour later, I returned to the cubicle and watched the seated woman grasp and twist a piece of cloth that had been suspended from one of the rafters. An old crone was serving as the mid-wife. The actual birth took place during one of my periodic absences to watch the festivities which were going on unabated. A few curious children and some women were the only by-standers.

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2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

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ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The great range of designs used by the *Cayapa* in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (fajas).

Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

Canoe paddles and wooden seats are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

Music and dancing.—Holidays, weddings, and other feasts are accompanied by much dancing and drinking. As elsewhere along the coast, the European marimba is widely used, as are panpipes, flutes, drums, and rattles. In recent years the Highland San Juan dance has been gaining in popularity. Also of immediate Highland provenience may be the small European wooden harp with palm-fiber strings.

Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. Guarapo, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

RELIGION

Native *Cayapa* religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are told for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

586 684 in which, in order to escape the wrath of public opinion and castigation by the officials, offenders against the divorce laws have left the Cayapa country entirely and taken up their abode in Colombia or in the interior of Ecuador. The same applies to the laws relating to 582 684 marriage between near relatives. The evasion or the open violation of either the laws of divorce or those governing consanguineal marriage are, however, of such rare occurrence that the laws may be said to operate almost perfectly, and they, together with the laws requiring chastity and fidelity in both sexes, certainly produce a salutary moral effect on the community. In fact, it is most exceptional to find a tribe or a community of the size of the Cayapa in which the ethical standards are so high and so strictly observed.

DEATH

•761 753 776 [754] As was stated in speaking of medicine practices, death is ordinarily attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body, whither they find their way by various means. For instance, they may be placed by some malicious shaman in the soul of the individual as it wanders about during sleep, or they may enter directly into the body as one passes some particular spot believed to be infested with these malicious, disease-breeding spirits.

774 775 177 There seems to be a difference of opinion as to the soul. One informant maintained that there are numerous souls, each residing in a different part of the body; that the one in the chest is the largest and most im-

by a new sibling. Weaning is gradual; however, the child is also told that an animal will come to eat him if he continues to suck which frightens him and hastens his loss of interest in the breast. From about the age of four months he is given supplementary foods and by the age of three years he eats everything. Women who are unable to nurse apply a poultice to their breasts. This poultice is made of lechera, a weed with a milky sap; this is done in the vain hope of stimulating lactation. The neighboring Negro women wean their infants at one year, and when opportunity affords, they chide the Cayapa women about their protracted nursing. This is beginning to have some effect, and a few women now wean their children by one year.

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When a woman dies in childbirth, the child may be given to another woman who is lactating. Some feel that "the child dies anyway as the spirit of the dead mother will kill it." On the other hand, the infant can be taken directly to the ceremonial center where earth from the mother's grave is thrown at it at the time of her burial. If this ritual is practiced, two men stand on opposite sides of the grave passing the infant back and forth five or six times. This, it is

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in childbirth, and the infant was born dead. No one discussed the condition of the infant's soul at all, until a group of Negroes came to express their condolences. They remarked among themselves that the infant was probably in purgatory because it had not been baptized. They spoke in this vein for about ten minutes until Doña Carolina, who is half Cayapa and married to the founder of the village of Camerones, noticed that the Indians were becoming disturbed at the trend that the conversation was taking, and she said that of course, since the child was only recently dead, it perhaps was not too late, and she took some water from a gourd and sprinkled it on the tiny body. There was a brief flurry of conversation among the Negroes, and the remark was made that "very likely the infant was in heaven now." At this, the Indians visibly relaxed.

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Funeral customs. Death is not a stranger to the Cayapa, and everyone can reasonably expect to attend at least two or three funerals during a year. The greatest number of deaths are of infants. In other age groups there are violent deaths such as men drowning, breaking their necks in falls, and being poisoned

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by snakes and also by design. Women frequently die in childbirth; tuberculosis runs rampant, and periodically whooping cough and measles decimate the population. People die from spirit possession, soul loss, witchcraft, illness, and accidents; however, very old people "just die." People are afraid of death although it is maintained that no one dies because of his sins. Punishment takes place after death, and everyone must be purified of his sins by punishment after his demise. It is believed that when the Whites die their souls go to the white clouds while those of the Negroes go to the black clouds. Only the Cayapa may enter heaven.

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When death strikes, all relatives within a few hours' travel are notified. The immediate family clean the body, if necessary, and place it on a mat. Water is boiled and then poured over the area where the body lay last. Two or three men of the neighborhood are asked to prepare a coffin; this coffin which is made of bamboo is said to be the "canoe of the soul" and is called /úhkuŋgúle/. Its construction involves four or five hours' work, and when it is completed, the parent or spouse of the deceased offers

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and she agreed. Now, with a new wife, neither he nor his mother-in-law wanted to live under the same roof. Feelings of anger and/or disapproval on the part of parents and kin of the dead spouse to the remarriage of the surviving spouse are not uncommon among the Cayapa. There is some feeling that the death may have been caused by the survivor.

An interesting point emerges that is part of a general Cayapa theme: Lorenzo waited about five years before remarrying, and apparently the motivation lay not so much in his sexual needs, as in his appetite for food. His mother-in-law was not preparing his meals properly. It should be kept in mind that, by Cayapa standards, a man who is capable of /súpu tayahímu/,[1] who can actually walk up to a woman and propose to her, is deserving of envy, awe, and admiration. This means that such a man is sexually forward and aggressive. Many, if not most, Cayapa men are very hesitant and uncertain about sex and marriage. While chastity is not particularly valued, men in their twenties who claim to have had no sexual intercourse are not uncommon. Women, on the other hand, lose their virginity much

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[1] [i.e. "to steal a woman" - ANALYST]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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846 and demons; on the other hand it also aims at inducing the father to identify himself intimately with the child. Obviously the women, for whom these customs do not provide the least amount of consideration, quickly lose their earlier beauty and after a few years, they wilt and become horridly ugly.

594 The marriage of the Cayapa is most harmonious. They do not
[595 have polygamy or polyandry, and adultery never occurs or only
837] [287] very rarely. Women or girls who have relationships with
[689] white or black men or those of any other race, are killed without pity. In fact they are even forbidden to enter into innocent conversation with such men under threat of severe penalty. If one of the spouses dies, they do not remarry, remaining faithful to the
● [764] dead. The dead are only buried when the corpse is already in a state of decomposition and when the pestilent smell has become unbearable.

574 While the villagers and inhabitants of other races in these parts
648 are very hospitable and will always offer hospitality to travelers, no matter how poor they are, even without expecting any remuneration, the Cayapa are an exception to this rule. They fear strangers on account of their women, who are not always safe from them; but most particularly they hate the Negroes who have repeatedly attacked their women forcibly. For this reason it is not easy to obtain shelter in Cayapa villages. As they have frequently also been robbed and mistreated by Negroes, they leave their huts as soon as a Negro settles in the neighborhood, and keep on withdrawing further inland. Thus they have already completely disappeared from the banks of the Santiago River and the lower course of the Cayapa River.

135 There still is a lot of gold in their region, as indeed there are
316 small layers of alluvial gold in all these rivers. But these Indians, with the exception of a few, more modern minded, and the rene-
[301] gades, do not collect it, nor do they wear gold ornaments. On the other hand none of them would tell a stranger where the yellow metal could be found, even if he were offered a fortune for his secret. From the Cayapa point of view gold is an accursed thing, which brought the white and the black devils into the country and was responsible for their being pushed back into the interior and
[648] robbed of their dominion. The Negroes, however, are their sworn enemies because they have too often had to suffer bitter injustice from them.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

portant and the one which ascends to the sky after death, there to receive its proper reward or punishment. This latter notion, however, appears to have been derived from modern religious ideas. The various souls residing in other parts of the body were said by this informant to live in and about the house of the deceased until such time as they are driven out. Most informants, on the other hand, maintain that the body has but a single soul, which lives in and about the house of the deceased until driven out to the ocean or into the mountains by a shaman, there to reside eternally. Having once been thus expelled, the soul is never again seen about the house, but it may return to the cemetery or to other parts of the region. It is said to do no special harm to the living after having been driven away, but will cause the death of other members of the family if allowed to remain unmolested about the house.

On the death of an individual the body is dressed in his best clothing and wrapped carefully in mantas or other available cloth; it is then placed in a wooden box made after the fashion of a coffin, or if the wood is not at hand a kind of coffin is made of bamboo.

If death occurs very early in the morning, the corpse may be interred the same day; usually, however, it is kept until the following day. Meantime the relatives and friends living within comparatively easy reach are notified. All who are able, journey to the cemetery, which is but a short distance from the village, and there a Catholic funeral service is held over the remains, after which they are buried in a shallow grave.

Before leaving the house with the body, the relatives

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

764 prepare for the occasion what might be termed a fence of palm-leaves. A row of palm-leaves is set together vertically along the river-bank in front of the house, the row being sometimes a hundred yards or more in length. Opposite the house and at the point where the path ordinarily used for going to the river crosses the row, one leaf is omitted. When the family departs with the corpse, the head of the house sets in place the leaf necessary to complete the fence, and the house then becomes taboo to all passers-by. No one, not even the [734] negroes of the region, would think of going through or around this fence or in any way approaching the house, owing to their fear of the soul of the departed which is supposed to linger about the house and which would be sure to wreak vengeance upon them. If it has been determined, however, that the relatives of the deceased shall again inhabit the house, they return after the funeral and pass through the fence, but not until the head of the house has removed the single palm-leaf referred to as the one last planted by him. The remainder of the fence is never taken down, but is allowed to fall of its own accord.

768 In many cases such a house is never again occupied. This is true when the deceased is an important member of the family, as the father, mother, or a favorite son or daughter; indeed almost any of the older members of a family are considered sufficiently important to warrant the abandonment of the house. After the death of a young child, on the other hand, a house is almost always reoccupied. The abandonment of a house is a matter of no small importance to a Cayapa family, since its

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

768 there would be no other reason for returning to it, since when the corpse is taken away all property which the relatives do not care to abandon completely is removed from the house at the same time.

In large measure the property of the deceased is destroyed or disposed of by the surviving relatives. [764] Some of his property, along with some of their own, is usually buried with the corpse. The greater part of the remainder of the property of the dead, and also frequently much of that of the relatives, is thrown into the river, given to other persons, or sold. Ordinarily one or two articles, as for instance a manta or an adz formerly belonging to the deceased, is kept by near relatives, but often there seems to be a definite desire to destroy all evidences of the life of the deceased and to get rid of any articles that would recall him to their minds.

KINSHIP

601 The terms of relationship among the Cayapa are as follow:

Ascending Relationship

English	Cayapa	Equivalent
father	a′pa	
mother	a′ma	
grandfather	antc-a′pa	antc-father
grandmother	antc-a′ma	antc-mother
uncle	yapī′pī, apī′pī, apī′kū	a′pī-a′pa
older than parent	apa-karī′we	father-karī′we
	apīkū-rūkū′we	father-kū-old-man
younger than parent	ka′ī-apīpī	little-father-pī

will be paid for by the nearest kin of the deceased.

Except for the recent (ca. 1940) colony at Sapallito, each of the three tribal groups has a church constructed in the western manner with plank siding and flooring. The planks for the siding are all placed vertically. The roofing is of thatch and is of split construction; a clerestory space of about two feet runs along the full length of the church on both sides between the upper and lower roofs. Within the church is an altar, and before it, in the Punta Venado Church, is a large crucifix with a carved, realistic Christ figure. Infants are buried inside the church behind the altar, because they are pure and undefiled by sin. Adults are buried in consecrated ground several minutes' walk from the ceremonial center proper. Chiefs are buried just outside of the Church door under the bell which hangs from the projecting lower roof. The ceremonial center is populated by the dead and their spirits. A Cayapa is always buried in the ceremonial center to which he belongs, and he inherits his membership from his father. He may attend fiestas at any of the other centers, but he must be buried where he belongs.

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in childbirth, and the infant was born dead. No one discussed the condition of the infant's soul at all, until a group of Negroes came to express their condolences. They remarked among themselves that the infant was probably in purgatory because it had not been baptized. They spoke in this vein for about ten minutes until Doña Carolina, who is half Cayapa and married to the founder of the village of Camerones, noticed that the Indians were becoming disturbed at the trend that the conversation was taking, and she said that of course, since the child was only recently dead, it perhaps was not too late, and she took some water from a gourd and sprinkled it on the tiny body. There was a brief flurry of conversation among the Negroes, and the remark was made that "very likely the infant was in heaven now." At this, the Indians visibly relaxed.

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Funeral customs. Death is not a stranger to the Cayapa, and everyone can reasonably expect to attend at least two or three funerals during a year. The greatest number of deaths are of infants. In other age groups there are violent deaths such as men drowning, breaking their necks in falls, and being poisoned

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by snakes and also by design. Women frequently die in childbirth; tuberculosis runs rampant, and periodically whooping cough and measles decimate the population. People die from spirit possession, soul loss, witchcraft, illness, and accidents; however, very old people "just die." People are afraid of death although it is maintained that no one dies because of his sins. Punishment takes place after death, and everyone must be purified of his sins by punishment after his demise. It is believed that when the Whites die their souls go to the white clouds while those of the Negroes go to the black clouds. Only the Cayapa may enter heaven.

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When death strikes, all relatives within a few hours' travel are notified. The immediate family clean the body, if necessary, and place it on a mat. Water is boiled and then poured over the area where the body lay last. Two or three men of the neighborhood are asked to prepare a coffin; this coffin which is made of bamboo is said to be the "canoe of the soul" and is called /úhkuŋgúle/. Its construction involves four or five hours' work, and when it is completed, the parent or spouse of the deceased offers

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the coffinmakers a gift of two or three liters of rum which is consumed on the spot. If the deceased is a woman, her husband goes through her belongings and sets aside items that are especially attractive and/or expensive, and these are later auctioned off at the funeral. The money received in this manner is used to pay for special masses for the dead. Finally when all is in readiness, the body is placed in the coffin. The funeral is held at a house that is on the main river to facilitate the final removal of the body to the ceremonial center for burial. The coffin is placed in a canoe which is piloted by a close male relative: father, husband, brother, etcetera. The pilot sets out alone with the corpse for the funeral site.

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One day I received word that the wife of Aurelio Añapa had just died from the bite of a venomous snake. She had been attended by a brujo for a period of four days to no avail. The following morning at about two o'clock, we heard faintly the mourning chant of the Cayapa. Slowly the sound came closer, and far up the river a light was moving steadily. Finally, after what appeared to us to be an interminably long time, Aurelio

came close to our house. He cried out, wailing in the Cayapa manner, "Here is the house of Don Miltón where we used to go together; it gives me pain to think that we will no longer go there, ay . . ." At this he passed by our house, and we could hear him call out landmarks that were familiar to him and to his wife--landmarks that they would no longer see together. Finally he moved out of sight and out of hearing. We were quite disturbed over this, not only because she was a friend, but also because we had an ample supply of antivenom and had not been notified of the snakebite when we might have helped her. People were saying that Aurelio did not hire effective <u>brujos</u>. They said that the ones he hired were known to be ignorant of snakebite curing. Aurelio had been married for about ten years and had no children. His wife gave birth once prematurely, and the child died; ever since this, unfortunately, she had been sterile. This was a great sadness to them, for they wanted children very much. When I asked others why Aurelio had never adopted children, the answer always was, "He wants his own blood."

Funerals tend to begin late in the afternoon,

about five or six o'clock. Prior to the velorio, or wake, the people who are not in mourning /pemúla/ bathe and don their make-up and fancy clothing. During this procedure the children race about noisily. While waiting for the proper time to make their entrance, people like to remain in large groups "because the spirit of the deceased is wandering about and may kill anyone who is alone."

In the meantime at the funeral site, a raft has been built to transport the remains to the ceremonial center, and musical instruments have been placed together off at one side of the house. The coffin has been placed near one of the sides of the house, and candles are placed at the head and foot. If the deceased was a man, his oar is broken and placed in the coffin with him. The mouth of the corpse is carefully covered with a piece of colored cloth, and the eyes are closed. Members of the family mourn at the head of the coffin, either singly or in pairs. They mourn in a stereotyped manner, chanting in Cayapa appropriate phrases like "Who will support the family now?" "Who will bring home the food?" "I am all alone

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now." "Who will take care of the children now that my wife, their mother, has died?" The wailing lasts for some twenty minutes, and then new mourners replace the old who go off and tend children, sleep, talk, and, above all, drink. As these sounds begin to be heard by the people who are waiting up and down the river, they begin to drift in to the funeral house. The women and girls arrange themselves on one side of the room while the men congregate near the drums and marimba. Some begin to play the musical instruments while the "owner" of the dead offers rum to everyone. The music becomes livelier and conversation becomes animated as this goes on, and all this while the mourning continues by the coffin. Games begin to be played by the men and boys, and this is the only time that organized amusements are practiced by the Cayapa. There are at least nine kinds of games engaged in at funerals although they may not all be pursued at any one occasion. One activity, /pánda lúši/ 'plantain money,' however, is always included. A description of this is as follows: Five pieces of plantain are cut into slices which are said to be money /lúši/, and one

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the participants begin to hit each other's hand with great force as they pass the domino along the circle. Finally, the sport ends, and the plantain money is handed over to the "owner" of the deceased who accepts it in exchange for some bottles of rum. The /pánda lúši/ is then placed in the coffin, and it is said that it becomes "transformed into real money in heaven."

Another activity often indulged in is called /úliŋgayéči kánu/ 'the game of linking arms.' It is as follows: People form a circle by locking hands tightly and then lock arms for a few seconds. This is followed by the participants grasping each other's crossed arms. Following this they line up for a "tug of war" with the man in the middle bearing the brunt of the opposing sides.

In the contest called /čaʔna kénu/ [no gloss], a cloth is twisted and used as a whip. The players form a circle as they face inward. The cloth is placed on the neck of one of the men. As this is done, the recipient of the cloth grabs it and runs after the man who placed it on his neck and hits him with the cloth. The one who was hit rejoins the circle, and the second

526

'getting yucca.' A group of men and boys seat themselves in a line. Then four men come and choose one of the players who will be the yucca. This yucca is picked up bodily with one man holding each extremity, and he is then offered for "sale." He is "sold" for /pánda lúši/.[1] After the purchase the yucca remains beside his buyer for a few minutes after which the "money" is placed in the coffin. After this gesture the "owner" of the dead sets up a round of drinks for the players.

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/ayalánu/ 'fishing' is still another entertainment that involves the use of /pánda lúši/. One man tosses out a "line" made of a small piece of cloth among a group of seated "fish." Every now and then one bites and is hauled in and "killed" with a piece of wood. The fish is then weighed by being hefted bodily and is then sold for plantain money.

Another pastime is known as /čupípi/ 'chicken' and is very rough. A man or boy pretends to be a chicken hawk and attempts to steal a "chicken." The "hens" try to prevent this, and few holds are barred.

There is also a diversion called /atukása kénu/

[1] [i.e. "plantain money". - ANALYST]

526

'no gloss' in which a double circle is formed with one man in the center. To form the double circle, one man stations himself directly behind another and places his hands on his partner's shoulders. All couples are paired in this manner; in addition, there is a group of three players who form part of the double circle, with the third man being "it." The man in the center has a whip made of a piece of twisted cloth with which he strikes the third man. Upon being struck this man moves over to the next set and assumes the first position in the line-up. The whip bearer then strikes the newly created "third man," and this process is repeated until the whip bearer is tired, and then someone else replaces him.

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Arm wrestling and throwing an opponent over one's back are great favorites. In these events men of forty may vie with youths of thirteen. Girls and women do not participate in any of these games and sports, but are appreciative spectators. They are all exquisitely dressed and consciously trying to attract the young men. None of the games involve skill or the use of strategy; they cannot even be

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considered to be gambling. Nevertheless, everyone enjoys them. Even the mourners come over to watch when they are not wailing at the coffin. 764 [526] [524]

It is important that life and gaiety go on, and, for this reason, people struggle not to fall asleep. If the noise, laughter, and music were to cease, the soul of the deceased "could exact vengeance." Finally, about four o'clock in the morning a silence falls over the assembled mourners and celebrants; it is the time of the /mulúta kénu/, the last farewell. Everyone stands, and one man known to have a good voice sings out in a Spanish-Cayapa mixture: "mamay ya se fué muluta yaye llegue muluta talatʸumbi iškwande." At this, all of the assembled men except for the "owners" of the deceased sing the same phrase in unison. Now the coffin is carried down to the raft for the trip to the ceremonial center. Not everyone goes to the burial; some family members remain behind to take care of the children if there any, and others may be too drunk to make the trip. Three or four people are generally all that go to the cemetery. [775] [191] [273]

Adults and children are buried in a cemetery 600

Adults and children are buried in a cemetary area called the panteón, while infants are buried directly inside the church. When an /únʸi/ dies he is buried immediately outside the church entrance underneath the church bell that is suspended from the projecting roof. The Cayapa maintain that it is very important to be buried in the ceremonial center to which one belongs. Ceremonial allegiance is inherited in the patrilineal line and even though one has spent all or most of his life living in one of the other tribal groups, they believe that one should still be buried in the proper center. If a Cayapa should die far from home, he is interred at the site of death. Thereafter, attempts are made to bring the bones back for a proper funeral and burial. A casket is made, and the bones are laid out. The mourning and gaiety described above are carried out, but in a much more perfunctory fashion.

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Medical Practices. Illness for the Cayapa is mainly a matter of soul loss or spirit possession. To a lesser extent, the cause of the illness may be the presence of small physical objects such as stones or thorns which have been placed within the body by means of witchcraft.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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WOMAN WEARING NECKLACE AND BRACELETS

[p. 64(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 before the appointed time a large canoe manned by a deputation of Cayapa is sent by the chief to La Tola, or wherever the priest may happen to be residing at the time, and he is brought up. His arrival at the pueblo is usually preceded by the gathering of practically all the Cayapa who can attend the fiesta, although some stragglers may not appear until the following day.

[346] In each of the three Cayapa villages there is a special house, known by the Spanish term convento ("monastery"), which is reserved for the priest and at no time is ever occupied by anyone else. After establishing himself the priest usually goes directly to the church and holds the first service, and thereafter throughout his stay he is kept busy holding services of one kind or another. Usually two regular services are held each day, besides the various special masses for the repose of the souls of the dead, especially those who have died within the year. In addition to these services the priest officiates at all the marriages, baptisms, and confirmations for the year past. He remains usually from a week to two weeks at each of the three Cayapa villages, depending on the interest of the Indians and the apparent need of his presence.

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As in each of the other fiestas described, ofrendas and bodas are held almost every day, and sometimes several in a single day. Except in one particular these are the same as the ofrendas and bodas at the other fiestas and those celebrated between times. On this occasion every one who intends to give a feast usually brings to the morning service in the church a small portion or several small portions of each kind of food to be used at the feast.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

These are placed on a table specially provided for the purpose in the center of the church, and a particular blessing is given these by the priest during the service. They are then usually taken to the convento as a gift to the priest, or they may be taken back to the feasting table. 796

During his entire stay the priest is provided by the Cayapa with an abundance of all kinds of native foods. Every morning quantities of plantains, yuca, fruits, game, and fish are taken to the convento, and in every way the Cayapa see that he is abundantly supplied. In addition, of course, he is paid in money by them for the various masses and special services which he conducts.

Boda

In the strictest sense of the term, a boda is a marriage feast or ceremony. Among the Cayapa, however, it has attained in addition a more general signification, being applied to any gathering at which there is feasting and dancing, but which is without special church services such as are held in the fiestas. A boda therefore usually includes, besides the ordinary feasts proper, other special feasts known as ofrendas, which are really feasts for the dead. In addition there are usually held certain simple church services which do not require the presence of a priest. Usually a number of bodas are held during the course of the year. Each in a way is a personal or family festival, and is almost always given by one, or not more than two, families. They are all practically alike in their essential features. A detailed description of one will give an adequate idea of all. 796 585 765 796

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

shown in pl. xx. Under ordinary circumstances most women wear their hair full-length in this way, but frequently a case (as in pl. xix) is found where the hair is comparatively short. This is due to the custom of cropping the hair on the death of a relative. An example of waviness of the hair is given in the case of the woman shown in the latter plate. The hair in this case is dark-brown. With advancing years the hair tends to become thinner, but no case of even partial baldness was observable either among the men or the women. Throughout life the hair retains its color in almost every instance, but rarely a person is seen who shows a sign of grayness, and one old man was found whose hair was white—it had become thus many years before, though no one knew the cause. No other individual with white or even partially white hair was encountered, and it was claimed by the Indians that the old man referred to was the only individual in the tribe who exhibited this peculiarity. The fact that the hair retains its color so well is probably due to the fact that the Cayapa practically never wear any form of head-covering.

Considerable variations are found in the form of the nose. In some it is wide and rather flat toward its tip, this appearance being due to a considerable distension of the nostrils, the openings of the nostrils being in many cases quite round. However, it escapes completely any approach to the true mongoloid type from the fact that in no case is there such a lack of bridge as is found in the real mongoloid nose. In fact, the contrary is quite the case, and in many instances the bridge is quite high, giving the nose the impression of slight aquilinity.

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Antonito forfeits his profit by fighting. About 1955, Pedro José planted some calabash trees to mark the boundary between his land and the neighboring land of Antonito Riki. One day, while working near the line, he spotted some cacao plants that had been planted on his side. He said nothing at the time, but some weeks later, during a wake given by Kalía at his daughter's death, Pedro José became drunk and inquired of the group at large, and of Antonito in particular, "Who planted the cacao?" Antonito admitted the act, and an argument began which soon developed into a general fight. Kalía stopped it after a while, stating that he did not want people to fight when he was sad over the death of his daughter. Pedro José wanted forty sucres damages for the blows to his eyes but Antonito, backed up by his mother, refused to pay and Pedro José left the wake with his daughter. Later he uprooted the cacao plants, but nothing more was ever done.

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Although the uprooting of the cacao plants was an act of spite, Pedro José was justified, as the boundary was clear and well-known. Ordinarily, Antonito could have expected to profit from the labor he expended in planting the cacao, but by getting drunk,

will be paid for by the nearest kin of the deceased.

Except for the recent (ca. 1940) colony at Sapallito, each of the three tribal groups has a church constructed in the western manner with plank siding and flooring. The planks for the siding are all placed vertically. The roofing is of thatch and is of split construction; a clerestory space of about two feet runs along the full length of the church on both sides between the upper and lower roofs. Within the church is an altar, and before it, in the Punta Venado Church, is a large crucifix with a carved, realistic Christ figure. Infants are buried inside the church behind the altar, because they are pure and undefiled by sin. Adults are buried in consecrated ground several minutes' walk from the ceremonial center proper. Chiefs are buried just outside of the Church door under the bell which hangs from the projecting lower roof. The ceremonial center is populated by the dead and their spirits. A Cayapa is always buried in the ceremonial center to which he belongs, and he inherits his membership from his father. He may attend fiestas at any of the other centers, but he must be buried where he belongs.

Adults and children are buried in a cemetary area called the panteón, while infants are buried directly inside the church. When an /únʸi/ dies he is buried immediately outside the church entrance underneath the church bell that is suspended from the projecting roof. The Cayapa maintain that it is very important to be buried in the ceremonial center to which one belongs. Ceremonial allegiance is inherited in the patrilineal line and even though one has spent all or most of his life living in one of the other tribal groups, they believe that one should still be buried in the proper center. If a Cayapa should die far from home, he is interred at the site of death. Thereafter, attempts are made to bring the bones back for a proper funeral and burial. A casket is made, and the bones are laid out. The mourning and gaiety described above are carried out, but in a much more perfunctory fashion.

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2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

Death.—Death is not considered to be a natural phenomenon but is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body. A dead man's soul hovers around his house, which is usually abandoned, though it may be dismantled and sold. The corpse is buried in a coffin in a Catholic-style cemetery near the church. The dead man's possessions are usually given away, but it is not known who inherits his fields and clearings.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The great range of designs used by the *Cayapa* in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (fajas).

Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

Canoe paddles and wooden seats are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

Music and dancing.—Holidays, weddings, and other feasts are accompanied by much dancing and drinking. As elsewhere along the coast, the European marimba is widely used, as are panpipes, flutes, drums, and rattles. In recent years the Highland San Juan dance has been gaining in popularity. Also of immediate Highland provenience may be the small European wooden harp with palm-fiber strings.

Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. Guarapo, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

RELIGION

Native *Cayapa* religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are told for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

764 prepare for the occasion what might be termed a fence of palm-leaves. A row of palm-leaves is set together vertically along the river-bank in front of the house, the row being sometimes a hundred yards or more in length. Opposite the house and at the point where the path ordinarily used for going to the river crosses the row, one leaf is omitted. When the family departs with the corpse, the head of the house sets in place the leaf necessary to complete the fence, and the house then becomes taboo to all passers-by. No one, not even the [734] negroes of the region, would think of going through or around this fence or in any way approaching the house, owing to their fear of the soul of the departed which is supposed to linger about the house and which would be sure to wreak vengeance upon them. If it has been determined, however, that the relatives of the deceased shall again inhabit the house, they return after the funeral and pass through the fence, but not until the head of the house has removed the single palm-leaf referred to as the one last planted by him. The remainder of the fence is never taken down, but is allowed to fall of its own accord.

•768 In many cases such a house is never again occupied. This is true when the deceased is an important member of the family, as the father, mother, or a favorite son or daughter; indeed almost any of the older members of a family are considered sufficiently important to warrant the abandonment of the house. After the death of a young child, on the other hand, a house is almost always reoccupied. The abandonment of a house is a matter of no small importance to a Cayapa family, since its

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

construction is attended with considerable difficulty, especially in the matter of cutting and adzing the house-posts, which are long and heavy and are made of very hard and durable wood. Furthermore, when a house is abandoned on short notice, other shelter must be found for the family, either by building a temporary structure or by sharing quarters with a relative until a permanent dwelling in a new locality can be constructed. Frequently the move is only a short one; as, for instance, to the opposite side of the river, the fields of plantain and other products being still used. If, on the other hand, the site of the new house is at a considerable distance from that of the abandoned one, new fields and an entirely new equipment are established in a short time. An abandoned house changes very little in appearance for a season, but by the end of a year or two it becomes overgrown with the rank vegetation, and in the course of four or five years is almost entirely invisible. There are instances in which an abandoned house has been sold by the surviving relatives, not to be inhabited where it stood but to be taken apart and the materials transported to a new locality. It rarely or never happens, however, that the surviving relatives themselves will take such a house to pieces and use its materials for the construction of their new home.

In case it has been determined to abandon a house, some maintain that it is never again visited by anyone after the body of the deceased is removed, but others claim that one or more of the surviving relatives return to it with a shaman for the purpose of driving out the soul or spirit of the deceased. As a matter of fact

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

768 there would be no other reason for returning to it, since when the corpse is taken away all property which the relatives do not care to abandon completely is removed from the house at the same time.

In large measure the property of the deceased is destroyed or disposed of by the surviving relatives. [764] Some of his property, along with some of their own, is usually buried with the corpse. The greater part of the remainder of the property of the dead, and also frequently much of that of the relatives, is thrown into the river, given to other persons, or sold. Ordinarily one or two articles, as for instance a manta or an adz formerly belonging to the deceased, is kept by near relatives, but often there seems to be a definite desire to destroy all evidences of the life of the deceased and to get rid of any articles that would recall him to their minds.

KINSHIP

601 The terms of relationship among the Cayapa are as follow:

ASCENDING RELATIONSHIP

ENGLISH	CAYAPA	EQUIVALENT
father	a'pa	
mother	a'ma	
grandfather	antc-a'pa	antc-father
grandmother	antc-a'ma	antc-mother
uncle	yapī'pī, apī'pī, apī'kū	a'pī-a'pa
older than parent	apa-karī'we	father-karī'we
	apikū-rūkū'we	father-kū-old-man
younger than parent	ka'ī-apīpī	little-father-pī

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the coffinmakers a gift of two or three liters of rum which is consumed on the spot. If the deceased is a woman, her husband goes through her belongings and sets aside items that are especially attractive and/or expensive, and these are later auctioned off at the funeral. The money received in this manner is used to pay for special masses for the dead. Finally when all is in readiness, the body is placed in the coffin. The funeral is held at a house that is on the main river to facilitate the final removal of the body to the ceremonial center for burial. The coffin is placed in a canoe which is piloted by a close male relative: father, husband, brother, etcetera. The pilot sets out alone with the corpse for the funeral site.

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One day I received word that the wife of Aurelio Añapa had just died from the bite of a venomous snake. She had been attended by a <u>brujo</u> for a period of four days to no avail. The following morning at about two o'clock, we heard faintly the mourning chant of the Cayapa. Slowly the sound came closer, and far up the river a light was moving steadily. Finally, after what appeared to us to be an interminably long time, Aurelio

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marriage, and she accepted. Lorenzo claimed that he never consulted the girl's mother [her father was dead], as he was ashamed and afraid of her. Because Lorenzo's parents were dead, he moved into his mother-in-law's house. After several years the young couple was married by the Catholic priest in Punta Venado.

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After the death of his first wife, Lorenzo lived in his mother-in-law's house for about five years. He stated that after his wife died, her mother told him that he was no longer her son-in-law. Thereafter, apparently she either did not prepare his food or did not do so properly. Lorenzo says that he did not argue with her but continued living there for five years, nevertheless.

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One night Lorenzo attended a party given at the home of Antonio Largo. He saw his present wife there for the first time and was immediately attracted to her. While the men and women are somewhat separated at fiestas, the women serve the men guarapo /wápu/, a fermented sugar cane drink, and at these times some conversation may be had. Lorenzo told her that he wanted her to come away with him "immediately,"

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Father's si. so. da. /ʔihpunáʔma/
Father's mo. br. son /uhpúyu/ w.s., /ahčíyu/ m.s.
Mother's br. son's wife /súya/
Husband's fa. si. son /apípi/
Mother's br. son's son /apínʸa/ m.s.
Father's father's si. son /apíku/ m.s.
Mother's br. so. daughter /unʸunátacûhki/

842 Pregnancy and Birth. The Cayapa understand that there is a connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy but believe that repeated intercourse is necessary for conception. A woman is known to be pregnant when the menstrual period ceases and the areolae and nipples /čukápa/ become enlarged and darker. There do not seem to be any abnormal food cravings nor are there any food taboos. There is some feeling of "shame" concerning pregnancy, and a woman never tells her husband or anyone else that she is pregnant. It will soon be obvious to everyone anyway.

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The woman continues her normal routine until she is well advanced in her pregnancy, at which time she remains in the house where she eventually gives birth. Children have been born at fiestas, and I was a partial witness to such a birth at a fiesta at Sapallo Grande. The party was an ofrenda given by Marianito Añapa in honor of his parents, who had died

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never able to collect cases or to gather actual names, but some of my informants said that they had heard of people occasionally taking a new set of marriage padrinos. The feeling was that this could perhaps be done if the original padrinos gave their permission. In these cases, then, a person could have multiple marriage padrinos. It is most unfortunate that field work exigencies precluded following up these leads. In any event, compadrazgo among the Cayapa has shown itself to be a tremendously flexible instrument of societal ordering.

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Religion. The Cayapa are a religious people who call themselves Catholic and are considered to be Catholic by the Church, albeit, "Children in the Faith." They know nothing of the practice of confession and this is not expected of them by the Church. The basic tenets of Catholicism with respect to baptism, marriage, and burial in the Church are followed faithfully by the Cayapa. Within a few months of birth children are taken to the coastal town of Limones or Esmeraldas for baptism. Most marriages are sanctified by a priest, and within a few weeks to a few months after death a special mass will be paid for by the nearest Kin of the deceased.

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CHAPTER III

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

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Children are important to the Cayapa and are welcomed because it is essential that a man or a woman have children who can perform a boda or memorial feast for the deceased parent(s) several years after death. The spirit of the dead parent would be unhappy and vexed, if this were not done. In addition, as we have discussed, the family is economically important. There is ample motivation for the Cayapa to begin a family and a variety of methods are available.

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> When a young man or a young woman desires to marry a certain person, all work other than that absolutely necessary, and all social relations with other individuals, are at an end. Such a person sits throughout the day without speaking to anyone, and no matter how much he or she may be addressed or made fun of, etiquette does not permit such a person to respond or even to laugh. . . A young swain then bides his time until the other members of his family have retired for the night, when he takes his canoe and paddles to a point near the house of the young woman he wishes to marry. On nearing her home he sings softly certain magic love-songs and then cautiously approaches the house. He then, according to some informants, attracts her attention by one

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2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

Death.—Death is not considered to be a natural phenomenon but is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body. A dead man's soul hovers around his house, which is usually abandoned, though it may be dismantled and sold. The corpse is buried in a coffin in a Catholic-style cemetery near the church. The dead man's possessions are usually given away, but it is not known who inherits his fields and clearings.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The great range of designs used by the *Cayapa* in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (*fajas*).

Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

Canoe paddles and wooden seats are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

Music and dancing.—Holidays, weddings, and other feasts are accompanied by much dancing and drinking. As elsewhere along the coast, the European marimba is widely used, as are panpipes, flutes, drums, and rattles. In recent years the Highland San Juan dance has been gaining in popularity. Also of immediate Highland provenience may be the small European wooden harp with palm-fiber strings.

Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. Guarapo, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

RELIGION

Native *Cayapa* religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are told for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

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The Cayapa are not theologians, nor are they knowledgeable about Catholic ritual. They recognize this lack, but do not concern themselves over it. They rely for ritual guidance on the priest, and in his absence their Negro neighbors are ever ready to take his place as religious mentors to the Cayapa. The Cayapa recognize that the Negro has greater understanding of the religion, but they also consider that the Negroes are great sinners, while the Cayapa are held to be very moral. For the Cayapa, religion is morality and morality means proper sexual behavior. That the Negroes seldom, if ever, marry is a constant source of scandal for the Cayapa, and that the Cayapa almost always marry in the Church [a few polygynists to the contrary] is a constant source of envy for the Negro women, who feel great personal insecurity in their free unions. The trouble with the world, say the Cayapa, is that there are many sinners in it--people who commit incest, adultery, and take more than one wife. As most Cayapa are moral, they will go to heaven, but Negroes and Whites, who are notorious sinners, will not. After death Negroes will go to the black clouds and

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harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several canoes in Esmeraldas. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is now undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

than as a personal, phenomenon. That is, there are no family shrines within the home. Individuals do not pray. It is only on festive occasions when many families come together that the trappings of religion are brought forth. The statues of the saints will be displayed in a makeshift shrine within the home which is being used as the gathering place. Some candles are lit; the chief makes the sign of the cross, and the drinking begins. As it progresses, the saints will be turned to the wall "because they do not like to see so much drinking."

The ceremonial centers with their cemeteries, churches, and fiesta activities give the Cayapa a much needed sense of self-awareness and identity. If a priest is present, so much the better; if not, the Cayapa know that they are doing the right thing, that they are moral, and that they are Catholic.

Supernaturals. The Cayapa have a large inventory of spirits and devils (Barrett 1925:360-381). Two that are not mentioned by Barrett seem to reflect a feeling of fear on the part of the Cayapa toward the Negro: The first of these is duende; he lives at the headwaters of

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

But the soul is believed to linger after death, and the methods used to encourage its departure are strictly aboriginal. A young couple's marriage may not be consummated until solemnized by the visiting padre, but the admonitions of the village chief to both bride and groom reinforce the authority of native jurisdiction. The annual Easter whipping of the whole community is also native.

Barrett could find no clear-cut creation story. The universe is believed to be made up of three superimposed worlds, with human life centered on the middle one. Men share this middle world with many spirits, some malevolent and other benevolent, all of whom are busy affecting human happiness and goals.

Sometimes the spirits must be exorcised, as when they cause illness. For this a shaman is called, and, with the cooperation of neighbors, he drives out the spirits amid much singing, smoking, and sprinkling. The shaman also may suck out the cause of illness.

Almost anyone can become a shaman by undergoing intensive training and acquiring a set of spirit helpers. There seems to be no "predestination" for this career, though Barrett was apparently unable to get enough information on this point. Like the chief, the shaman is not a full-time professional.

Because of his magic control of spirit powers, the shaman can be a force for evil as well as for good. It is he who causes illness and eventually death. There is a great deal of similarity between the behavior and the paraphernalia of the *Cayapa* shaman and that of the Highland medicine man.

THE COLORADO

The *Colorado*, or, as they prefer to call themselves, *Tsatchela* or *Tatchila* Indians, share with the *Cayapa* the distinction of being the last surviving aboriginal group in the Lowlands of western Ecuador. The two groups know about each other and even occasionally visit back and forth; but they speak mutually unintelligible languages, and their ways of life are quite distinct.

In contrast to the *Cayapa*, the *Colorado* are rapidly disappearing. Their territory and their numbers have been shrinking constantly, and one can easily foresee the time when the group will become extinct. They have not been able to withdraw before the pressure of "civilization," and they have been incorporated to a large degree into the Highland plantation system known as concertaje. The area they occupy on the upper reaches of several affluents of the Esmeraldas and Daule Rivers in the western part of Pichincha Province has been an area of heavy colonization in recent decades. During World War II an all-weather road was opened which increased the area's accessibility to colonization from the Highlands.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6
Cholo

is not a very important one, The Cholo of the southern part of Colombia, on the other hand, are noted, at least among the Cayapa, for their knowledge of magic. In fact there are no fewer than five or six Cholo shamans who live constantly on the Rio Cayapas, and it is to these that the Cayapa often apply when in need of shamanistic services. The negroes of the region also have their shamans, who are often summoned by the Cayapa, particularly for the purpose of treating the sick. For the expulsion of spirits from a locality or from a house, however, the Cayapa rely almost entirely on either their own shamans or those of the Cholo.

RELIGION

The Universe

There is a gigantic being, called Tyapatcí tena'tû, who supports the lower world upon the palm of his hand. Upon the lower world, called ta'ñca, which means literally "within," is mounted a great pillar of gold and silver that holds up the middle world upon which we live. Upon this middle world there rests another pillar of gold and silver which supports the upper world, called ka'ica, above which there is nothing. The lower world is inhabited by the pehûrû pu'tyû; the middle world is inhabited by human beings and the various spirits, and the upper world is the abode of a still different people, ideas concerning which are not very clear.

In the lower world conditions are in every way the reverse of those in this world. There, for instance, the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

sun and the moon travel from west to east, they being the same orbs, however, which illumine our world. 772

The sun and the moon, pa"ta and pŏ pa"ta, are two men whose eyes are their source of light. Formerly they both gave the same amount of illumination, but owing to this fact night was, in ancient times, as bright as day, and the inhabitants of the earth were able to hunt at all hours. They thus menaced the existence of all animal life, a fact which, when the Creator saw it, caused him to alter conditions by covering up one of moon's eyes, so that now the moon gives only half as much light as the sun. 772 821

Near the eastern margin of our world there is a large hole through which the sun comes up from the underworld in the morning. He then walks up a trail in the sky, shedding as he goes the light of day upon the earth. By some this is referred to as "walking up the big mountain of the sky." As elsewhere noted, it is supposed that at this eastern margin of the world there lives a race of pigmies called pa'ʟa'mbele, whose diminutive size is due to the great heat of the sun, which is so near them as it emerges from the lower world.

At the zenith there is a chair in which the sun takes a brief rest at noon. Here he eats a small lunch consisting of cornmeal mush and boiled grouse-eggs, after which he continues along the trail down the western slope of the sky until evening, when he reaches another opening near the western margin of the earth through which he disappears into the underworld to furnish it with light. His only companion during these endless journeys is a white dog. He himself is dressed in pure white, his

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

772 clothing being made after the fashion of the shirt and
821 trunks commonly worn by Cayapa men.

The moon travels the same trail and in exactly the same manner as does the sun, stopping at the zenith to rest and eat. He is in every way the equal of the sun, except that he is unable to give so much light and is entirely alone, not even having a dog as a companion. His clothing also is pure white and is the same as that of the sun. Being in ordinary human form, neither the sun nor the moon is able to fly, but they keep up their journeys along this endless trail year in and year out with no halt save those short stops at the zeniths of our world and the underworld.

821 No accounts of eclipses of either the sun or the moon could be obtained, and no theories concerning the phases of the moon were advanced. In fact, other than the foregoing meager mythical account of the sun and the moon, no information whatsoever was obtainable from the Cayapa respecting either of these celestial bodies. Furthermore, no particular information was obtainable in regard to any of the individual stars or any of the constellations. The almost total absence of star-lore and of acquaintance with the heavenly bodies may possibly be accounted for by the fact, already noted in referring to the climate of the region, that the sky is almost continuously overcast, the clouds hiding from view almost constantly all the heavenly bodies. To be sure the Cayapa formerly lived in the interior where these conditions do not prevail to such an extent, but they have lived in their present environment for several generations and have had ample time to lose much of any system of star-lore that they may have possessed originally.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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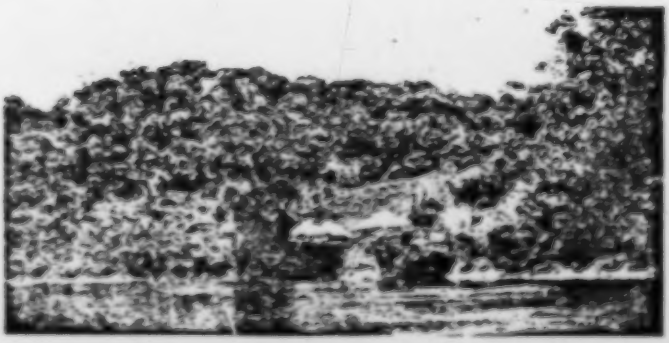

SETTLEMENTS OF WHITES AND NEGROES ALONG THE RIO CAYAPAS

[p. 354 (4)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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HACIENDA OF A NEGRO IN A GROVE OF COCONUT PALMS

[p. 354(2)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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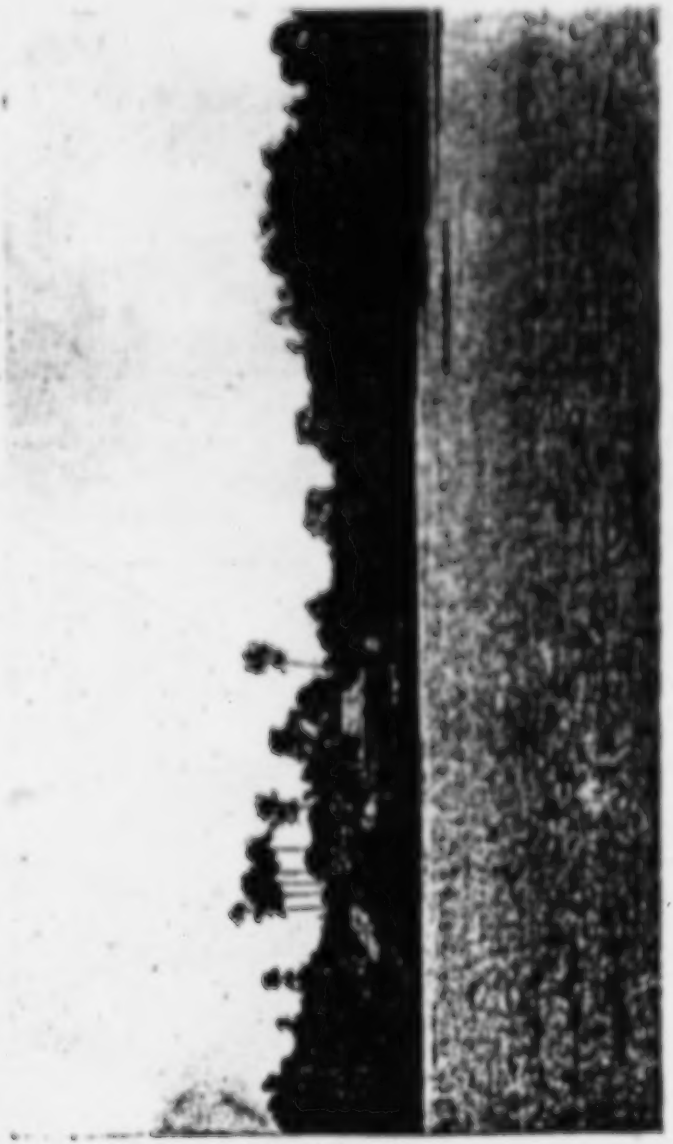

HACIENDA OF A NEGRO IN A GROVE OF COCONUT PALMS

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p.354(2)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The three worlds of the Cayapa are each flat, approximately square, and of about equal size. A short distance beyond the openings through which the sun and moon emerge and depart from it, are the eastern and western edges of our middle world. There are also a northern and a southern edge to the world. Beyond these edges there is nothing.

The upper world, ka'ica, is similar to our middle world, but it lacks rivers, the sea, and indeed any body of water. Furthermore, it never rains there. It is illuminated constantly by another sun, which is stationary. Ideas concerning the inhabitants of the upper world are not very clear. It is known that they have houses, but these are of a different form from the Cayapa dwellings, being described as somewhat like the houses built by the white people in the settlements at the mouth of the Rio Cayapas, which means that they are not set high upon piles and that they have sides (pl. cxxx-cxxxi). By some it is claimed that the souls of departed human beings reside in this upper world, but most say that they reside at certain out-of-the-way places on the earth. It is said that this upper world is inhabited by spirits, but their exact nature is not clearly understood.

Creation

The Cayapa appear to have no native account of the creation of the universe, at least all attempts to obtain such were futile, and there appears to be only a remnant of an account of the creation of human beings, and this is more or less mixed with introduced religious con-

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personal direction during a situation of crisis and was soundly rebuffed on all sides. During 1959-60 rumors were constantly in the air in Ecuador that the end of the world was going to take place soon. These rumors had reached the Cayapa and were vouched for by one of the priests at the town of Limones. This priest had been forecasting such an event for some time. According to Gabriel, Jesus carries the world in his arms and when the sins of the people pile up, the world gets heavier and heavier until at last the burden becomes insupportable, and Jesus lets the world fall. That, said Gabriel, will happen very soon unless the Cayapa can appease the wrath of God by holding a special fiesta on the tenth of August, a national holiday. Gabriel was so concerned that he sent a message to the chiefs of the other sections, inviting them to a meeting at his home to discuss the impending disaster and the means by which to avert it. He wanted each group to stage a fiesta at its own ceremonial center at the same time "to give added strength." To make doubly sure, he wanted four young children to be married "as they did in the

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

ceptions, if indeed it is not entirely a distortion of the biblical account of the genesis. According to this, God (Dios apa) fashioned out of clay five pairs of individuals in the form of human beings, at a point far in the mountains east of Quito; he then spat in their mouths and they sprang up in the full vigor of life. They went immediately to the region of Ibarra and became the first Cayapa. No details are given of their further existence up to the coming of the Spaniards. It is said that at that time they had so far increased as to fill the country completely. This account further states that, owing to their fear of the Spaniards, and especially of horses, they migrated to Pueblo Viejo in the lower mountains between Ibarra and the coast at a time shortly after the arrival of the first Spaniards. According to other accounts it would appear that this migration was probably prior to the conquest and may have been due to the encroachment of other tribes. It seems not improbable that the active conquest by the Quichua of Peru, which extended throughout the interior mountain region of Ecuador at a time immediately prior to the Spanish conquest, may have been the cause of this migration. Other than this meager account, the aboriginality of which is doubtful, it was impossible to obtain a trace of a creation myth accounting for the presence of human beings on the earth.

As for the universe itself, it seems to be accepted by the Cayapa as having always existed and as having required no act of special creation.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

shamans remained to see that every atom of the monster was consumed, for if even the smallest particle had remained a new pī pī'nī of as great or greater size would have grown from it. After this event the size of El Charco became what it is now, and a comparatively safe place to pass so far as supernatural dangers were concerned. As a matter of fact, however, at the present time it is a dangerous place in times of flood. There is a big bend in the river at this point, and a large pool with very strong eddies that make it necessary to use care in passing through it.

INVISIBLE TREASURE

There are stories current among the Cayapa of great invisible treasures in the form of caves filled with gold and silver which are guarded by invisible spirits, each of which carries a golden wand or lance. A shaman once visited one of these treasure caves and was told by the guardian that he would be given its contents if he would bring to him in exchange a child, a white dog, and a white cock. Neither he nor any one else has ever yet brought these, and the cave of treasure still remains unclaimed.

MYTHOLOGY

It is interesting to note that although there is such a highly-developed idea concerning local spirits, both malevolent and benevolent, and although these play an important part in the life of the people, almost nothing is obtainable in the way of myths. It seems strange

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

773 that with this highly-developed spirit concept there is not a similar development of related myths and tales, but no such special tales appear to be current among the Cayapa, and indeed the only resemblance to tales at all is the alleged experiences that certain individuals, during intoxication or sleep, claim to have had in their encounters with strange spirits.

773 There is nothing resembling a culture-hero cycle or 825 any other cycle of myths. Animal stories, so common among aboriginal peoples, are almost unknown among the Cayapa. The two following short, fragmentary tales were the only ones obtained, and it is doubtful whether these are truly aboriginal with this people.

It is said that in ancient times birds and mammals had the power of speech, their language being that of the Cayapa. The toucan wore a silver necklace, and was constantly crying because there was no chonta dura to eat, although there was an abundance of other fruits. When he changed from his human form to his present bird form, his silver necklace became the white rim of feathers, which he now has, at the yellow throat patch, and his former crying for chonta dura he still keeps up in his constant propensity to give his characteristic call, "tcandō'tō," from which he derives his onomatopoetic name.

The jaguar also was formerly a human being who had a Cayapa wife. During the day he remained about the house in the ordinary manner and without wearing his shirt. At night, however, he put on a fine shirt ornamented in colors and went out to hunt. He killed much game, and ate the greater portion of it raw on the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

spot. He brought home a small amount, but when it was cooked and his wife called him to eat, he never appeared hungry, consuming but a small amount and declaring that the food was not good. Later his form was changed to that which he now has, and he is obliged to walk on all four feet. His finely-colored shirt became his present spotted skin.

CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCES

Of aboriginal ceremonies there are few traces left among the Cayapa, so completely have the fiestas of the church supplanted them. In these festivities there are certain remnants of aboriginal customs, but they are entirely subordinated to the practices of the Catholic church.

Contrary to the customs of many aboriginal peoples, there are not at present, and apparently never have been, any special ceremonial observances associated with birth, puberty, and menstruation, although there are certain restrictions and slight observances of an ordinary character connected with each of these.

The marriage and mortuary ceremonies, already described, are, on the other hand, quite elaborate, and apparently retain much of their aboriginality, although largely assuming the nature of these ceremonies as celebrated by the church.

Two regular church festivals, that of "Noche Buena" or Christmas, and that of "Semana Santa" or Easter, are celebrated, as one might suppose, entirely according to church custom.

Whites will go to the white clouds, forever floating between heaven and earth. While the Cayapa believe that they are a moral people, probably everyone has sinned a little and so after death every Cayapa soul is scourged in hell. Periodically the soul is weighed and when the scale tips in favor of the soul over its sins, it goes to heaven.

The matter of sin and sex so concern the Cayapa that when they were presented by the first missionaries with the account of Adam and Eve, they transformed it by saying that in the beginning Jesus created two men and two women. The women were not created from the ribs or any other part of the men's bodies, and so, everyone was properly nonrelated. From these four beings sprang the human race.

At irregular intervals, a priest comes up from Limones for Christmas or Easter. He holds a brief service, consecrates marriages, and baptises children. The Cayapa are very much taken with Catholic imagery and the use of candles. As the writer once watched the priest perform a marriage at Punta Venado, there was a brief contest of wills. The Cayapa wedding party had

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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On the death of an individual the body is dressed in his best clothing and wrapped carefully in mantas or other available cloth; it is then placed in a wooden box made after the fashion of a coffin, or if the wood is not at hand a kind of coffin is made of bamboo.

If death occurs very early in the morning, the corpse may be interred the same day; usually, however, it is kept until the following day. Meantime the relatives and friends living within comparatively easy reach are notified. All who are able, journey to the cemetery, which is but a short distance from the village, and there a Catholic funeral service is held over the remains, after which they are buried in a shallow grave.

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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Such a soul is not simply driven into the jungle, but ordinarily is driven into the ocean. It goes to one of two places: to the island of Gorgona off the southern coast of Colombia, or to a large mythical sandbar far out at sea. Sometimes souls are driven only down to the sand beaches along the ocean near the mouth of the river, or in some instances to some secluded and lonely spot far in the mountains. In any event the services of one or more shamans must be enlisted within a month or so after the death of a person in order that his returning soul shall not bring illness and perhaps death to any of the surviving members of the household. 755 775

In speaking of souls and spirits it must be borne in mind that as these two terms are here used they are not identical in Cayapa conception. Every animate being has a soul or shade which is a definite part of itself and without which life is impossible. This soul lives on after death. It has the form of the body it occupies, and has the power of leaving the body and wandering about when the body sleeps or is otherwise unconscious, and in this particular resembles a spirit. A true spirit, on the other hand, is a supernatural entity which resides in an object, animate or inanimate, or in a particular spot, but which has nothing to do with the existence of that object. It may take the form of the object it inhabits, especially if the object is animate; but fre- 774 776 774 776

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The Soul

The soul, called kû'mi, inhabits every human body as well as the bodies of certain other animate beings. In general it has the form of the body that it inhabits, and has the power of leaving the body during sleep and of traveling about at will. In their travels the souls visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends, etc., and are subject to considerable danger while thus wandering about. A shaman with malicious intent may by his magic summon one of these wandering souls and, by appearing friendly, may gain its confidence sufficiently to induce it to drink chicha, thus partially intoxicating it and enabling him to insert within it a pebble, a snake, an insect, or some other object which will work ill. On returning to its body, the soul takes with it this malevolent object, which also enters the body. As a result, illness follows almost immediately and the person dies within a short time, usually at or just before sunset, unless properly and promptly doctored by a shaman. Such illness is said to resemble an attack due to a natural cause, which is to say that it resembles an attack caused by the entrance of similar objects into the body by means other than through the agency of the soul; for it must be remembered that all illness other than that resulting from wounds, bruises, or other visible external means, is attributed to the presence of one or more of these magic objects in the body. It is said that fevers, for instance, which result from the presence in the body of these malevolent objects brought to it by means of the soul, cannot be distinguished in

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

753 their symptoms from fevers resulting from drinking water in a new region. This alludes to the fact that in [164] this region it almost invariably happens, even with people in perfect health, that if they travel from the coast into the interior mountains, or vice versa, they become ill for a short time with a fever of greater or lesser gravity. This is attributed directly to the change of drinking water, though in the Cayapa mind there is here also a direct connection with spirits.

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775 After death, souls travel about as they do in sleep, frequenting for a time special burial places and the homes which their bodies formerly inhabited. They would, if unmolested, continue indefinitely to go about their former haunts, but, owing to the danger to the living from their presence, means are taken to expel them. The expulsion of these souls, as also of malevolent spirits, by one or more shamans has been described in detail in speaking of medicine practices.

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Inanimate objects, such as waterworn pebbles, fragments of ancient pottery, ancient stone implements, and practically all hard objects of unusual form, are the abodes of spirits, but have not souls like those of animate objects. The souls of other animate objects may travel about during sleep and unconsciousness, just as do the souls of human beings. The spirits resident in inanimate objects, which of course do not sleep, travel only at night. As a matter of fact the souls of animate objects also travel almost exclusively at night, since, with but few exceptions, these animals sleep at that time. The souls of animate objects and the spirits resident in inanimate objects seem to be endowed with about the same attributes, and they mingle on friendly terms, assembling in various places to dance together, visiting burial places together, and in general making common cause in their wanderings and associations.

What seems to be an intrusive idea from Catholic sources is that human souls ascend at death to the upper world, but ideas concerning this abode and the ascension of souls are largely indefinite. However, it is maintained by some who hold rather vaguely to these concepts that God keeps there a long ladder which, when the person is about to die, he drops down in order that the soul may ascend. But the majority of the Cayapa, and even those who claim to believe in this ascent to the upper world, avoid burial places at night and have the souls of departed friends and relatives expelled by shamans from their houses and driven out to the ocean in the old orthodox Cayapa manner.

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the Río Camerones in the monte. People are afraid of him, because he can kill a person by catching his spirit. Duende is the owner of all of the wild pigs, as well as the /buhúl^{y}a/, a race of cave dwellers who are similar to the Cayapa in appearance. The second, /a^{y}ubéri/, is the devil who plays all of the musical instruments at the same time. Some think that he just touches himself to produce the sounds. He is naked, and black like a Negro, and has a very large penis with which he kills women when he makes love to them. These beings are not really a part of the religious belief system, but other spirits are.

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The Cayapa believe that people have three souls: /tembûka/ 'heart,' /kúma/ 'soul' and /ačúa cút^{y}u ûhmu/ 'bald ghost.' At death, the /tembûka/ leaves the body by way of the mouth and goes straight up to Jesus, who has it punished. The manner of punishment is not clear, but it goes on for a very long time. Finally, the soul enters heaven. There are no clear ideas expressed regarding the nature of heaven, but many Cayapa think in terms of a big fiesta. The /kúma/ leaves the body at death in an unknown manner and wanders about the

vicinity. It may kill people whom it encounters alone. The third soul, the bald ghost is dressed in white and remains by the grave. "In the old days, it would fight with its enemies, but nowadays this does not happen." The /kúma/ has the form of the body it inhabits, and it has the power of leaving the body during sleep, and of travelling about at will. In their travels, the souls visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends, and distant places. At these times the soul is in danger of being harmed by witchcraft: if the /kúma/ is prevented from returning to its body, that person must die.

In common with much of the Catholic world, the Cayapa believe that a deceased infant has not had a chance to sin and so goes directly to heaven as an angel: however, if the child had been conceived in sin, then they maintain that it is an abomination, and non-Christian. In this case they feel that the Christian thing to do is to kill the neonate, but the status of the soul of the infant is not clear. On the question of the immediate transit to heaven of the infant's soul, the Negroes are the authorities for the Cayapa. As an instance, the wife of Pablo Canalaba of Durango, died

Adults and children are buried in a cemetery

area called the pantaón, while infants are buried directly inside the church. When an /ʃin7i/ dies he is buried immediately outside the church entrance underneath the church bell that is suspended from the projecting roof. The Cayapa maintain that it is very important to be buried in the ceremonial center to which one belongs. Ceremonial allegiance is inherited in the patrilineal line and even though one has spent all or most of his life living in one of the other tribal groups, they believe that one should still be buried in the proper center. If a Cayapa should die far from home, he is interred at the site of death. Thereafter, attempts are made to bring the bones back for a proper funeral and burial. A casket is made, and the bones are laid out. The mourning and gaiety described above are carried out, but in a much more perfunctory fashion.

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Medical Practices. Illness for the Cayapa is mainly a matter of soul loss or spirit possession. To a lesser extent, the cause of the illness may be the presence of small physical objects such as stones or thorns which have been placed within the body by means of [illegible]

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2: Marra E-4 (no date) 1976 SD6 Cayapa SD6

Death.—Death is not considered to be a natural phenomenon but is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body. A dead man's soul hovers around his house, which is usually abandoned, though it may be dismantled and sold. The corpse is buried in a coffin in a Catholic-style cemetery near the church. The dead man's possessions are usually given away, but it is not known who inherits his fields and clearings.

ARTISTIC AND SUPERNATURAL ASPECTS

Art.—The great range of designs used by the Cayapa in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (*bijas*).

Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

Canoe paddles and wooden oars are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

Music and dancing.—Holidays, weddings, and other feasts are accompanied by much dancing and drinking. As elsewhere along the coast, the European marimba is widely used, as are panpipes, flutes, drums, and rattles. In recent years the Highland *San Juan* dance has been gaining in popularity. Also of immediate Highland provenience may be the small European wooden harp with palm-fiber strings.

Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. *Guarapo*, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

RELIGION

Native Cayapa religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are said for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

But the soul is believed to linger after death, and the methods used to encourage its departure are strictly aboriginal. A young couple's marriage may not be consummated until solemnized by the visiting padre, but the admonitions of the village chief to both bride and groom reinforce the authority of native jurisdiction. The annual Easter whipping of the whole community is also native.

Barrett could find no clear-cut creation story. The universe is believed to be made up of three superimposed worlds, with human life centered on the middle one. Men share this middle world with many spirits, some malevolent and other benevolent, all of whom are busy affecting human happiness and goals.

Sometimes the spirits must be exorcised, as when they cause illness. For this a shaman is called, and, with the cooperation of neighbors, he drives out the spirits amid much singing, smoking, and sprinkling. The shaman also may suck out the cause of illness.

Almost anyone can become a shaman by undergoing intensive training and acquiring a set of spirit helpers. There seems to be no "predestination" for this career, though Barrett was apparently unable to get enough information on this point. Like the chief, the shaman is not a full-time professional.

Because of his magic control of spirit powers, the shaman can be a force for evil as well as for good. It is he who causes illness and eventually death. There is a great deal of similarity between the behavior and the paraphernalia of the *Cayapa* shaman and that of the Highland medicine man.

THE COLORADO

The *Colorado*, or, as they prefer to call themselves, *Tsatchela* or *Tsachila* Indians, share with the *Cayapa* the distinction of being the last surviving aboriginal group in the Lowlands of western Ecuador. The two groups know about each other and even occasionally visit back and forth; but they speak mutually unintelligible languages, and their ways of life are quite distinct.

In contrast to the *Cayapa*, the *Colorado* are rapidly disappearing. Their territory and their numbers have been shrinking constantly, and one can easily foresee the time when the group will become extinct. They have not been able to withdraw before the pressure of "civilization," and they have been incorporated to a large degree into the Highland plantation system known as concertaje. The area they occupy on the upper reaches of several affluents of the Esmeraldas and Daule Rivers in the western part of Pichincha Province has been an area of heavy colonization in recent decades. During World War II an all-weather road was opened which increased the area's accessibility to colonization from the Highlands.

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The three worlds of the Cayapa are each flat, approximately square, and of about equal size. A short distance beyond the openings through which the sun and moon emerge and depart from it, are the eastern and western edges of our middle world. There are also a northern and a southern edge to the world. Beyond these edges there is nothing. 772

The upper world, ka'ica, is similar to our middle world, but it lacks rivers, the sea, and indeed any body of water. Furthermore, it never rains there. It is illuminated constantly by another sun, which is stationary. Ideas concerning the inhabitants of the upper world are not very clear. It is known that they have houses, but these are of a different form from the Cayapa dwellings, being described as somewhat like the houses built by the white people in the settlements at the mouth of the Rio Cayapas, which means that they are not set high upon piles and that they have sides (pl. CCCX-CCCXI). By some it is claimed that the souls of departed human beings reside in this upper world, but most say that they reside at certain out-of-the-way places on the earth. It is said that this upper world is inhabited by spirits, but their exact nature is not clearly understood. [775]

Creation

The Cayapa appear to have no native account of the creation of the universe, at least all attempts to obtain such were futile, and there appears to be only a remnant of an account of the creation of human beings, and this is more or less mixed with introduced religious con- 773 177

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SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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by a new sibling. Weaning is gradual; however, the child is also told that an animal will come to eat him if he continues to suck which frightens him and hastens his loss of interest in the breast. From about the age of four months he is given supplementary foods and by the age of three years he eats everything. Women who are unable to nurse apply a poultice to their breasts. This poultice is made of lechera, a weed with a milky sap; this is done in the vain hope of stimulating lactation. The neighboring Negro women wean their infants at one year, and when opportunity affords, they chide the Cayapa women about their protracted nursing. This is beginning to have some effect, and a few women now wean their children by one year.

When a woman dies in childbirth, the child may be given to another woman who is lactating. Some feel that "the child dies anyway as the spirit of the dead mother will kill it." On the other hand, the infant can be taken directly to the ceremonial center where earth from the mother's grave is thrown at it at the time of her burial. If this ritual is practiced, two men stand on opposite sides of the grave passing the infant back and forth five or six times. This, it is

said, insures that the infant will live. Following this procedure, the neonate is transferred to the care of a lactating woman. This mother surrogate is paid for her services by the child's father. Eventually, when the child can speak, he is returned to his father. 846 [789] [853]

Birth Control. Induced abortions are unknown, according to all informants, and this information is very likely reliable because bastards /tĕui-/ are first delivered, and then are usually killed. Similarly, there does not seem to be any knowledge of birth control devices nor of the practice of coitus interruptus. In marked contrast to the Negroes of the area whose children line up like stepping-stones, there is often a two- to four-year break between living children for the Cayapa. In some cases this difference is accounted for by the high infant mortality rate; in other cases, it is explained by lower fertility; in still other cases the lower sex drive may be the causative factor. We shall discuss the latter premise in the chapter dealing with personality factors. In any event, the Cayapa recognize their weakness in numbers 847 848 842 163 842 [165] [775]

and say that it is because Jesus said that if the world comes to an end while many Cayapa are living, it would be very sad for them; it is therefore necessary for many infants to die. The population figures do indeed indicate that the Cayapa are not reproducing. For the Río Camaronese there is an average of 2.5 living children for each woman of childbearing age and almost 17 per cent sterility among the women.

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Adoption. Children will be adopted within the kindred, if the parents should die, but there is seldom adoption of non-related children or of illegitimate children. There are a few instances of an illegitimate child's being kept by the mother, but more often she will kill it at birth. The mother may offer the child for adoption, but the general feeling is that such a child having been conceived in sin is non-Christian, and few people want such a child. The Christian thing to do, they feel, is to kill it.

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There is something in the nature of short-term "loans" of children. A child is sometimes sent to live with an "uncle" or other near relative for varying periods of time. In some cases the relatives are

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the father may buy a meal and some drinks for everyone. The compadres now address each other by the same terms used between compadres in the nail-cutting ceremony. When the child grows up, he calls his god-father by the term /padéna?ápa/ and the god-mother by the term, /padéna?áma/, and the reciprocal is /ihádu/ [illegible], from Spanish padrino 'god-father,' áma 'mother' ápa 'father']. Incest taboos, if not present before, are now extended, and the /ihádu/ may not marry any of the children of the god-parents. The relationship is marked by respect from all within it. From time to time as conditions seem to warrant it, the parties to the compadrazgo of the baptism gift each other with meat. Within a family each child will usually have a different set of god-parents from his siblings. This is a reinforcement of previously existing kin ties with a multiplicity of horizontally-extended ritual kin.

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Marriage. The Cayapa say that when one goes to heaven all of the souls there look alike. Everyone is the same height, and they all wear identical clothing. It is impossible to recognize the people

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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known to one while living; however, there is one exception, this one being that one's /padénaʔápa/, the god-father of the wedding, who sees the newly arrived soul and calls its name. In heaven one is re-united with the god-father and not the father. This story indicates that the major relationship that is set up is between the bridal couple and the padrinos and not between compadres. The marriage padrinos tend to be of the same generation as the bridal couple, and the feeling is that it is best to select padrinos from within the kindred. Padrinos are always man and wife, so that if one wishes a particular individual to be his padrino, then his wife automatically becomes his padrina. If incest taboos did not apply before, they are now extended, and the children of all of the ritual-kin are forbidden to marry each other.

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Except for remarriage, when it is permissible to choose new padrinos for the new marriage, it would appear that the ties of the marriage compadrazgo could not multiply "to meet the accelerated rate of change." I have the slightest suggestion of evidence that indicates that this may very well be happening. I was

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The Cayapa are not theologians, nor are they knowledgeable about Catholic ritual. They recognize this lack, but do not concern themselves over it. They rely for ritual guidance on the priest, and in his absence their Negro neighbors are ever ready to take his place as religious mentors to the Cayapa. The Cayapa recognize that the Negro has greater understanding of the religion, but they also consider that the Negroes are great sinners, while the Cayapa are held to be very moral. For the Cayapa, religion is morality and morality means proper sexual behavior. That the Negroes seldom, if ever, marry is a constant source of scandal for the Cayapa, and that the Cayapa almost always marry in the Church [a few polygynists to the contrary] is a constant source of envy for the Negro women, who feel great personal insecurity in their free unions. The trouble with the world, say the Cayapa, is that there are many sinners in it--people who commit incest, adultery, and take more than one wife. As most Cayapa are moral, they will go to heaven, but Negroes and Whites, who are notorious sinners, will not. After death Negroes will go to the black clouds and

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whites will go to the white clouds, forever floating between heaven and earth. While the Cayapa believe that they are a moral people, probably everyone has sinned a little and so after death every Cayapa soul is scourged in hell. Periodically the soul is weighed and when the scale tips in favor of the soul over its sins, it goes to heaven.

The matter of sin and sex so concern the Cayapa that when they were presented by the first missionaries with the account of Adam and Eve, they transformed it by saying that in the beginning Jesus created two men and two women. The women were not created from the ribs or any other part of the men's bodies, and so, everyone was properly unrelated. From these four beings sprang the human race.

At irregular intervals, a priest comes up from Limones for Christmas or Easter. He holds a brief service, consecrates marriages, and baptises children. The Cayapa are very much taken with Catholic imagery and the use of candles. As the writer once watched the priest perform a marriage at Punta Venado, there was a brief contest of wills. The Cayapa wedding party had

the *tic famerones* in the *monte*. People are afraid of him, because he can kill a person by catching his spirit. *Duende* is the owner of all of the wild pigs, as well as the /bubúl^{y}a/, a race of cave dwellers who are similar to the Cayapa in appearance. The second, /a^{y}ubéri/, is the devil who plays all of the musical instruments at the same time. Some think that he just touches himself to produce the sounds. He is naked, and black like a Negro, and has a very large penis with which he kills women when he makes love to them. These beings are not really a part of the religious belief system, but other spirits are.

The Cayapa believe that people have three souls: /tambúka/ "heart," /húma/ "soul" and /a^{y}ría cút^{y}a ákau/ "bald ghost." At death, the /tambúka/ leaves the body by way of the mouth and goes straight up to Jesus, who has it punished. The manner of punishment is not clear, but it goes on for a very long time. Finally, the soul enters heaven. There are no clear ideas expressed regarding the nature of heaven, but many Cayapa think in terms of a big *fiesta*. The /húma/ leaves the body at death in an unknown manner and wanders about the

vicinity. It may kill people whom it encounters alone. 775
The third soul, the bald ghost is dressed in white and
remains by the grave. "In the old days, it would fight
with its enemies, but nowadays this does not happen."
The /kúme/ has the form of the body it inhabits, and it 774
has the power of leaving the body during sleep, and of
travelling about at will. In their travels, the souls
visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends,
and distant places. At these times the soul is in danger [754]
of being harmed by witchcraft; if the /kúme/ is prevented
from returning to its body, that person must die.

In common with much of the Catholic world, the 775
Cayapa believe that a deceased infant has not had a 848
chance to sin and so goes directly to heaven as an angel; 783
however, if the child had been conceived in sin, then 847
they maintain that it is an abomination, and non-
Christian. In this case they feel that the Christian
thing to do is to kill the neonate, but the status of
the soul of the infant is not clear. On the question of 775
the immediate transit to heaven of the infant's soul, 851
the Negroes are the authorities for the Cayapa. As an 177
instance, the wife of Pablo Canalehu of Encanto, died [845]

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in childbirth, and the infant was born dead. No one discussed the condition of the infant's soul at all, until a group of Negroes came to express their condolences. They remarked among themselves that the infant was probably in purgatory because it had not been baptised. They spoke in this vein for about ten minutes until Doña Carolina, who is half Cayapa and married to the founder of the village of Concepcion, noticed that the Indians were becoming disturbed at the trend that the conversation was taking, and she said that of course, since the child was only recently dead, it perhaps was not too late, and she took some water from a gourd and sprinkled it on the tiny body. There was a brief flurry of conversation among the Negroes, and the remark was made that "very likely the infant was in heaven now." At this, the Indians visibly relaxed.

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Funeral customs. Death is not a stranger to the Cayapa, and everyone can reasonably expect to attend at least two or three funerals during a year. The greatest number of deaths are of infants. In other age groups there are violent deaths such as men drowning, breaking their necks in falls, and being poisoned

by snakes and also by design. Women frequently die in childbirth; tuberculosis runs rampant, and periodically whooping cough and measles decimate the population. People die from spirit possession, soul loss, witchcraft, illness, and accidents; however, very old people "just die." People are afraid of death although it is maintained that no one dies because of his sins. Punishment takes place after death, and everyone must be purified of his sins by punishment after his demise. It is believed that when the Whites die their souls go to the white clouds while those of the Negroes go to the black clouds. Only the Cayapa may enter heaven.

When death strikes, all relatives within a few hours' travel are notified. The immediate family clean the body, if necessary, and place it on a mat. Water is boiled and then poured over the area where the body lay last. Two or three men of the neighborhood are asked to prepare a coffin; this coffin which is made of bamboo is said to be the "canoe of the soul" and is called /čhkuyǫ́le/. Its construction involves four or five hours' work, and when it is completed, the parent or spouse of the deceased offers

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about five or six o'clock. Prior to the velorio, or wake, the people who are not in mourning /pamila/ bathe and don their make-up and fancy clothing. During this procedure the children cave about noisily. While waiting for the proper time to make their entrance, people like to remain in large groups "because the spirit of the deceased is wandering about and may kill anyone who is alone."

In the meantime at the funeral site, a raft has been built to transport the remains to the ceremonial center, and musical instruments have been placed together off at one side of the house. The coffin has been placed near one of the sides of the house, and candles are placed at the head and foot. If the deceased was a man, his oar is broken and placed in the coffin with him. The mouth of the corpse is carefully covered with a piece of colored cloth, and the eyes are closed. Members of the family mourn at the head of the coffin, either singly or in pairs. They mourn in a stereotyped manner, chanting in Cayapa appropriate phrases like "Who will support the family now?" "Who will bring home the food?" "I am all alone

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the participants begin to hit each other's hand with great force as they pass the domino along the circle. Finally, the sport ends, and the plantain money is handed over to the "owner" of the deceased who accepts it in exchange for some bottles of rum. The /pánda lóst/ is then placed in the coffin, and it is said that it becomes "transformed into real money in heaven."

Another activity often indulged in is called /ʃiiçgayóst kánu/ "the game of linking arms." It is as follows: People form a circle by locking hands tightly and then look arms for a few seconds. This is followed by the participants grasping each other's crossed arms. Following this they line up for a "tug of war" with the man in the middle bearing the brunt of the opposing sides.

In the contest called /ʃáʔna kánu/ [no gloss], a cloth is twisted and used as a whip. The players form a circle as they face inward. The cloth is placed on the neck of one of the men. As this is done, the recipient of the cloth grabs it and runs after the man who placed it on his neck and hits him with the cloth. The one who was hit rejoins the circle, and the second

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considered to be gambling. Nevertheless, everyone enjoys them. Even the mourners come over to watch when they are not wailing at the coffin. 764 [526] [524]

It is important that life and gaiety go on, and, for this reason, people struggle not to fall asleep. If the noise, laughter, and music were to cease, the soul of the deceased "could exact vengeance." Finally, about four o'clock in the morning a silence falls over the assembled mourners and celebrants; it is the time of the /mulúta bévu/, the last farewell. Everyone stands, and one man known to have a good voice sings out in a Spanish-Cayapa mixture: "mamay ya se fué muluta yaye llegue muluta talat umbi ishéande." At this, all of the assembled men except for the "owners" of the deceased sing the same phrase in unison. Now the coffin is carried down to the raft for the trip to the ceremonial center. Not everyone goes to the burial; some family members remain behind to take care of the children if there any, and others may be too drunk to make the trip. Three or four people are generally all that go to the cemetery. [775] [191] [273]

Adults and children are buried in a cemetery 000

this incident and asked that his mother be punished. 587
Both the young man and the widow however, suspected 588
that they would be punished, and did not go down to the 684x
fiesta. The /ún^{y}i/ sent up a commission composed of one Indian and two Negroes who were ordered to apprehend them. Augustín paid the Negroes twenty sucres each and bought a few bottles of rum for the Cayapa.

The couple were brought before Arcilio and punishment was set at ninety lashes each. In addition, the [847]
woman was fined fifteen sucres for burying the infant in Punta Venado and was advised by the /ún^{y}i/ to marry a widower. The young man claimed that the woman was to blame for the illicit relationship and that she was always after him and wanting to marry him. After the official punishment had been meted out, Augustín beat his mother. Several months later the youth ran away to 587
the Río Esmeraldas area with this widow. They remained 588
there for two years. After two or three children were born to them, they returned to the Río Cayapas. This couple was permitted to live together, but later the husband and all of the children died within a year.

The Cayapa maintain that no supernatural sanctions 784
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were involved in the demise of the man and his children. 784 795
Jesus, they say, never punishes people while they are living, and the fact of having been punished on earth by a tribal official in no way mitigates one's punishment after death. The young man may have been killed by witchcraft, but the Cayapa aver that this is not supernatural punishment, and he probably "just died for whatever reason."

When asked why widows could only marry widowers, 178 587 588 [789]
the answer was invariably, "Jesus ordered it that way." According to my informant, the couple was permitted to return to the community because of the children. They were still considered to be living in sin, but they had been punished, and now the matter was in the hands of Jesus. The /ʌ̀ʌ̀ʸʌ/ had applied the law as far as he could. He could do no more. In a way very similar to the cases of polygyny, to be discussed in the next chapter, an innovation had been introduced into the community--a new behavioral pattern was available for emulation! For the Cayapa, the realm of sin seems to be the most fruitful for cultural change.

<u>Divorce</u>. Divorce is theoretically prohibited 586 795

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

But the soul is believed to linger after death, and the methods used to encourage its departure are strictly aboriginal. A young couple's marriage may not be consummated until solemnized by the visiting padre, but the admonitions of the village chief to both bride and groom reinforce the authority of native jurisdiction. The annual Easter whipping of the whole community is also native.

Barrett could find no clear-cut creation story. The universe is believed to be made up of three superimposed worlds, with human life centered on the middle one. Men share this middle world with many spirits, some malevolent and other benevolent, all of whom are busy affecting human happiness and goals.

Sometimes the spirits must be exorcised, as when they cause illness. For this a shaman is called, and, with the cooperation of neighbors, he drives out the spirits amid much singing, smoking, and sprinkling. The shaman also may suck out the cause of illness.

Almost anyone can become a shaman by undergoing intensive training and acquiring a set of spirit helpers. There seems to be no "predestination" for this career, though Barrett was apparently unable to get enough information on this point. Like the chief, the shaman is not a full-time professional.

Because of his magic control of spirit powers, the shaman can be a force for evil as well as for good. It is he who causes illness and eventually death. There is a great deal of similarity between the behavior and the paraphernalia of the *Cayapa* shaman and that of the Highland medicine man.

THE COLORADO

The *Colorado*, or, as they prefer to call themselves, *Tsatchela* or *Tatchila* Indians, share with the *Cayapa* the distinction of being the last surviving aboriginal group in the Lowlands of western Ecuador. The two groups know about each other and even occasionally visit back and forth; but they speak mutually unintelligible languages, and their ways of life are quite distinct.

In contrast to the *Cayapa*, the *Colorado* are rapidly disappearing. Their territory and their numbers have been shrinking constantly, and one can easily foresee the time when the group will become extinct. They have not been able to withdraw before the pressure of "civilization," and they have been incorporated to a large degree into the Highland plantation system known as concertaje. The area they occupy on the upper reaches of several affluents of the Esmeraldas and Daule Rivers in the western part of Pichincha Province has been an area of heavy colonization in recent decades. During World War II an all-weather road was opened which increased the area's accessibility to colonization from the Highlands.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

276 to excess as among some other peoples. It is almost
[439] never grown by them, their supply coming from their
[177] negro neighbors or through trade. The Indians claim that tobacco was not known to this region in aboriginal times, but that it was introduced considerably later than the Spanish conquest. This statement is borne out by the fact that the name for tobacco is ta'kō, which is evidently an adaptation of the Spanish term tabaco. They use neither pipes nor cigarettes, but confine their smoking entirely to cigars made by themselves. They procure the half leaves of tobacco in bundles, which are stored away until a smoke is actually wanted, when each person rolls his own cigar. The habit of chewing tobacco appears to be unknown.

276 In addition to smoking for pleasure, tobacco is used
776 ceremonially. When it is desired to drive out malevolent
789 spirits from a certain spot, a medicine-man is called in, and, assisted by the ordinary people present and perhaps by another medicine-man or two, he performs a ceremony which makes the place untenable for the spirits. Each participant provides himself with a cigar and a small calabash of a decoction made from the leaves of a certain herb, and all make a systematic tour of the infested place. As they go slowly along they wet everything about them with the decoction, blowing it from the mouth in a fine spray. Interspersed with this spraying is the blowing of tobacco smoke into the air and on any objects with which they come in contact. The head medicine-man sings or whistles certain songs and waves a special banner from time to time as the party proceeds, and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

these acts, combined with the spraying and smoking, gradually drive the spirits from the locality.

Another important product of this region is pita, called sa'nō, by the Cayapa, a plant resembling somewhat the yucca of the Southwestern desert region of the United States, but with leaves which sometimes reach a length of fifteen or sixteen feet. It is usually grown at some distance back from the river, and seems to thrive best in the dense shade of the jungle. When once well started it requires very little attention other than the cutting away of undergrowth and clearing of the field which is incidental to the harvesting of the leaves. These leaves yield long, very strong fibers, called sañ bu'tyū, which are twisted into two-ply strings. These are much used in net-making, in binding the selvage of textiles, for fish-lines, and for a variety of other purposes where very strong cord is required. The leaves are cut close to the ground and brought to the house in bundles such as those illustrated in pl. LXVI, where a large and a small bundle of the freshly cut, long leaves are shown leaning against the side of the house. Each leaf yields a large number of fibers, the laborious preparation of which will be discussed in speaking of string-making.

While pita is the strongest material and is considered the best from all points of view, there is another material, called in the local Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa señgi'lya, which is used especially where string or rope of large diameter and of moderate strength is desired, such as for hammocks. This material is derived from the bark of a tree and is obtained by heating in a manner

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

622 624 village. The successor of an official is definitely known long before the death of the latter, but an official vacancy is not actually filled until the coming of the priest. Then, in the presence of all the other officials and anyone else who may wish to be present, the priest delivers an address in which he names the new official, announces his duties and privileges, commends him to the respect of the people, and charges him with the duties and responsibilities which he is about to assume. On the death of the chief, for instance, his duties are relegated to some other official, usually one of the "alcaldes," until such time as the priest shall arrive and inaugurate a successor.

465 622 681 None of these officials are supposed to receive compensation other than the honor and respect in which they are held. The chief, however, usually levies fines upon offenders, of which he takes personal possession and could, if he so desired, use a portion of them for his private needs, since no special account of such matters is kept by anyone. As a matter of fact such a thing rarely or never happens; on the contrary the chief uses the fines for paying the services of officers of the law whom he may send on missions of various kinds, such as bringing culprits to justice, settling disputes among his people, and the like. A portion of the money he uses also for the payment of shamans whom he employs now and then to expel dangerous spirits from his village, from deep pools in the river, or from other places where these mysterious beings are supposed to endanger the lives of the people at large. At the present time, when coins of Ecuador and Colombia are comparatively easy to obtain, fines are paid in money, but in earlier times they were always paid in commodities.

[756 776 789] [436]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

586 684 in which, in order to escape the wrath of public opinion and castigation by the officials, offenders against the divorce laws have left the Cayapa country entirely and taken up their abode in Colombia or in the interior of Ecuador. The same applies to the laws relating to 582 684 marriage between near relatives. The evasion or the open violation of either the laws of divorce or those governing consanguineal marriage are, however, of such rare occurrence that the laws may be said to operate almost perfectly, and they, together with the laws requiring chastity and fidelity in both sexes, certainly produce a salutary moral effect on the community. In fact, it is most exceptional to find a tribe or a community of the size of the Cayapa in which the ethical standards are so high and so strictly observed.

DEATH

761 753 776 [754] As was stated in speaking of medicine practices, death is ordinarily attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body, whither they find their way by various means. For instance, they may be placed by some malicious shaman in the soul of the individual as it wanders about during sleep, or they may enter directly into the body as one passes some particular spot believed to be infested with these malicious, disease-breeding spirits.

774 775 177 There seems to be a difference of opinion as to the soul. One informant maintained that there are numerous souls, each residing in a different part of the body; that the one in the chest is the largest and most im-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

to be resident in the house or in the surrounding ground are expelled in the manner described.

Similarly after death, since the soul of the departed is believed to return to the house and may cause illness or even death of other members of the family, shamans are called in and the particular soul expelled.

Such a soul is not simply driven into the jungle, but ordinarily is driven into the ocean. It goes to one of two places: to the island of Gorgona off the southern coast of Colombia, or to a large mythical sandbar far out at sea. Sometimes souls are driven only down to the sand beaches along the ocean near the mouth of the river, or in some instances to some secluded and lonely spot far in the mountains. In any event the services of one or more shamans must be enlisted within a month or so after the death of a person in order that his returning soul shall not bring illness and perhaps death to any of the surviving members of the household.

In speaking of souls and spirits it must be borne in mind that as these two terms are here used they are not identical in Cayapa conception. Every animate being has a soul or shade which is a definite part of itself and without which life is impossible. This soul lives on after death. It has the form of the body it occupies, and has the power of leaving the body and wandering about when the body sleeps or is otherwise unconscious, and in this particular resembles a spirit. A true spirit, on the other hand, is a supernatural entity which resides in an object, animate or inanimate, or in a particular spot, but which has nothing to do with the existence of that object. It may take the form of the object it inhabits, especially if the object is animate; but fre-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

776 quently it has the form of a dwarf or even of a normal human being, especially if its abode is an inanimate object. These spirits may leave their abodes and travel at will, or they may take their abodes wish them. They have great magic powers, both for good and for evil.

754 In addition to the benevolent offices of the shaman,
756 he may exercise a malevolent function by calling spirits to his assistance for the purpose of killing or otherwise doing harm to his enemies. The spirits which he uses for this evil purpose may be those which he uses for good in other cases—they may aid him in killing an enemy at one time and in curing a friend at another.

776 The abodes of spirits are numberless. They may live
778 within almost any smooth water-worn stone, especially a black or a red one; they are always resident in prehistoric potsherds, especially those of human or animal form; and abide also in almost any object of stone or other hard material of unusual form, particularly if it is smooth. Many mountains and hills contain spirits, both within them and on their slopes and summits. Also nearly every mammal, bird, reptile, and insect is the abode of a spirit entirely distinct from its soul or shade. It is these many spirits residing in both animate and inanimate objects that are the media by which shamans work their magic for both good and evil. A spirit is sometimes called forth from its abode to serve the shaman while thus separated from the object in which it dwells; but it may equally well serve him while in its abode, in which event the object in which the spirit abides accompanies it on its mission.

000 Furthermore, treatment by magic is almost the only

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

SPIRITS

776 In addition to human beings and other animate creatures, the world is peopled by a myriad of spirits of many kinds. As has been already indicated, these spirits live in or upon mountains, at certain places in streams, in stones, in fragments of ancient pottery, and in every sort of object of unusual form. Many are benevolent spirits, while others are always malevolent, and still others may be both malevolent or benevolent as occasion demands. Some classes of spirits are entirely male, others entirely female, while in still others are found men, women, and children, and full family relations. Some are giants, some dwarfs, and many are of ordinary human size. Most are in human form, though the bodies of some are deformed or are lacking some particular parts or organs. Many of these spirits dress as do the Cayapa, though others have special forms of dress, and still others no dress at all. Spirits are of various colors also, though the greater number are of the same color as well as of the same bodily form as the Cayapa. In large measure they move about only at night.

THUNDER

776 821 One of the most important of the spirits recognized by the Cayapa is Thunder, kū'ĭdya. According to some informants the Thunders are two, a male and a female; they somewhat exceed in size the average spirits, and have light-blue bodies covered with coarse hair somewhat like hog-bristles. The thunder spirits wear no clothing

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

and do not paint their bodies; they have large blue wings with which they fly from place to place, and the flapping of which causes the detonation we call thunder. They have no special abode, but frequent certain places more than others: especially do they frequent a particular high hill far up the Rio Cayapas. 776 821

Other informants differ in some particulars in their description of Thunder. By them it is said that he has no wings and does not fly, but that he and his wife sit constantly on top of a large tree on a high hill far away in the mountains. They are giants, with very massive backs, and are very strong. They have very long finger-nails, which are hard like rocks; these they shed from time to time and when found they are much prized by shamans for curing disease. Instead of having bluish bodies covered with bristles, the Thunders wear the ordinary attire of the Cayapa, but of a blue color. In addition they both wear blue caps, and both have long hair on their arms. When in a bad temper, Thunder talks loudly and growls, thus making the thundering noise. His bad disposition is especially manifest in the rainy season, while at other periods he is mild-tempered, growling only occasionally. Thunder's wife never has anything to say. It is said that up to about a generation ago the Thunders lived toward the lower course of the Rio Cayapas, but that in recent years they moved into a very remote part of the mountains and that thunder is consequently less frequently heard now in the Cayapa country. [755]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

LIGHTNING

776 821 [177] Lightning, kū′ĭdya pĭdya, which almost all peoples seem to recognize in one way or another as directly connected with thunder, is attributed by the Cayapa to the sword-like weapon carried by the Thunder spirit. As they describe this weapon at the present time, it is obvious that modern ideas have intruded, although it seems probable that the concept of lightning coming from an implement carried by the Thunder being is aboriginal. The sword is said to be of steel and to be carried in a scabbard; it is highly polished, so that when it is unsheathed the glint of the sunlight upon it is like the reflection from a mirror. It is maintained by some that Thunder strikes and kills people with this sword, or at any rate with the glint of light from it.

It is said that in the dry season Thunder is quite contented and lives at peace with the world. In the rainy season, however, he becomes restless and very much discontented with human beings and with conditions generally, and it is then that, according to the first informant mentioned, he flies from place to place through the clouds, flapping his wings and, making an uproarious noise, swinging his sword and causing the flashes of lightning. In due time, however, his wrath subsides and he becomes weary, and during the remainder of the year he grows restless only occasionally, with the result that thunderstorms rarely occur and lightning is seldom seen.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

CAVE SPIRITS

Another important class of spirits are the bū′tcūlya, or tūnda, called also by the Spanish name malava. These spirits are very numerous, and live, each family by itself, in what may be termed hollow mountains, that is to say, mountains containing enormous caves (a tū′hūrū), with numerous chambers, each illuminated by means of a sande-sap torch. Within such a mountain the house arrangement is much like that of a Cayapa dwelling, except that it is not elevated upon house-posts and of course has no thatch. It also has no storage loft, and its floor is simply the dirt or stone floor of the cavern. Access to it is by means of a tunnel entrance in the side of the mountain, never through a shaft on the summit. The entrance is covered by a very large mat and is not visible to human beings. Here the parent bū′′tcūlya lives with his family in exactly the same manner as would a Cayapa. He also has domestic animals and birds as have the Cayapa. His "dogs" are the jaguar, ocelot, and puma. He also keeps as pets the wild-hog, the peccary, the two large species of rodent called in Spanish guatin and guanta respectively, and various smaller mammals. His "chickens" are the two species of wild turkey, the grouse, and the doves of the various species common to the region. All these mammals and birds living in the cave of bū′′tcūlya are the same as those which run wild in the mountains, except that they grow to immense size and are always very fat. Also all the wild birds and mammals of the jungle are the pets of the bū′′tcūlya and are under his special protection.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

776 He always has stored large quantities of the eggs of these birds, especially those of the large species of grouse known locally as perdiz. The house furnishings are similar to those of the Cayapa, except that the coiled equis, a very poisonous snake, is ordinarily used for a bench or seat, while the coiled boa is used as a receptacle for serving food.

In personal appearance the bū"tcūlya is similar to the Cayapa, except in color. By some he is said to be whiter and of a more reddish cast than the Cayapa, but by most his face is said to be bright yellow, for the reason that he paints it all over with yellow achote. It is claimed that the rest of the body is not painted. The women bū"tcūlya are said to be very beautiful and to have long flowing hair. By some it is claimed that the bū"tcūlya have bodies of normal form, but by most informants they are said to have no buttocks or anus, and hence are unable to defecate. For this reason they never eat, but gain sustenance from the water they drink, and especially from the steam and aroma arising from boiling meat and other foods. Although unable to defecate, they can urinate and hence are able to drink water and inhale steam. Their genital organs are perfect, but they are incapable of sexual intercourse except in bright moonlight.

[755] In ancient times the bū"tcūlya were much feared by the Cayapa because the sight of one of them would bring illness and ultimate death, and also because they would steal children and even adults. In more recent times, however, it is claimed that they do not steal people, but confine their depredation to dogs, pigs, and chickens, and the vegetal foods raised by the Cayapa.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

They go about inhabited places always at night, and although ordinarily they are invisible to the human eye, their presence is known by their blubbering speech, although they can speak intelligibly if they so desire. 776

That, to the Cayapa mind, the bū"tcūlya still exist and that they are much feared is shown by the following incident. While the guest of one of the Cayapa officials it was the author's custom sometimes to sit for [123] hours in the evening conversing with him on various phases of Cayapa life. On one of these occasions, on a pitch-dark night, we were talking merely of the ordinary pursuits of the people. A lighted torch had been placed between us, which precluded the probability of the informant being able to see into the darkness outside the house. Suddenly, in the midst of our conversation, he sprang to his feet, ran over and untied the dog, and sent him down the ladder, while he himself ran to the railing at the side of the house, meanwhile urging the dog on in pursuit of something out in the darkness. He later explained that he had heard the blubbering speech of a bū"tcūlya near the house; he had seen nothing of the spirit and knew of its presence only by the sounds it made, but had hastened to drive it away to keep it from stealing his pigs and chickens which were confined under the house.

These spirits are believed to travel during the day as well as at night, and in case a house is left without occupants they frequently visit it and either carry away the food stored in it or cook it on the spot for the purpose of inhaling the steam and aroma which arise therefrom.

Although it is maintained that the bū"tcūlya do not

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

776 carry people away bodily at the present time, they nevertheless entice them to their caves, but this is said to be done out of a spirit of sociability and not with the desire of doing them bodily violence, though there is considerable danger attached to a visit to such a cave. These spirits, though ordinarily invisible, have the power to make themselves visible to human beings at will and when a person is off in the jungle, or in any lonely place, he is likely to be visited by a bū"tcūlya and invited to return with the spirit to his cave. If he goes and enters only the outer chamber of the cave, he can return, but if he is enticed into the inner chambers, escape is impossible, for these are guarded by vicious jaguars and pumas. On entering an outer chamber a guest usually is invited to sit upon a bench consisting of a coiled equis, and is offered food upon plates made of coiled boas. Stories are told of people who, on falling asleep or becoming intoxicated in some lonely spot, have been enticed into one of these caves by a bū"tcūlya and have seen and experienced various things in the outer chamber and yet have escaped and returned home. After such an experience a person [753] is likely to become ill, and if not properly doctored by a shaman will ultimately urinate blood and then die. Merely to see and to talk with a bū"tcūlya, however, is not of itself fatal as is the case with some other classes of spirits.

An experience is related by a Cayapa who once had occasion to make a canoe at a place back in the hills and far from his house, so that it was impossible for him to return home every day. He therefore, as is customary, built near his work a small "rancho," or temporary house,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

for himself. Upon returning to the hut late one afternoon, he found in the fireplace a fresh fire, which he could not account for; but he was more greatly surprised the next evening to find not only a fresh fire but a potful of cooked food. He therefore determined to spy upon the hut, and accordingly, on the third day, returned early in the afternoon, when he found there a very beautiful yellow-complexioned girl with a large pot of cooked food and with bala prepared for the evening meal. She had been cooking and preparing this food in order that she might inhale the steam and aroma from it. He entered the house and spoke to the girl, but received no answer. He then said to her, "Come, give your husband some food." She gave him the food, but still made no reply to his remarks. Later she left the "rancho" abruptly, saying that she did not wish to marry a man who ate all kinds of food while she was unable to eat anything.

Another Cayapa, out hunting, shot a turkey, and while reloading his gun was suddenly felled by a heavy blow from behind. Some one cried, "Why do you kill my pets?" He looked all about, but could see no one. This also was a bū"tcūlya, which had been angered by the shooting of the turkey, for all wild birds and mammals are the pets of these spirits.

Another old man, who was adzing a canoe near the bank of the river at a point a short distance above the house of the chief at La Herradura, became somewhat intoxicated and feel asleep. A bū"tcūlya came and invited the old man to his home. Accepting the invitation, he soon found himself in the large outer chamber of a cave. Here the bū"tcūlya showed him various mammals

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

776 and birds, all very large and fat, which he kept as pets. He then invited the old man to sit upon his bench, which was a coiled equis, but the old man declined. He then offered him a cup of champo, a drink made of corn, the cup being a coiled boa. Again the old man declined. The spirit then invited him to go enter the inner chambers of the cave, but on approaching these the old man found them guarded by jaguars tied at each side of the entrance, which so frightened him that he did not dare to proceed. He had not gone more than about twenty-five feet into the cave, so was enabled later to escape. He sat in the outer chamber for some time, and talked with the bū"tcūlya, who explained his mode of life, how he obtained his food, and various facts concerning himself and this class of spirits, all of which the old man related on returning home. This old man returned the same day; but in the case of another Cayapa who was enticed into a cave of the bū"tcūlya, he was detained for three days, but the spirit was not able to induce him to enter one of the inner chambers. During his entire stay the spirit from time to time offered him foods of various kinds upon plates made of coiled serpents, all of which he refused. At the end of the third day he was permitted to return home, although he was much more dead than alive from the ordeal through which he had passed. The man almost immediately became ill, his body was covered with sores, and in the course of a week he urinated blood
[753] and died. After such a protracted visit to the cave of one of these spirits, death is almost certain.

That the mammals and birds kept by the bū"tcūlya spirits in their caves are so large is said to be because

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the spirits themselves never eat any of the material part of the great quantities of food which they appropriate and cook; consequently this food is fed to their pets. The food is thrown to them upon the floor, as we might feed an animal, but all food offered to human beings who are guests in the cave is served upon coiled serpents. 176

While the bū'tcūlya live primarily on the earth, they are able to ascend into the upper world by means of the rainbow (bū'tcūlya ciñgūtiñatū) to visit Thunder. The object of this visit is purely a friendly one, since the bū''tcūlya are not servants of Thunder and neither do favors for nor receive favors from him. [821]

INDIOS BRAVOS

A class of beings which seems to be partly mythical and partly to have a basis in fact are the Indios Bravos, or he ūya'la. As was mentioned in speaking of the history of the Cayapa, it is claimed by them that their occupancy of the country adjacent to the Rio Cayapas dates only from comparatively recent historic times, and that formerly there lived upon the river the Indios Bravos, a people who subsisted, partly at least, on raw human flesh. In other respects these people were much like the Cayapa themselves. They lived in isolated family groups and had no villages; they were a little taller than the Cayapa, but of the same general appearance and color; their clothing, however, consisted of a short skirt of black cloth, which was the dress of both men and women; they used no paint on their faces or bodies; their most striking physical feature was their very large eye 776 173

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

776 173 teeth, similar to the fangs of the jaguar. After the Indios Bravos had preyed on the Cayapa for many years, the latter arose against them and descended upon their territory with a strong force armed with magic weapons, almost annihilating the cannibals and taking possession of their country. A detailed account of this trouble between the Cayapa and the Indios Bravos is given on pages 32-36.

It is said that a few Indios Bravos still exist far back in the mountains near the headwaters of the Rio Guayabamba, where, contrary to their ancient custom while on the Rio Cayapas, they have a village. They are never visited by any surrounding peoples, and are much feared by all. In recent years the only definite report of them which has reached the Cayapa is that, while a party of negro rubber gatherers was on the headwaters of the Guayabamba, they came upon three Indio Bravo boys whom they captured after a desperate struggle. Being on their way to Quito, the negroes endeavored to take the boys along. En route two of them died, but the third reached the city and was placed in the care of some priests. One of the Fathers later had a finger bitten off by the boy, thus showing the innate viciousness of the Indio Bravo tribe.

It is said that the Cayapa fought the Indios Bravos with a short palm-wood spear. These weapons are still found occasionally, partly embedded in the sand of the river where they have drifted from ancient times. These implements are said to be so dangerous that if a person attempts to pick one up or touches it in any way, illness is sure to follow. It is probable that this short

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

palm-wood spear is in reality the magic wand which was used by the Cayapa against the Indios Bravos when they were driven from the Rio Cayapas, as before mentioned. The Cayapa were able to do this by virtue of their superior magic and the superior magic of their wands, and not by means of ordinary conflict, hence it is the magic of these wands or spears which still clings to them that renders them so dangerous even at the present time. 776 173

THE GIANT ASLAÛ'HMÛ

A class of male giants said to have been very numerous in former times in the foot-hills bordering the Rio Cayapas is the aslaû'hmû. It is said that these giants became frightened at the first firearms possessed by the Cayapa and that they gradually disappeared into the mountains farther back from the river. Here they still reside, and even yet capture people who venture too far into the jungle. These giants are from eight to twelve feet in height, have skin of the same color as the Cayapa, and have very long fingers without nails. Their noses are very large also, being about three inches in length; their eyes are very large, and the mouth is irregular in shape; they have no teeth, and are unable to talk; the upper part of the abdomen appears normal, but the back from the ribs down is lacking, and within the abdominal cavity the liver is the only organ present. They wear a kind of skirt of bluish cloth, somewhat similar in texture to that woven by the Cayapa, and a bluish shirt reaching to the umbilicus and with sleeves which come to a point just above the elbows; they also wear a tall blue cap 776

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

which has no vizor. The aslaû'hmû travel in bands of five or six, or even more, and often attack hunters or others who are alone in the jungle. They carry long whips slung over the shoulders, the lashes of which are provided with thorns, and with these they strike and kill people. As the whip is swung over the shoulder to strike a blow it makes a loud noise like *thrûm-m-m-m-m!* They eat no food whatever, and make no use of the bodies of their victims—the body is simply left where it has fallen and may be easily recognized by the black stripes from the whips with which it has been struck. These spirits are themselves vulnerable, having been killed by hunters with lances, and it is from this fact that the Cayapa are able to give so exact a description of them. While out in lonely places hunters and others must use great care to protect themselves from the windward side, since the aslaû'hmû travel rapidly with the wind and usually attack from that direction. They travel on the contrary, very slowly against the wind, even though it be no more than a breeze.

ÛRA''TÛ

In a large village in the mountains to the east of Quito reside the ûra''tû, who have no other abode, but are able to travel very swiftly over any part of the world. Here they live in every respect like the Quichua Indians of the mountain region. They have low, thatched houses, without sides and with earthen floors. Every night the floor of one of these houses is thoroughly cleaned and a dance is held, in which most of the ûra''tû participate

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Some dance on their feet, some on their hands, and some on two long fleshy projections like horns or ears which grow on top of the head, but which are quite different from the ears of men. These spirits are about the size of the Cayapa, and live in family groups in their village as do human beings. Their skin is very black, and their hair kinky and bushy. The mothers carry their babies upside down on their backs. The women wear simply a black skirt, while the dress of the men consists of short trousers reaching almost to the knees, and a reddish short-sleeved shirt. In the mountain region nearer to the home of the ūra''tū they are a great menace to the people, since they steal human beings bodily, and merely to see one of them assures illness of some kind and probably death in a short time.

KŪ'ME

Another dangerous class of spirits is the kū'me, who live in the mountains and in deep pools in the river. These are described as being of about the size and general appearance of human beings, but with very black skin. The kū'me always go about with their heads thrown far back, so that they face the sky and are unable to look forward. They travel late in the afternoon and at night, and are in the habit of pursuing people who are out at such times. If a person is caught by one of the spirits, and especially if he is hugged by the spirit or if the spirit's breath touches his body, illness is sure to follow and death is certain unless the patient is properly treated by a shaman. These spirits are entirely invisible

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

753 776 to ordinary human beings, and when they attack a person they remain with him throughout his illness and until death, when they snatch the soul as it is departing from the body and carry it away. They may be seen and driven away, however, by shamans who have drunk of the decoction of rum and bejuco, and who are able to chant the proper incantations.

PĪ''TCŪLYA

776 Especially dangerous to canoemen are the pī''tcūlya, a class of spirits which live in caves in the bed-rock at the bottom of deep pools and at various places along the banks of rivers. In these caves the families of pī''tcūlya live in the same relations as do those of the Cayapa. Their women are especially beautiful and all have very long flowing hair. In the evening and at night, especially 776 753 if the moon is bright, these spirits rise to the surface of the water and sport about, and it is at such times that the danger to canoemen in passing is greatest, since to see one of these spirits, and especially to approach so near that the spirit may blow its breath upon one, assures a severe attack of fever and is likely to cause death, although the patient may be cured by a shaman. The 776 pī''tcūlya women wear a black skirt, and the men employ the same kind of clout and shirt as those of Cayapa men. All wear very large necklaces of various objects made by the prehistoric inhabitants of the region. Both sexes paint yellow all exposed parts of the body. Like certain other spirits, they are unable to eat solid food, but subsist on the steam and aroma rising from cooking fish.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Almost all deep pools in the river are the abodes of pī''tcūlya, although some contain more than others. Opposite Punta Venado is a large pool which contains many of these spirits. To reduce the danger to the people, the chief of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa summons from time to time one or more shamans for the purpose of driving out the spirits at this particular place, because, being so near the village, they are believed to endanger the lives of those who assemble to attend the fiestas.

PAIŪ Ū'HMŪ

The paiū ū'hmū are a mythical people who formerly inhabited the region of the Rio Cayapas, but who are now rarely, if ever, seen in this section. By some they are described as creatures of about normal size and with heads similar to those of human beings, except that in place of the mouth they are provided with a sharp beak with which they kill people, and afterward, by inserting this beak into the skull, suck all the blood from their bodies. They never eat human flesh, but subsist entirely on human blood obtained in this way. By others they are described as giants, nine or ten feet in height, who, in place of a head, are provided with a long, bird-like beak with which they kill their victims and suck their blood. All informants declare that the paiū ū'hmū are black in color, that they wear no clothing, and make practically no sound except a low call. They particularly attack hunters who wander far out into the mountains, and for a lone hunter to encounter one is almost certainly fatal, though two together may overcome and kill such a being.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

PEHŪRŪ PŪ'TYŪ

376 Another class of spirits, which are not particularly dreaded since they are never seen by man, are the pehūrū pū'tyū, a race of beings which in every respect are like the Cayapa except for the absence of buttocks and anus. There is a difference of opinion as to the abode of the pehūrū pū'tyū. Some claim that they are the creatures who inhabit the lower world, while others maintain that they live within the earth itself and that formerly they inhabited the region now occupied by the Cayapa themselves. According to these informants, at a time before the creation of the Cayapa there came a tremendous earthquake which overturned the earth and buried these pehūrū pū'tyū within it, where they still live in the same manner as when above ground. Then the Cayapa were created to live upon the earth; but at some future time another great earth convulsion will overturn the world again, bringing the pehūrū pū'tyū to the surface and burying the Cayapa and all other human beings.

The pehūrū pū'tyū, like certain other classes of spirits, subsist exclusively on the steam and aroma arising from caldrons of cooking food, this being sea-fish, which are very abundant where they reside. They have no homes, but constantly travel about. Like two other classes of supernatural beings, the pehūrū pū'tyū are incapable of sexual intercourse except when the moon shines brightly.

PA'LA'MBELE

A race of unimportant pigmies, called pa'la'mbele, inhabits the eastern margin of the world, in the vicinity

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

of the hole through which the sun emerges from the lower world in the morning to make its daily tour of the heavens. These beings are said to be extremely small, owing to the proximity of their homes to the path of the sun, which is so hot as to stunt their growth. They never travel, and do neither good nor harm to man. There are, however, no corresponding peoples living about the orifice through which the sun disappears in the west.

PEJE BRAVO

In addition to the various spirits which inhabit deep pools along the river, there are what are known as peje bravo, large fish, armed with strong teeth, which sometimes attack canoes and canoemen, but which are also much feared because of their magic. Almost every pool of any considerable size along the river is reputed to contain one or more of these dangerous fish. To be sure they molest travelers only at comparatively rare intervals, yet they are much feared by canoemen. Like the spirits they may be driven from a particular locality, or they may be imprisoned in a cave or a crevice in the bed-rock of the stream and rendered harmless to passers-by. For instance, at a point known as La Herradura, on the Rio Onzole, there is a large pool at the lower mouth of a short, precipitous stream which cuts across a narrow neck of land for a distance of eight hundred or a thousand feet and connects one point of the main stream with another at least a hundred feet lower in altitude. The narrow neck of land connects a large hill with the mainland, and it is around the base of this hill that the main stream

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

of the river takes its course, thus traversing a distance of five miles or more in reaching the same level that the smaller and more rapid stream reaches in a comparatively few feet. It is this long bow in the main stream which gives this point on the river the name of La Herradura, "the horseshoe." During periods when the water of the river is at the ordinary level, the shorter stream is small, but in times of flood it is a raging torrent. By the time the water has run its short course and reënters the main stream, it attains a high velocity and shoots a powerful, billowy current far out into the main stream which here widens into a deep basin. At the sides of this current are numerous eddies, and often great logs and even whole trees are held by them and whirled about for hours, in which process large limbs are twisted from trunks and everything fragile is splintered into bits. It is impossible for a canoe to pass through this pool at such a time; it is, in fact, none too safe to skirt the extreme edge of the pool opposite the torrent which enters it, on account of swirling logs. It is small wonder, then, that the Cayapa should conceive some great supernatural force to be hidden in this pool. It is said that up to within the last few years there lived in this pool a school of immense bright-red fish, which were a constant menace to travelers. Even to see one of these fish assured the illness of a person, and death was almost sure to follow. Still more dangerous was it to touch one of them. These monsters had a trick of floating as if dead upon the surface of the pool, especially when the water was at normal level and the surface reasonably calm. Curiosity of passers-by sometimes tempted them to paddle near

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

enough to take a good look at the red object, or even to touch it, either of which proved fatal. At last, however, some powerful shamans visited the pool and by their incantations were able to impound the fish in a cave in the bed-rock at its bottom. They then sealed the mouth of the cave, it is said by some, with iron, so that for some years the pool has been passed without harm. However, there is still fear that the fish may some day break their bonds and again come to the surface and menace the lives of canoemen.

PĪ PĪ′NĪ

While there are many large pools along the Rio Cayapas which are given the general Spanish name charco, there is one so large and important that it is always known as El Charco. This is situated at a point about three miles down-stream from the confluence with the Rio Onzole. It was the former habitation of a kind of dangerous fish, or serpent, called pī pī′nī, literally "water serpent," concerning which the following story is told:

In former times El Charco was much larger than at present, covering the plain now adjacent to it and reaching from hill to hill on each side. Here lived an especially large pī pī′nī, which devoured everything coming down the river. It had a mouth twenty fathoms wide, and everything, including all driftwood and even entire trees that floated down-stream, was consumed by the monster. Within this great serpent there was an immense dry area in which accumulated all the logs and trees that

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

776 he swallowed. Naturally, all human beings who went down the river upon rafts (for in those days canoes were not used) were swallowed by the pī pī′nī, so that the population of the region decreased rapidly. In fact, this serpent became such a menace to travelers that at last no one attempted to pass El Charco by water. From a point above El Charco a trail crossed the hills and returned to the river at a point called Nañjara, a short distance below El Charco. When travelers wished to pass down the river, they moored their rafts at the upper end of the trail and passed El Charco by land, taking another raft at Nañjara and continuing their journey to the sea. The same change was made on the return trip. Finally, four powerful shamans determined to rid El Charco of its danger, and after devising a method of keeping fire for a long time, they started down the river upon their raft. On approaching El Charco, they steered for midstream, and passed, as did everything else floating on the river, into the mouth of the pī pī′nī. Within they found great quantities of dry wood, and also the bones of the people who had been devoured during the preceding years. These people were not food for this monster, but starved and thirsted to death inside him. Once within, the four shamans set fire to the dry driftwood and then proceeded with their palm-wood knives to cut out the vitals of the pī pī′nī. The heat of the fire caused the monster to vomit forth the four shamans, together with much of the driftwood and other things that had floated during all these years into his mouth. Thus the shamans escaped. The pī pī′nī had been killed, but continued to burn. The

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

shamans remained to see that every atom of the monster was consumed, for if even the smallest particle had remained a new pī pī′nī of as great or greater size would have grown from it. After this event the size of El Charco became what it is now, and a comparatively safe place to pass so far as supernatural dangers were concerned. As a matter of fact, however, at the present time it is a dangerous place in times of flood. There is a big bend in the river at this point, and a large pool with very strong eddies that make it necessary to use care in passing through it.

INVISIBLE TREASURE

There are stories current among the Cayapa of great invisible treasures in the form of caves filled with gold and silver which are guarded by invisible spirits, each of which carries a golden wand or lance. A shaman once visited one of these treasure caves and was told by the guardian that he would be given its contents if he would bring to him in exchange a child, a white dog, and a white cock. Neither he nor any one else has ever yet brought these, and the cave of treasure still remains unclaimed.

MYTHOLOGY

It is interesting to note that although there is such a highly-developed idea concerning local spirits, both malevolent and benevolent, and although these play an important part in the life of the people, almost nothing is obtainable in the way of myths. It seems strange

situated about thirty yards from the river side" (Stevenson 1829:409). Unfortunately, Stevenson's description of Cayapa life was meager, for he was much more interested in the Malába, a group of reputedly wild Indians who lived along the Río San Miguel, a tributary of the Río Cayapas. The Cayapa were as loathe to visit the Malába as Stevenson was eager to do so. After some hesitation, the alcalde, having been promised various gifts, ordered two men to take Stevenson up river. It is of considerable interest to note that the Cayapa chief had sufficient authority to order two of his people to accompany Stevenson into the land of the "savage" Malába. Stevenson reported that the Malába were quite gentle and that they spoke a variant of Quechua, a language spoken throughout the Andes from Ecuador to Peru and Bolivia. The Malába no longer exist as an ethnic group; however, this is the term used by the present day Cayapa to designate a group of evil spirits that dwell somewhere in the monte or bush.

It would appear, given the position of the Cayapa near the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas and the Malába at its upper reaches, that the migration of the Cayapa from their ancient Andean homeland as stated in

If the mother should die first, then no attempt is made to remove the child. Births that result in death are said to have been caused by witchcraft. Insofar as I was able to determine, no counter measures are taken for revenge. 845 [754]

When labor pains begin, the woman is given a hot drink of rum, lemon, and sulfur. Some women claim to have had painless births, and others claim it hurt each time. After the delivery the mid-wife cuts the umbilical cord /pesil^{y}i/ with a metal knife. The mid-wife buries the umbilical cord under the house about two hours following the birth. It is said that if the cord should be thrown away, then a malignant spirit would get it, and turn it into an animal that kills people. Also, if the cord were not properly buried, then the mother might die of hemorrhage. 844 [278] [412] 846 [776]

After the delivery the mother remains at home for two months. She does light tasks about the house, but she does not go to work in the fields. She observes some food taboos during this period such as being forbidden to eat crabs, clams, or meat. If the taboo is broken, it is believed that she will lose her [262] [784]

[The Negroes, however, wean their children after one year, and some Cayapa women are beginning to imitate them.] Weaning is accomplished by shaming or ridiculing the child, or frightening him with stories of cannibalistic ogres, or applying bitter tasting substances to the nipple.

The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that arise from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. This stems in major part from the fact that the child is generally kept within the confines of the home at these ages. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls; it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. Consequently his movements within the house are restricted and he is effectively blocked off from direct sunlight and on canoe trips he is usually placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is

than as a personal, phenomenon. That is, there are no family shrines within the home. Individuals do not pray. It is only on festive occasions when many families come together that the trappings of religion are brought forth. The statues of the saints will be displayed in a makeshift shrine within the home which is being used as the gathering place. Some candles are lit; the chief makes the sign of the cross, and the drinking begins. As it progresses, the saints will be turned to the wall "because they do not like to see so much drinking."

The ceremonial centers with their cemeteries, churches, and fiesta activities give the Cayapa a much needed sense of self-awareness and identity. If a priest is present, so much the better; if not, the Cayapa know that they are doing the right thing, that they are moral, and that they are Catholic.

Supernaturals. The Cayapa have a large inventory of spirits and devils (Barrett 1925:360-381). Two that are not mentioned by Barrett seem to reflect a feeling of fear on the part of the Cayapa toward the Negro: The first of these is duende; he lives at the headwaters of

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the Río Camerones in the monte. People are afraid of him, because he can kill a person by catching his spirit. Duende is the owner of all of the wild pigs, as well as the /buhúl^{y}a/, a race of cave dwellers who are similar to the Cayapa in appearance. The second, /a^{y}ubéri/, is the devil who plays all of the musical instruments at the same time. Some think that he just touches himself to produce the sounds. He is naked, and black like a Negro, and has a very large penis with which he kills women when he makes love to them. These beings are not really a part of the religious belief system, but other spirits are.

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The Cayapa believe that people have three souls: /tembúka/ 'heart,' /kúme/ 'soul' and /ačúa cút^{y}u úhmu/ 'bald ghost.' At death, the /tembúka/ leaves the body by way of the mouth and goes straight up to Jesus, who has it punished. The manner of punishment is not clear, but it goes on for a very long time. Finally, the soul enters heaven. There are no clear ideas expressed regarding the nature of heaven, but many Cayapa think in terms of a big fiesta. The /kúme/ leaves the body at death in an unknown manner and wanders about the

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homoerotic play is evident during fiestas and, because of the low male sex drive, may be the substitute.

During Cayapa infancy and early childhood, children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training long before the zonal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely. The coincidence of the harsh toilet training and the availability of the breast leads to an intensification of oral gratification and a positive psychosexual fixation at this stage. We have already described the toilet training of the Cayapa infant and child, and discussed the extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces on the part of adolescents. The fact that the child is often permitted almost immediately to suck the nipple after having gone through a truly frightening experience involving defecation as described above, structures the peculiarly poignant oral fixation of the Cayapa infant and gives a heightened intensity. The oral fixation derived from anal frustration at such a very early period, is the psychological equivalent of oral frustration and is later intensified by the weaning practices. Weaning is accomplished by

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shaming, ridicule, the application of bitter tasting substances, or frightening the child with stories of cannibalistic ogres.7 Thus, within the psychoanalytic framework, the seeds of dependency drinking are sown and begin to develop.

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> . . . oral frustrations in the infant result in cannibalistic fantasies toward the mother's breast and her total person. Because the child projects its feelings and fantasies, it also views the external world as cannibalistic and develops fears of objects in it. This results in an unconscious fear of being devoured by the love object. The vagina, which is unconsciously equated with the mouth, comes to represent the castrating, devouring organ. Such anticipations result in avoidance of the heterosexual object . . . (Bieber 1962:6-7).

For the Cayapa, the equation of vagina:mouth is not at all unconscious. The vagina dentata motif is clearly present, and sexual intercourse is spoken of as the vagina eating the penis. As for cannibalistic fantasies, they still exist in the stories that the Cayapa tell of the wild Indians who lived in the area before them; these Indians were cannibals and preyed on the Cayapa. The fantasies are also used to manipulate events. When I first explored the Cayapa area up to the Río Tigre, I decided to do my work among the Cayapa of the San

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manifestations? The psychoanalytic frame of reference regarding homosexuality is directly relevant for the Cayapa.

> The wish to have a larger penis, in general reflects a feeling of unacceptability and inadequacy, in particular a feeling of sexual inadequacy: a belief, usually unconsciously held, that sexual functioning has been injured and is vulnerable to further injury; a wish to supersede other males who are feared and regarded as superior. The wish for a larger penis and excessive fearfulness is significantly associated . . . . (Bieber 1962: 181).

The Cayapa tell a story of an ogre who is very ugly and black and looks like a Negro; he has a very long penis with which he kills women. Here we see all of the requisite feelings for a predisposition to homosexuality as well as an expression of underlying Cayapa-Negro attitudes, marked, from the point of view of the Cayapa, by fear, aggression, envy, and sexual inadequacy.

Manifest homosexualism would be a behavioral innovation, requiring of its innovator extraordinary determination, very much akin to the persistent and determined polygynous and incestuous behavior that has been noted in the legal material. It appears that one

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

caldron a second time. If, however, a contrary result has been effected, someone else will usually "try his hand." The whole process of rum-making is one in which the women do fully as much work as the men, and they also have "lucky" and "unlucky" hands in distillation.

Usually the ordinary distillation above described is considered sufficient. If, however, an exceptionally good rum is desired, as for use at certain feasts, a special process of fractionation is resorted to and the product of the ordinary distillation is redistilled. A special flavor is imparted to the rum at this time by putting into the caldron with it several of the large leaves of an aromatic herb which abounds in the region and which possesses an anise-like odor and flavor.

As previously stated, the chief use of sugar-cane is for making rum, but, as before described in speaking of foods, the Cayapa occasionally make syrup and also a kind of preserves. On the other hand, they never make sugar, as do the negroes of this region. Much raw cane is also chewed. The fibrous though tender stalk is, of course, not swallowed, but it yields a large quantity of rich, sweet juice which is highly relished. The cane is also frequently roasted in the coals; and in boiling cane-juice to make guarapo for distillation, stalks of raw cane are frequently cut up and thrown into the kettle to boil with the juice. The result of either the roasting or the boiling is a rich food with a flavor resembling that of maple, and is even more palatable than the raw cane.

Cacao (Cayapa, kaka'bō), from which chocolate is made, is extensively grown by the Cayapa, although

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 village of Punta Venado is such a rancho, built with its floor of bamboo resting almost upon the ground. On the other hand, ranchos that are built for regular temporary shelters such as those above mentioned, have their floors raised from two to four feet from the ground. This rancho in the plaza of the village is shown in pls. CXXXII-CXXXIV. In the background of pl. CXXXII and pl. CXXXIII distant views are illustrated, and pl. CXXXIV shows it in detail and indicates its special and interesting use. During one day only of the year is 796 this rancho occupied. At the fiesta held during Easter [351] week the entire plaza is carefully cleared of its dense 778 growth of weeds, grass, and vines, thus making access to the rancho possible. Before dawn on Easter Sunday itself, all dancing in the village ceases. The musical instruments are transferred to this rancho and a procession is formed which brings some of the images of saints from the church to the rancho, where they sit in state, as it were, throughout the day, while music is played before them almost constantly. It is said that this is the one day of the year when these saintly images can drink as human beings, and they are frequently offered [272] guarapo, a calabash of this cane juice being placed to [784] their lips as if they were in the act of drinking. During this time people are prohibited from drinking rum in the presence of the images, though they may drink as much guarapo as they desire.

348 The cane-mill, which is itself an important and a permanent building, is constructed in exactly the same manner as a regular dwelling. It is usually situated

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

MEDICINE PRACTICES. SHAMANISM

753 Among the Cayapa practically all illness is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits. In large measure
●[778] the particular spirits which cause illness reside in small, black, water-worn stones, in fragments of ancient pottery, in mammals, snakes, insects, and the like.

By the entering of one of these spirits into the body of an individual, and especially, as is usually the case, if one of the mentioned objects which is the special abode of this spirit enters also, a serious and often fatal illness results. This illness may take the form of any one of the numerous diseases common to the tropics.

There are various ways in which one of these spirits may enter the body. It may, for instance, enter directly into the body itself as the individual is passing the abode of the spirit, or it may enter the soul of the person which, while he sleeps, is traveling about the earth. In the latter case the spirit, on the return of the individual's soul, is taken into the body and the same symptoms and illness result as when it enters directly without the medium of the soul.

755 In almost every case a cure may be effected, provided a competent shaman is called in time. Each shaman has his own method of treatment, but in general these methods are similar and consist of (1) whistling and singing to call certain guardian spirits to the shaman's aid; (2) when these spirits have been summoned, the affected part of the body is sprayed with a decoction of rum and bejuco, and is massaged and rubbed with the hands or is sucked with the lips in order to draw through

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

quently it has the form of a dwarf or even of a normal human being, especially if its abode is an inanimate object. These spirits may leave their abodes and travel at will, or they may take their abodes wish them. They have great magic powers, both for good and for evil.

In addition to the benevolent offices of the shaman, he may exercise a malevolent function by calling spirits to his assistance for the purpose of killing or otherwise doing harm to his enemies. The spirits which he uses for this evil purpose may be those which he uses for good in other cases—they may aid him in killing an enemy at one time and in curing a friend at another.

The abodes of spirits are numberless. They may live within almost any smooth water-worn stone, especially a black or a red one; they are always resident in prehistoric potsherds, especially those of human or animal form; and abide also in almost any object of stone or other hard material of unusual form, particularly if it is smooth. Many mountains and hills contain spirits, both within them and on their slopes and summits. Also nearly every mammal, bird, reptile, and insect is the abode of a spirit entirely distinct from its soul or shade. It is these many spirits residing in both animate and inanimate objects that are the media by which shamans work their magic for both good and evil. A spirit is sometimes called forth from its abode to serve the shaman while thus separated from the object in which it dwells; but it may equally well serve him while in its abode, in which event the object in which the spirit abides accompanies it on its mission.

Furthermore, treatment by magic is almost the only

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

maintain that a shaman never attempts to cure the wound itself. A case of this kind observed in 1909 was that of a young man who had been accidentally shot at close range. There were seven buckshot holes through the calf of the leg, and each formed an ugly gangrenous wound. When first seen seven days had elapsed since he had received the wounds, but no treatment, magic or otherwise, had been given other than the bathing and bandaging above mentioned.

A shaman's paraphernalia consists almost invariably of three classes of objects. First, one or more small lance-shape wands of black wood, each possessing special magic power from the spirit or spirits residing therein; second, a bottle of a decoction of rum and bejuco; third, a number of smooth black stones, potsherds, and similar objects of unusual forms. Especially valued are the ancient stone axes, either whole or fragmentary, which are found now and then about old village-sites and mounds or along the banks of streams. These objects, as before stated, are all supposed to be inhabited by spirits. One may be the abode of only a single spirit, while another may contain as many as ten or a dozen. One stone ax, for example, in possession of a shaman near Punta Venado, was said to contain five spirits. When an attempt was made to purchase this ax from him, he was greatly in doubt whether it would be wise and proper for him to part with it. To settle the matter he sprayed the stone with the decoction of bejuco and rum, and sang and whistled to it for a considerable time, meanwhile gazing at it intently. At last he pointed out the exact positions

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

of the five spirits which the stone harbored, and explained how each was angry at him because he had even thought of disposing of the stone. He of course refused to sell it, stating that it would be of no use to the purchaser for the reason that if the spirits were not willing that it be sold they would return, together with the stone, on the following night, to the basket in which he kept it, and that the purchaser would lose the price paid for it, since it would be impossible for him ever to keep the stone, no matter in how strong a receptacle it might be put, because the spirits were able to take it at will wherever they liked. 756 778

While these stones and other objects used by shamans in their practices are so highly prized and so carefully handled by them, little care is taken to guard such objects from contact with other persons. Ordinarily they are kept in an open basket upon the floor and within the reach of uninitiated adults as well as of children. There seems to be no fear that the mere handling of these objects will cause any ill effect on the uninitiated—it is only when such a person attempts to use one of them for the purpose of doctoring that there is danger. 756

As above indicated, objects containing spirits may be bartered among the shamans whenever the spirits themselves are willing, and they are sometimes sold without consulting the spirits; but if it is a particularly valuable object and the abode of several spirits, these are always consulted before it is disposed of. 756 778 437

Although there are several shamans in the three divisions of the Cayapa, shamanism is comparatively little practised, and the position of a shaman in the tribe 756

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Inanimate objects, such as waterworn pebbles, fragments of ancient pottery, ancient stone implements, and practically all hard objects of unusual form, are the abodes of spirits, but have not souls like those of animate objects. The souls of other animate objects may travel about during sleep and unconsciousness, just as do the souls of human beings. The spirits resident in inanimate objects, which of course do not sleep, travel only at night. As a matter of fact the souls of animate objects also travel almost exclusively at night, since, with but few exceptions, these animals sleep at that time. The souls of animate objects and the spirits resident in inanimate objects seem to be endowed with about the same attributes, and they mingle on friendly terms, assembling in various places to dance together, visiting burial places together, and in general making common cause in their wanderings and associations.

What seems to be an intrusive idea from Catholic sources is that human souls ascend at death to the upper world, but ideas concerning this abode and the ascension of souls are largely indefinite. However, it is maintained by some who hold rather vaguely to these concepts that God keeps there a long ladder which, when the person is about to die, he drops down in order that the soul may ascend. But the majority of the Cayapa, and even those who claim to believe in this ascent to the upper world, avoid burial places at night and have the souls of departed friends and relatives expelled by shamans from their houses and driven out to the ocean in the old orthodox Cayapa manner.

their traditional tales probably took place by way of the Río Santiago until the confluence with the Río Cayapas was reached; thence, movement was up the Río Cayapas.

In 1879 Wolf marked on his map of Esmeraldas province a "town"--that is, a center of habitation named San Miguel de Cayapas and in 1894 Basurco recorded Cayapa living up the Río Sapallo Grande and the Río San Miguel. The latter group is reported to have an alcalde (Basurco 1894:414). Between 1809 and 1879 the Malába had apparently been replaced by the Cayapa. By 1908 Barrett reported definitely that the Cayapa were divided into three tribal groups: Punta Venado, Sapallo Grande, and San Miguel. Each group was reported as having its own ceremonial center and being led by an /únʸi/ or gobernador. During my 1959-1960 field trip, I was told by Gabriel Anapa, the /únʸ̈i/ of the Punta Venado group, that some twenty-five years earlier a group of people had left the Sapallo Grande section and had formed a new tribal unit with its own /únʸi/. They left after a dispute with che /únʸi/ of Sapallo grande concerning the re-establishment of Pueblo Viejo, the ancient center in the mountainous upper reaches of the Río

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will be paid for by the nearest kin of the deceased.

Except for the recent (ca. 1940) colony at Sapallito, each of the three tribal groups has a church constructed in the western manner with plank siding and flooring. The planks for the siding are all placed vertically. The roofing is of thatch and is of split construction; a clerestory space of about two feet runs along the full length of the church on both sides between the upper and lower roofs. Within the church is an altar, and before it, in the Punta Venado Church, is a large crucifix with a carved, realistic Christ figure. Infants are buried inside the church behind the altar, because they are pure and undefiled by sin. Adults are buried in consecrated ground several minutes' walk from the ceremonial center proper. Chiefs are buried just outside of the Church door under the bell which hangs from the projecting lower roof. The ceremonial center is populated by the dead and their spirits. A Cayapa is always buried in the ceremonial center to which he belongs, and he inherits his membership from his father. He may attend fiestas at any of the other centers, but he must be buried where he belongs.

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than as a personal, phenomenon. That is, there are no family shrines within the home. Individuals do not pray. It is only on festive occasions when many families come together that the trappings of religion are brought forth. The statues of the saints will be displayed in a makeshift shrine within the home which is being used as the gathering place. Some candles are lit; the chief makes the sign of the cross, and the drinking begins. As it progresses, the saints will be turned to the wall "because they do not like to see so much drinking."

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The ceremonial centers with their cemeteries, churches, and fiesta activities give the Cayapa a much needed sense of self-awareness and identity. If a priest is present, so much the better; if not, the Cayapa know that they are doing the right thing, that they are moral, and that they are Catholic.

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Supernaturals. The Cayapa have a large inventory of spirits and devils (Barrett 1925:360-381). Two that are not mentioned by Barrett seem to reflect a feeling of fear on the part of the Cayapa toward the Negro: The first of these is duende; he lives at the headwaters of

Adults and children are buried in a cemetary

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area called the panteón, while infants are buried directly inside the church. When an /únʸi/ dies he is buried immediately outside the church entrance underneath the church bell that is suspended from the projecting roof. The Cayapa maintain that it is very important to be buried in the ceremonial center to which one belongs. Ceremonial allegiance is inherited in the patrilineal line and even though one has spent all or most of his life living in one of the other tribal groups, they believe that one should still be buried in the proper center. If a Cayapa should die far from home, he is interred at the site of death. Thereafter, attempts are made to bring the bones back for a proper funeral and burial. A casket is made, and the bones are laid out. The mourning and gaiety described above are carried out, but in a much more perfunctory fashion.

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Medical Practices. Illness for the Cayapa is mainly a matter of soul loss or spirit possession. To a lesser extent, the cause of the illness may be the presence of small physical objects such as stones or thorns which have been placed within the body by means of witchcraft.

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harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several canoes in Esmeraldas. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is now undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

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than as a personal, phenomenon. That is, there are no family shrines within the home. Individuals do not pray. It is only on festive occasions when many families come together that the trappings of religion are brought forth. The statues of the saints will be displayed in a makeshift shrine within the home which is being used as the gathering place. Some candles are lit; the chief makes the sign of the cross, and the drinking begins. As it progresses, the saints will be turned to the wall "because they do not like to see so much drinking."

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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personal direction during a situation of crisis and was soundly rebuffed on all sides. During 1959-60 rumors were constantly in the air in Ecuador that the end of the world was going to take place soon. These rumors had reached the Cayapa and were vouched for by one of the priests at the town of Limones. This priest had been forecasting such an event for some time. According to Gabriel, Jesus carries the world in his arms and when the sins of the people pile up, the world gets heavier and heavier until at last the burden becomes insupportable, and Jesus lets the world fall. That, said Gabriel, will happen very soon unless the Cayapa can appease the wrath of God by holding a special fiesta on the tenth of August, a national holiday. Gabriel was so concerned that he sent a message to the chiefs of the other sections, inviting them to a meeting at his home to discuss the impending disaster and the means by which to avert it. He wanted each group to stage a fiesta at its own ceremonial center at the same time "to give added strength." To make doubly sure, he wanted four young children to be married "as they did in the

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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old days." Being young they would, of course, be without sin, and Jesus would find the sight touching and forgive the world. Gabriel also let it be known that any of the Punta Venado group who did not attend would be fined by a special commission composed of two Indians and two Negroes. The Negroes would be needed to speak harshly to the stay-at-homes because the Indians have too much shame to speak with the needed firmness. The chiefs of the other sections never came to the proposed meeting. Probably sensing his lack of control over the other groups as well as within his own group [several people had voiced opposition to going so far to Punta Venado], he about-faced and stated that a celebration would be held at his house, to be followed in a week by another to be held at the Cimarrón house in Encanto. According to informants, this would serve adequately because the statues of the saints are in Gabriel's house and would be brought to Encanto when needed.

It is clear that at this time Gabriel had no control over the other sections and very little over his own. Resistance to him was on an individual basis

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and say that it is because Jesus said that if the world comes to an end while many Cayapa are living, it would be very sad for them; it is therefore necessary for many infants to die. The population figures do indeed indicate that the Cayapa are not reproducing. For the Río Cameronese there is an average of 2.5 living children for each woman of childbearing age and almost 17 per cent sterility among the women.

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Adoption. Children will be adopted within the kindred, if the parents should die, but there is seldom adoption of non-related children or of illegitimate children. There are a few instances of an illegitimate child's being kept by the mother, but more often she will kill it at birth. The mother may offer the child for adoption, but the general feeling is that such a child having been conceived in sin is non-Christian, and few people want such a child. The Christian thing to do, they feel, is to kill it.

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There is something in the nature of short-term "loans" of children. A child is sometimes sent to live with an "uncle" or other near relative for varying periods of time. In some cases the relatives are

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will be paid for by the nearest kin of the deceased.

Except for the recent (ca. 1940) colony at Sapallito, each of the three tribal groups has a church constructed in the western manner with plank siding and flooring. The planks for the siding are all placed vertically. The roofing is of thatch and is of split construction; a clerestory space of about two feet runs along the full length of the church on both sides between the upper and lower roofs. Within the church is an altar, and before it, in the Punta Venado Church, is a large crucifix with a carved, realistic Christ figure. Infants are buried inside the church behind the altar, because they are pure and undefiled by sin. Adults are buried in consecrated ground several minutes' walk from the ceremonial center proper. Chiefs are buried just outside of the Church door under the bell which hangs from the projecting lower roof. The ceremonial center is populated by the dead and their spirits. A Cayapa is always buried in the ceremonial center to which he belongs, and he inherits his membership from his father. He may attend fiestas at any of the other centers, but he must be buried where he belongs.

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The Cayapa are not theologians, nor are they knowledgeable about Catholic ritual. They recognize this lack, but do not concern themselves over it. They rely for ritual guidance on the priest, and in his absence their Negro neighbors are ever ready to take his place as religious mentors to the Cayapa. The Cayapa recognize that the Negro has greater understanding of the religion, but they also consider that the Negroes are great sinners, while the Cayapa are held to be very moral. For the Cayapa, religion is morality and morality means proper sexual behavior. That the Negroes seldom, if ever, marry is a constant source of scandal for the Cayapa, and that the Cayapa almost always marry in the Church [a few polygynists to the contrary] is a constant source of envy for the Negro women, who feel great personal insecurity in their free unions. The trouble with the world, say the Cayapa, is that there are many sinners in it--people who commit incest, adultery, and take more than one wife. As most Cayapa are moral, they will go to heaven, but Negroes and Whites, who are notorious sinners, will not. After death Negroes will go to the black clouds and

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Whites will go to the white clouds, forever floating between heaven and earth. While the Cayapa believe that they are a moral people, probably everyone has sinned a little and so after death every Cayapa soul is scourged in hell. Periodically the soul is weighed and when the scale tips in favor of the soul over its sins, it goes to heaven.

The matter of sin and sex so concern the Cayapa that when they were presented by the first missionaries with the account of Adam and Eve, they transformed it by saying that in the beginning Jesus created two men and two women. The women were not created from the ribs or any other part of the men's bodies, and so, everyone was properly nonrelated. From these four beings sprang the human race.

At irregular intervals, a priest comes up from Limones for Christmas or Easter. He holds a brief service, consecrates marriages, and baptizes children. The Cayapa are very much taken with Catholic imagery and the use of candles. As the writer once watched the priest perform a marriage at Punta Venado, there was a brief contest of wills. The Cayapa wedding party had

vicinity. It may kill people whom it encounters alone. 775
The third soul, the bald ghost is dressed in white and remains by the grave. "In the old days, it would fight with its enemies, but nowadays this does not happen." The /kúme/ has the form of the body it inhabits, and it 774
has the power of leaving the body during sleep, and of travelling about at will. In their travels, the souls visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends, and distant places. At these times the soul is in danger [754]
of being harmed by witchcraft: if the /kúme/ is prevented from returning to its body, that person must die.

In common with much of the Catholic world, the 775
Cayapa believe that a deceased infant has not had a 848
chance to sin and so goes directly to heaven as an angel; 783
however, if the child had been conceived in sin, then 847
they maintain that it is an abomination, and non-Christian. In this case they feel that the Christian thing to do is to kill the neonate, but the status of the soul of the infant is not clear. On the question of 775
the immediate transit to heaven of the infant's soul, 851
the Negroes are the authorities for the Cayapa. As an 179
instance, the wife of Pablo Canalebo of Borbón, died [845]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

622
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[787]

personal direction during a situation of crisis and was soundly rebuffed on all sides. During 1959-60 rumors were constantly in the air in Ecuador that the end of the world was going to take place soon. These rumors had reached the Cayapa and were vouched for by one of the priests at the town of Limones. This priest had been forecasting such an event for some time. According to Gabriel, Jesus carries the world in his arms and when the sins of the people pile up, the world gets heavier and heavier until at last the burden becomes insupportable, and Jesus lets the world fall. That, said Gabriel, will happen very soon unless the Cayapa can appease the wrath of God by holding a special fiesta on the tenth of August, a national holiday. Gabriel was so concerned that he sent a message to the chiefs of the other sections, inviting them to a meeting at his home to discuss the impending disaster and the means by which to avert it. He wanted each group to stage a fiesta at its own ceremonial center at the same time "to give added strength." To make doubly sure, he wanted four young children to be married "as they did in the

[772]
[783]

622
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stipulation being that they may not marry a person who has never been married before. There is some feeling that an inexperienced youth should not marry an experienced woman. A widower may marry an unmarried girl if she has been in some way sexually delinquent. In this case, it is felt that she is a sinner and should not be foisted upon an innocent youth. In some instances, as in the following case, the youth is not at all adverse to the advances of a widow.

[783]

587
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684x

A widow marries a single youth. Augustín's mother had been widowed twice. This time she wanted to marry a young man who had never been married. She mentioned this several times to people, including her son. Augustín objected however, on the basis that this was not proper for a widow to do. Rather, he urged that she keep her eye out for a widower. Nevertheless, his mother clandestinely made love to the young man to whom she was attracted and became pregnant by him. She gave birth to a boy whom she immediately killed and then went to the ceremonial center of Punta Venado with her sister and buried the infant. During the next Easter fiesta at Punta Venado, Augustín advised the chief of

[848]
[847]

were involved in the demise of the man and his children. Jesus, they say, never punishes people while they are living, and the fact of having been punished on earth by a tribal official in no way mitigates one's punishment after death. The young man may have been killed by witchcraft, but the Cayapa aver that this is not supernatural punishment, and he probably "just died for whatever reason."

When asked why widows could only marry widowers, the answer was invariably, "Jesus ordered it that way." According to my informant, the couple was permitted to return to the community because of the children. They were still considered to be living in sin, but they had been punished, and now the matter was in the hands of Jesus. The /ún^{y}i/ had applied the law as far as he could. He could do no more. In a way very similar to the cases of polygyny, to be discussed in the next chapter, an innovation had been introduced into the community--a new behavioral pattern was available for emulation! For the Cayapa, the realm of sin seems to be the most fruitful for cultural change.

Divorce. Divorce is theoretically prohibited

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[P 155]

CHAPTER IV

DEVIANCE AND LAW IN THE AREA OF SEX RELATIONS

671
684 x
783 ●
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In terms of attitudes and decisions, Cayapa law can be marked off in two grand divisions: the sacred and the profane. The sacred involves the realm of sin, and sin for the Cayapa is to be found completely in the area of sexual behavior. Illicit sexual adventures, if exposed, are always punished by whipping and/or the use of the stocks. We have no information, but in all probability the whip and the stocks were introduced to the Cayapa at a very early period by Catholic missionaries. Regardless of the source of these two articles of punishment, the Cayapa have taken to them enthusiastically. The question of why sex should be so charged with feelings of sin requiring a special mode of punishment will be discussed later, when we deal with personality factors. While the Cayapa talk about sin and characterize many people as being sinners, my data do not indicate that they either dwell on, or even conceptualize sin, in terms of a world view. Rather,

[177]
[797]

671
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[178]

they dwell on, are attracted to, and are repulsed by sexual involvements. In this, they agree with the missionaries, and if the missionaries call this area of life sinful, the Cayapa can readily agree. We shall see that it is in the realm of sexual deviancy and in the attempts made by Cayapa lawmen to come to grips with it that the most sweeping socio-cultural changes take place.

684x
835

Incest. Incest is generally viewed by the Cayapa as being particularly heinous. In the olden days, it is asserted, when the Cayapa lived in one village at Pueblo Viejo, anyone guilty of such a crime would be placed suspended over a table which was covered with lighted candles, and then, slowly roasted to death. While this may be apocryphal, it does indicate strong negative feelings towards incestuous behavior. The Cayapa are very clear about this and state that incest is a sin, that it goes against Jesus' commandments and must be punished. Barrett recorded the following case which indicates that the punishment was still severe if not as extreme:

[784]

684x

<u>The incestuous widow</u>. The widow of the late /únʸi/, Arcilio, became pregnant by the son of Arcilio's brother, Arcide. They were both sentenced to fifty lashes but the boys' mother complained that this was too much, and that thirty lashes would be sufficient for her son. No one spoke up for the widow, and so she received the full fifty lashes for incest, even though prior to her marriage to the late /únʸi/ she and the boy were not related. 684x 696

As sexual matters fall into the realm of sin for the Cayapa, a determined sinner, in the last analysis, can only be handled by God and not by law. The Cayapa are unable to cope effectively with a determined deviant, in most instances. Attitudes towards incest outside of the nuclear family seem to be changing, as illustrated in the following case. 684x 178 [783] 684x 178 835 588

<u>When incest is no longer incest</u>. Lorenzo Añapa of the <u>Río Camerones</u> was married to his /ápinatacúhki/, 'father's brother's daughter.' They lived together for two months and then left to attend a <u>fiesta</u> at <u>Punta Venado</u>. Camilio Blanco notified the /únʸi/, Arcilio, who ordered that they each be whipped forty lashes. [694]

684x
837
[696]

bent over slightly and received ten incredibly light blows. He then left and went to the house next door. Within three or four minutes the sound of a brawl was heard from that quarter. This man was beating his wife and throwing her around the room like a French Apache dancer. This went on for a few minutes more, and then several men took him off to one side and calmed him down.

684x
837
696
[783]

Later, several people, including the /ún^{y}i/, were asked by the writer why it was necessary to punish adultery, and, without exception, they replied that it was a sin against God. Only one Indian expressed indignation at the light sentence and punishment accorded the man. When queried, the others either smirked or laughed outright. One fellow pointed out philosophically that the officials were only looking ahead, "as their time for punishment might not be far off."

[831]

Age seems to be a mitigating factor for women, and it is felt that a young single woman should not be punished for cohabiting with a married man. It is said that by her behavior she showed that she wants a man and so should be married. Quite often cognizance will be taken of the protests of relatives of the accused in reducing punishment.

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in reducing punishment.

684x
694

A young fornicator defended by a cousin. A very attractive young girl who appeared to be about fifteen years of age was brought forward by Pindaleñas, the Negro caretaker of the Church. She shrank back from him and appeared frightened by the whole affair. Several of the officials clustered around her, saying that she had sinned. The chief was off to one side, lying in his hammock, seemingly not paying any attention. The girl replied so softly to the charges that the writer was unable to hear the response. One of the officials who evidently knew of the affair shouted, "It's a lie!" The punishment was set by the officials at fifty lashes; however, a man from the crowd spoke up, saying, "I am her cousin, don't punish her!" At this, there was a brief discussion by the officials, and it was agreed that the girl was too young to be whipped, but because she had slept with a man, it was felt that she wanted a husband and the officials said that one would be found for her.

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[831]

The general feeling that adultery is a sin that must be punished carries through so that even if the

[783]
[837]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

684 x
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[783]
[696]

cuckold declares his wife innocent, his words fall on deaf ears. Punishment, however, may be ameliorated in a very typical Cayapa fashion:

684 x
694

The cuckold protests in vain. Gabriel had heard that his mother's sister's daughter had been committing adultery and he resolved to punish her during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado. About mid-night, a group of officials were excitedly whispering in one corner of the room. Suddenly, they left in a body and crossed the plaza to another house which was dark and quiet. They whispered among themselves for a little while and then went in as a group. Off to one side, a man and a woman were sound asleep under blankets. The man was awakened, and it was explained to him that his wife was being charged with adultery. The husband immediately protested that she was innocent, and they argued back and forth for a few minutes. While the argument was in progress, the woman awoke, and she too protested her innocence. The officials, however, were adamant, and so the couple got up, and everyone walked over to the main house. When the assembly arrived at this house, another group of officials, who looked for all the world

684 x
691

684 x
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[273]

woman had really been punished. Certainly, initially the intention was present, but the proceedings soon became a travesty as all of the participants became progressively drunker. It is of interest to note that only the woman was tried, and no mention at all was made of the man or men involved. It seems to have been generally accepted that she had been taking the initiative in her sexual adventures. For the Cayapa, extra-marital sexual behavior is sinful, and at the root of all sin are women. Assigning initial guilt to women sometimes requires a certain amount of mental gymnastics which is quite ludicrous as in the following instance.

[837]
[783]
[562]

684 x
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[694]

The blame is placed on the woman because she did not say no. A 'nephew' of Arcilio was single. He made love to the wife of Arcilio's son and they were seen by the /ún^{y}i/. Arcilio, however, was "ashamed" and said nothing then but charged them during the Easter fiesta at Punta Venado. The woman blamed the man, but he in turn said that it was all her fault because all she had to do was to refuse his advances. They were both punished with eighty lashes.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 village of Punta Venado is such a rancho, built with its floor of bamboo resting almost upon the ground. On the other hand, ranchos that are built for regular temporary shelters such as those above mentioned, have their floors raised from two to four feet from the ground. This rancho in the plaza of the village is shown in pls. CXXXII-CXXXIV. In the background of pl. CXXXII and pl. CXXXIII distant views are illustrated, and pl. CXXXIV shows it in detail and indicates its special and interesting use. During one day only of the year is 796 this rancho occupied. At the fiesta held during Easter [351] week the entire plaza is carefully cleared of its dense 778 growth of weeds, grass, and vines, thus making access to the rancho possible. Before dawn on Easter Sunday itself, all dancing in the village ceases. The musical instruments are transferred to this rancho and a procession is formed which brings some of the images of saints from the church to the rancho, where they sit in state, as it were, throughout the day, while music is played before them almost constantly. It is said that this is the one day of the year when these saintly images can drink as human beings, and they are frequently offered [272] guarapo, a calabash of this cane juice being placed to [784] their lips as if they were in the act of drinking. During this time people are prohibited from drinking rum in the presence of the images, though they may drink as much guarapo as they desire.

348 The cane-mill, which is itself an important and a permanent building, is constructed in exactly the same manner as a regular dwelling. It is usually situated

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

764 prepare for the occasion what might be termed a fence of palm-leaves. A row of palm-leaves is set together vertically along the river-bank in front of the house, the row being sometimes a hundred yards or more in length. Opposite the house and at the point where the path ordinarily used for going to the river crosses the row, one leaf is omitted. When the family departs with the corpse, the head of the house sets in place the leaf necessary to complete the fence, and the house then becomes taboo to all passers-by. No one, not even the [734] negroes of the region, would think of going through or around this fence or in any way approaching the house, owing to their fear of the soul of the departed which is supposed to linger about the house and which would be sure to wreak vengeance upon them. If it has been determined, however, that the relatives of the deceased shall again inhabit the house, they return after the funeral and pass through the fence, but not until the head of the house has removed the single palm-leaf referred to as the one last planted by him. The remainder of the fence is never taken down, but is allowed to fall of its own accord.

768 In many cases such a house is never again occupied. This is true when the deceased is an important member of the family, as the father, mother, or a favorite son or daughter; indeed almost any of the older members of a family are considered sufficiently important to warrant the abandonment of the house. After the death of a young child, on the other hand, a house is almost always reoccupied. The abandonment of a house is a matter of no small importance to a Cayapa family, since its

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Inanimate objects, such as waterworn
pebbles, fragments of ancient pottery, ancient stone 774
implements, and practically all hard objects of unusual 778
form, are the abodes of spirits, but have not souls like those of animate objects. The souls of other animate objects may travel about during sleep and unconsciousness, just as do the souls of human beings. The spirits resident in inanimate objects, which of course do not sleep, travel only at night. As a matter of fact the souls of animate objects also travel almost exclusively at night, since, with but few exceptions, these animals sleep at that time. The souls of animate objects and the spirits resident in inanimate objects seem to be endowed with about the same attributes, and they mingle on friendly terms, assembling in various places to dance together, visiting burial places together, and in general making common cause in their wanderings and associations.

What seems to be an intrusive idea from Catholic 775
sources is that human souls ascend at death to the upper 177
world, but ideas concerning this abode and the ascension of souls are largely indefinite. However, it is maintained by some who hold rather vaguely to these concepts that God keeps there a long ladder which, when the person is about to die, he drops down in order that the soul may ascend. But the majority of the Cayapa, and [784]
even those who claim to believe in this ascent to the upper world, avoid burial places at night and have the souls of departed friends and relatives expelled by shamans from their houses and driven out to the ocean in the old orthodox Cayapa manner.

If the mother should die first, then no attempt is made to remove the child. Births that result in death are said to have been caused by witchcraft. Insofar as I was able to determine, no counter measures are taken for revenge. 845 [754]

When labor pains begin, the woman is given a hot drink of rum, lemon, and sulfur. Some women claim to have had painless births, and others claim it hurt each time. After the delivery the mid-wife cuts the umbilical cord /pesíl^{y}i/ with a metal knife. The mid-wife buries the umbilical cord under the house about two hours following the birth. It is said that if the cord should be thrown away, then a malignant spirit would get it, and turn it into an animal that kills people. Also, if the cord were not properly buried, then the mother might die of hemorrhage. 844 [278] [412] 846 [776]

After the delivery the mother remains at home for two months. She does light tasks about the house, but she does not go to work in the fields. She observes some food taboos during this period such as being forbidden to eat crabs, clams, or meat. If the taboo is broken, it is believed that she will lose her [262] [784]

this incident and asked that his mother be punished. Both the young man and the widow however, suspected that they would be punished, and did not go down to the fiesta. The /únʸi/ sent up a commission composed of one Indian and two Negroes who were ordered to apprehend them. Augustín paid the Negroes twenty sucres each and bought a few bottles of rum for the Cayapa.

The couple were brought before Arcilio and punishment was set at ninety lashes each. In addition, the woman was fined fifteen sucres for burying the infant in Punta Venado and was advised by the /únʸi/ to marry a widower. The young man claimed that the woman was to blame for the illicit relationship and that she was always after him and wanting to marry him. After the official punishment had been meted out, Augustín beat his mother. Several months later the youth ran away to the Río Esmeraldas area with this widow. They remained there for two years. After two or three children were born to them, they returned to the Río Cayapas. This couple was permitted to live together, but later the husband and all of the children died within a year.

The Cayapa maintain that no supernatural sanctions

were involved in the demise of the man and his children. Jesus, they say, never punishes people while they are living, and the fact of having been punished on earth by a tribal official in no way mitigates one's punishment after death. The young man may have been killed by witchcraft, but the Cayapa aver that this is not supernatural punishment, and he probably "just died for whatever reason."

When asked why widows could only marry widowers, the answer was invariably, "Jesus ordered it that way." According to my informant, the couple was permitted to return to the community because of the children. They were still considered to be living in sin, but they had been punished, and now the matter was in the hands of Jesus. The /ún^{y}i/ had applied the law as far as he could. He could do no more. In a way very similar to the cases of polygyny, to be discussed in the next chapter, an innovation had been introduced into the community--a new behavioral pattern was available for emulation! For the Cayapa, the realm of sin seems to be the most fruitful for cultural change.

Divorce. Divorce is theoretically prohibited

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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[556]
[784]

all right because these cases had been "settled" previously by the late /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio.

The omnipresent theme seems to be that a truly determined wrong-doer cannot be handled within the legal framework, and his punishment is shifted to the realm of the supernatural. This results in a de facto acceptance of the illegal act that may be very productive of greater change ultimately leading to de jure acceptance in terms of legal decisions.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

[811] 596 There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal 596 bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing 462 and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

631 177 622 Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane [793] of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on [797] aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

463 622 None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

648 The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

844 **Childbirth.**—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at child- [846] birth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. 553 Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial 855 whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings 785 seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to 593 help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive 857 tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the 868 child is 10 years old.

881 **Puberty and marriage.**—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either 584 sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The 585 chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like 797 succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

797 But the soul is believed to linger after death, and the methods used to
775 encourage its departure are strictly aboriginal. A young couple's mar-
585 riage may not be consummated until solemnized by the visiting padre,
785 but the admonitions of the village chief to both bride and groom reinforce the authority of native jurisdiction. The annual Easter whipping of the whole community is also native.

772 Barrett could find no clear-cut creation story. The universe is believed
776 to be made up of three superimposed worlds, with human life centered on the middle one. Men share this middle world with many spirits, some malevolent and other benevolent, all of whom are busy affecting human happiness and goals.

775 Sometimes the spirits must be exorcised, as when they cause illness. For this a shaman is called, and, with the cooperation of neighbors, he drives out the spirits amid much singing, smoking, and sprinkling. The shaman also may suck out the cause of illness.

756 Almost anyone can become a shaman by undergoing intensive training
763 and acquiring a set of spirit helpers. There seems to be no "predestination" for this career, though Barrett was apparently unable to get enough information on this point. Like the chief, the shaman is not a full-time professional.

756 Because of his magic control of spirit powers, the shaman can be a
773 force for evil as well as for good. It is he who causes illness and eventu-
171 ally death. There is a great deal of similarity between the behavior and the paraphernalia of the *Cayapa* shaman and that of the Highland medicine man.

THE COLORADO

775 The *Colorado*, or, as they prefer to call themselves, *Tsatchela* or *Tsachila* Indians, share with the *Cayapa* the distinction of being the last surviving aboriginal group in the Lowlands of western Ecuador. The two groups know about each other and even occasionally visit back and forth; but they speak mutually unintelligible languages, and their ways of life are quite distinct.

In contrast to the *Cayapa*, the *Colorado* are rapidly disappearing. Their territory and their numbers have been shrinking constantly, and one can easily foresee the time when the group will become extinct. They have not been able to withdraw before the pressure of "civilization," and they have been incorporated to a large degree into the Highland plantation system known as concertaje. The area they occupy on the upper reaches of several affluents of the Esmeraldas and Daule Rivers in the western part of Pichincha Province has been an area of heavy colonization in recent decades. During World War II an all-weather road was opened which increased the area's accessibility to colonization from the Highlands.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 373 fastening in pairs, on opposite sides of a long bamboo pole, short joints of bamboo of the proper size to hold a candle. Some torches had as many as fifteen of these pairs of candle sockets, and in all there were spaces on the torches for upward of five hundred lights. The 796 several stretchers used in carrying the images of saints and also an image of Christ were newly draped and prepared for use in the processions.

At about 7 o'clock P.M. criers were sent out to summon the people to the church for the first of the more important services of the fiesta, which everyone is obliged to attend. By 7:30 all had assembled. The doors were then closed and fastened, and guards placed over them to prevent anyone from leaving during the service. 796 This rite was conducted by the sindico, or warden of the 795 church, assisted by some of the head-men of the village, and at intervals as it progressed first one and then another of the numerous candles about the altar were extinguished until at last but one flame remained. This the sindico took into the vestry behind the altar, leaving the room in utter darkness, whereupon each of the men and boys immediately produced one or two large paddle-shape pieces of tough green bark, which he had kept concealed upon his person, and proceeded to castigate himself severely. The men all wore shirts made of light calico or of bandana handkerchiefs. That they might receive the full force of the punishment, however, each man pulled his shirt up about his neck and struck himself upon the bare back with his paddle. The blows were delivered with great force, making a loud whacking sound, but no severe pain was inflicted, as the paddles

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

were flat and very wide. After about ten minutes of this castigation, the sindico returned from the vestry with the candle, the paddles were dropped, and all the men and boys scurried off to the side and rear walls of the church.

This self-inflicted punishment is in this particular region confined to the Indians alone. Although there is a large negro population, and many negroes attend this ceremony, none participate in this part of it. The negroes in certain other sections, namely, to the south of Esmeraldas, are said to inflict similar punishment on themselves, while those of some other parts are quite unacquainted with the custom. This, together with certain other observances, such as whipping with a cat-o'-nine-tails on Easter Sunday, may be due to the influence exerted over the Cayapa by early Catholic priests. That the same customs do not prevail among the negroes is due seemingly to the fact that at the time of the later influx of negro slaves, other orders and other church customs had superseded those which may have given these particular ideas to the Cayapa. It is possible also that in certain of these customs there is a vestige of some aboriginal ceremonial observances, but if so it is not now possible to segregate them.

On the return of the single light to the altar, several other candles were lighted and the service was concluded by further responsive chanting.

Next was formed a procession, in which practically everyone appeared, headed by bearers of a cross and images of saints, followed by bearers of the candle torches and the banners, and by a large number of other fiesteros. Each person, whether carrying anything else or not, bore

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 church, as shown in pl. CXXXV, and passing again down the plaza, this time to the "rancho," which it circled, finally returning and reëntering the church (pl. CXXXVII).

796 At about 10 A.M. the sub-chief took his place at the
●785 extreme left of the altar, and criers were sent to summon all to the church for the annual castigation with the cat-o'-nine-tails, which punishment is obligatory upon all the Indians, both old and young. This ceremony, however, is never participated in by the negroes. If a man, the devotee bows or sits upon the left heel; if a woman, she bows or sits before the altar and receives one or more strokes from the cat-o'-nine-tails, which always has five points, so that each stroke counts as five lashes. The devotee must receive one stroke, and may take as many more as he desires. Often a person takes two or three strokes, and later returns once or even several times for an equal number. The castigator uses discretion in inflicting the punishment—to an adult he admisters blows with full force, but to a child the blow is light. The men come in their usual attire and receive their lashes upon the thin and very tightly drawn clout. The women, on the other hand, dress especially for the occasion, putting on always a calico or bandana covering to completely hide the face and the upper part of the body and wearing their newest and best manta. Frequently several mantas are worn one outside the other, for protection against the blows. It is customary for the women to make and to keep a manta for this special occasion and which after the ceremony may be worn every day, but it must never be worn before the ceremony. Comparatively small boys and girls come vol-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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CASTIGATOR WITH CAT-O'-NINE-TAILS

[P. 392(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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THE CEREMONIAL WHIPPING

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 392 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

untarily for this castigation, but children of from two to five years are usually accompanied. If necessary they are brought forcibly by their elders. The very small children generally receive but a light tap from the castigator.

A few minutes after the castigation at the altar commenced, an assistant took up his position just outside the door of the church and there administered punishment to any who desired it, after which they were at liberty to enter and receive still more at the altar if they desired, although this was not necessary. Pl. CXXXVII presents a view of this castigator with his cat-o'-nine-tails. Pl.

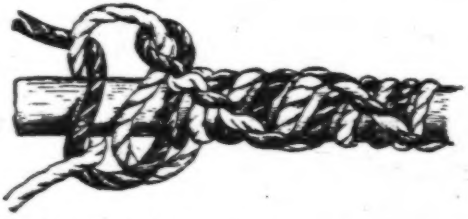

FIG. 28.—Technic of cording on cat-o'-nine-tails

CXXXIX, 2, shows him in the act of striking a devotee. In actual practice this was done at the door of the church. These two pictures, however, were posed at a short distance from the building in order to gain a better light. Fig. 28 shows the technic of cording on the whip.

By 11:30 the castigation of the devotees was finished and the second ofrenda of the day was called. Nearly everyone attended, but a few remained at the "rancho" to play before the saintly images there.

At about 4 P.M. the saints from the "rancho" were re-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 and the care of those who are sober is to see that a person
627 does no serious damage while in that state. The rum
273 used produces a cycle of symptoms, beginning with jollity and loquacity, passing through a desire to display skill, such as bending hands with an opponent, and ending with a frenzied desire to fight. It is then that the women usually take a hand and try to pacify the men. Sometimes several women are required to hold a drunken man and prevent serious trouble.

In the case of the young man above mentioned, no further punishment was inflicted. When he awoke in a fairly sober state he was taken before the chief, who lectured him on the error of his ways, and warned that if he repeated the offense he would be castigated and fined.

Third day. January tenth, 1909

796 A brief church service, preceded and followed by a procession about the plaza, was held in the forenoon as on the two previous days, and was followed by an ofrenda and a boda. Whereas on the two previous days the ofrendas had been more for the dead in general, in this case there was a feast for a person who recently had died. This fact brought out another interesting custom. After
● [785] the feasting (both the ofrenda and the boda) was finished, the sub-chief took his position at one end of the hall and administered a stroke or two with the cat-o'-nine-tails to each member of the family who had given the feast, and many others presented themselves for similar castigation, but it was compulsory only with the members of the immediate family and their relatives.

maintain that the best witches are not Cayapa at all but rather the Cholo of Colombia and the Colorado of Ecuador. Next in order of preference are the highland Indians around Ibarra, and, finally, those Cayapa who have been instructed from the masters listed in descending order of preference. Those Cayapa who have been instructed by other Cayapa enjoy very little esteem. There is said to be a good deal of jealousy between witches, and in popular belief they are said to seek opportunities to kill off their rivals.

The Cayapa theory of spirit possession is that if one is wandering in the monte, a spirit may spy one and fall in love with one. The spirit then embraces the victim and enters his body. Spirits or inimical objects may be implanted in the body by witchcraft as well. When someone falls ill and lingers in illness for a time, the charge is made that an enemy is at work. The task of the brujo is simply to rid the body of the object or spirit that is causing the illness.

The witches' paraphernalia consists of archaeological artifacts that were made by the people resident in the area prior to the Cayapa occupation. A

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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personal direction during a situation of crisis and was soundly rebuffed on all sides. During 1959-60 rumors were constantly in the air in Ecuador that the end of the world was going to take place soon. These rumors had reached the Cayapa and were vouched for by one of the priests at the town of Limones. This priest had been forecasting such an event for some time. According to Gabriel, Jesus carries the world in his arms and when the sins of the people pile up, the world gets heavier and heavier until at last the burden becomes insupportable, and Jesus lets the world fall. That, said Gabriel, will happen very soon unless the Cayapa can appease the wrath of God by holding a special fiesta on the tenth of August, a national holiday. Gabriel was so concerned that he sent a message to the chiefs of the other sections, inviting them to a meeting at his home to discuss the impending disaster and the means by which to avert it. He wanted each group to stage a fiesta at its own ceremonial center at the same time "to give added strength." To make doubly sure, he wanted four young children to be married "as they did in the

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why he had delivered Margarita to his brother who was too young for marriage, he remained silent. The punishment was to be fifty lashes each, but since they kept protesting their innocence, the sentence was reduced to twenty lashes each.

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About a year after the death of Cristobal's first father-in-law, a son of the dead man named Gorce Cimarrón went to Colombia to hire a Cholo witch in an attempt to find out who had killed his father. The Cholo reported that Cristobal was the guilty one; so Gorce went to Cristobal's house and accused him of the murder, but Cristobal did not reply. Three days later Cristobal was dead. Several years later, one of Cristobal's brothers, Arcinto, heard of the affair and went looking for a witch. Gorce died a few years later, and his death was said to have been caused by the witch hired by Arcinto. Arcinto still lives in Viche where he also has two wives. He has never been punished as he never goes to the ceremonial center for fiestas.

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In the space of certainly not more than a decade the above case is found in at least one alternate version:

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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Mariano takes a second wife. Mariano lived up the Río Esmeraldas and was married to the daughter of Pedrito Añapa's paternal grandfather. They had three children, two girls and one boy. Mariano went looking for another wife near San José on the Río Cayapas. He had divorced his first wife and her father was very angry over the affair. Consequently, the woman's brother went to talk to Mariano who said that he had taken divorce action because this woman did not work or cook well. He also complained that she was older than he and slightly lame. Mariano was a witch, and he told the first wife's brother that he was going to kill his father. About a year later, the old man did indeed die. Following this, the brothers of the first wife went to Santo Domingo de los Colorados and found a Colorado witch who told them that the death was caused, not by God, but by a man--namely, Mariano. For two hundred and fifty sucres the witch offered to kill Mariano. The price was paid and Mariano died about four months later. The affair ended at this point with no attempts at revenge.

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While there are differences in names and locations and in the length of time leading to the death

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Whites will go to the white clouds, forever floating between heaven and earth. While the Cayapa believe that they are a moral people, probably everyone has sinned a little and so after death every Cayapa soul is scourged in hell. Periodically the soul is weighed and when the scale tips in favor of the soul over its sins, it goes to heaven.

The matter of sin and sex so concern the Cayapa that when they were presented by the first missionaries with the account of Adam and Eve, they transformed it by saying that in the beginning Jesus created two men and two women. The women were not created from the ribs or any other part of the men's bodies, and so, everyone was properly nonrelated. From these four beings sprang the human race.

At irregular intervals, a priest comes up from Limones for Christmas or Easter. He holds a brief service, consecrates marriages, and baptizes children. The Cayapa are very much taken with Catholic imagery and the use of candles. As the writer once watched the priest perform a marriage at Punta Venado, there was a brief contest of wills. The Cayapa wedding party had

all lined up single file broadside to the altar. There were two bridal couples and the two sets of godparents, each couple clutching a lighted candle. The priest, an Italian, who had just arrived from missionary service in the Congo, told them that candles were not at all needed for the marriage service. The members of the wedding party looked somewhat discomfited, but they maintained their grips on the candles. The priest repeated his admonitions several times. There was no argument, but the Indians just stood there holding their candles in front of them. Finally, the priest, with a generous Italian shrug, said, "If you want to get married with candles, I'll marry you with candles, but you really don't need them." In a small way, Catholic flexibility had met Cayapa rigidity and the priest was beginning his accommodation.

Easter is the most important holiday for the Cayapa. The day before Easter week, people begin arriving at the ceremonial center and set up housekeeping. The following day, most of the people have arrived. There were no special services, and most of the day was spent in clearing the plaza. The /ũnʸi/ began the work of

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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clearing. He worked alone for perhaps two hours before he was joined unenthusiastically by eight other men. They all worked separately and at a considerable distance from each other. Other men made minor repairs to the church, and still others made small repairs to the houses surrounding the plaza. All of the houses were in very poor repair, but no one felt obliged to undertake the effort required to make really good repairs. The houses were only used during Easter and Christmas, and none of the inhabitants felt sorely pressed.

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The second day of Easter saw people busily engaged in building bamboo cross poles to which were fastened candles. That evening, about six, all of the fiesteros, dressed in their finery, formed a procession. A Negro carried a large statue of a saint in his arms at the head of the parade. Behind him, forming a straggling line, two and three abreast, came the Cayapa. Some men and women held candles in their hands, some men carried the large bamboo cross-poles with six to eight candles. Some carried the smaller statues of the saints. They walked around the church three times, and then entered. Groups of Negroes were present and they sang hymns in Spanish. The Cayapa like to have the

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Negroes present for Church services, because they like to hear them sing. One of the complaints voiced against the/ún^{y}i/ was that he had not invited enough Negro singers to the fiesta.

On Easter Sunday, there was a great deal of varied activity in all of the houses as the Cayapa prepared for the church activities. This meant that they put on their newest clothing, and young children were dressed in the kind of ornamentation ordinarily worn by women, they often had row upon row of beads and bangles hanging from the neck down to the waist. Around ten o'clock, the church bell rang, and people began drifting over to the church. The officials stood outside with their whips, and as people approached, they struck them several times across the buttocks. Some went into the church, where the chief stood in front of the altar. They bent forward and received the blows. Children were whipped also, but very lightly. Some of the officials went into each of the houses looking for stragglers. After all had been whipped, they whipped themselves and one of them whipped the chief. Only a few of the Negroes joined in the ritual, and, in these

instances, it was done with a joking air. There was some laughter as the Cayapa were whipping themselves, but it was restrained. As the official went about looking for more people, they kept stating, "Everyone has to be whipped, everyone." This practice very likely was brought in by Catholic missionaries at a very early period.

In general, the description of a fiesta given by Barrett applies, with one major exception. The passion play described by Barrett was no longer being performed. In its place a group of fiesteros set up a marimba, small hand drums and several bass drums in a small rancho between the church and the main house of the chief. During the evening of Easter Sunday, they played with such gusto that sometime between one and two in the morning the structure collapsed. Concurrently with all of these activities, the chief dispensed justice, marriages were arranged, marriages were celebrated, Negro funerals were conducted, fisticuffs were engaged in, people drank, also passed out, woke up, and the band played on. This continued for six days and nights.

Christmas was similar, except that there were no nighttime processions around the church. Ideally, seven sponsors are chosen for the Christmas fiesta, and they are expected to supply rum, tobacco, and guarapo, and perfumed toilet water which is used to douse the fiesteros during the evening following the church services on the twenty-fifth. The families of the sponsors distribute the goods to all comers until the supply is exhausted. This is expensive, and the outlay in cash may run to over five hundred sucres. While it is said to be an honor to be a sponsor, no one apparently accepts the honor willingly. Sour corn meal is prepared several days before Christmas and mixed with water. This drink, called cangu is put in small canoe-like containers on the evening of the 25th. Ten to twelve containers are divided up and blessed by the chief who makes the sign of the cross. The drink is then carried around and people dip gourds of it and drink. During the Christmas fiesta, the chief wandered around for hours arguing with men who claimed that they were too busy or too poor to become a sponsor for the next Christmas fiesta. Finally, the chief lost his temper and

harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several canoes in Esmeraldas. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is now undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

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than as a personal phenomenon. That is, there are no family shrines within the home. Individuals do not pray. It is only on festive occasions when many families come together that the trappings of religion are brought forth. The statues of the saints will be displayed in a makeshift shrine within the home which is being used as the gathering place. Some candles are lit; the chief makes the sign of the cross, and the drinking begins. As it progresses, the saints will be turned to the wall "because they do not like to see so much drinking."

The ceremonial centers with their cemeteries, churches, and fiesta activities give the Cayapa a much needed sense of self-awareness and identity. If a priest is present, so much the better; if not, the Cayapa know that they are doing the right thing, that they are moral, and that they are Catholic.

Supernaturals. The Cayapa have a large inventory of spirits and devils (Barrett 1925:360-381). Two that are not mentioned by Barrett seem to reflect a feeling of fear on the part of the Cayapa toward the Negro: The first of these is fuende; he lives at the headwaters of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

276 to excess as among some other peoples. It is almost [438] never grown by them, their supply coming from their [177] negro neighbors or through trade. The Indians claim that tobacco was not known to this region in aboriginal times, but that it was introduced considerably later than the Spanish conquest. This statement is borne out by the fact that the name for tobacco is ta'kō, which is evidently an adaptation of the Spanish term tabaco. They use neither pipes nor cigarettes, but confine their smoking entirely to cigars made by themselves. They procure the half leaves of tobacco in bundles, which are stored away until a smoke is actually wanted, when each person rolls his own cigar. The habit of chewing tobacco appears to be unknown.

276 In addition to smoking for pleasure, tobacco is used 776 ceremonially. When it is desired to drive out malevolent ●789 spirits from a certain spot, a medicine-man is called in, and, assisted by the ordinary people present and perhaps by another medicine-man or two, he performs a ceremony which makes the place untenable for the spirits. Each participant provides himself with a cigar and a small calabash of a decoction made from the leaves of a certain herb, and all make a systematic tour of the infested place. As they go slowly along they wet everything about them with the decoction, blowing it from the mouth in a fine spray. Interspersed with this spraying is the blowing of tobacco smoke into the air and on any objects with which they come in contact. The head medicine-man sings or whistles certain songs and waves a special banner from time to time as the party proceeds, and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

these acts, combined with the spraying and smoking, gradually drive the spirits from the locality.

Another important product of this region is pita, called sa'nō, by the Cayapa, a plant resembling somewhat the yucca of the Southwestern desert region of the United States, but with leaves which sometimes reach a length of fifteen or sixteen feet. It is usually grown at some distance back from the river, and seems to thrive best in the dense shade of the jungle. When once well started it requires very little attention other than the cutting away of undergrowth and clearing of the field which is incidental to the harvesting of the leaves. These leaves yield long, very strong fibers, called sañ bu'tyū, which are twisted into two-ply strings. These are much used in net-making, in binding the selvage of textiles, for fish-lines, and for a variety of other purposes where very strong cord is required. The leaves are cut close to the ground and brought to the house in bundles such as those illustrated in pl. LXVI, where a large and a small bundle of the freshly cut, long leaves are shown leaning against the side of the house. Each leaf yields a large number of fibers, the laborious preparation of which will be discussed in speaking of string-making.

While pita is the strongest material and is considered the best from all points of view, there is another material, *called in the local Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa* señgi'lya, which is used especially where string or rope of large diameter and of moderate strength is desired, such as for hammocks. This material is derived from the bark of a tree and is obtained by heating in a manner

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

622 village. The successor of an official is definitely known
624 long before the death of the latter, but an official vacancy is not actually filled until the coming of the priest. Then, in the presence of all the other officials and anyone else who may wish to be present, the priest delivers an address in which he names the new official, announces his duties and privileges, commends him to the respect of the people, and charges him with the duties and responsibilities which he is about to assume. On the death of the chief, for instance, his duties are relegated to some other official, usually one of the "alcaldes," until such time as the priest shall arrive and inaugurate a successor.

465 None of these officials are supposed to receive com-
622 pensation other than the honor and respect in which they
681 are held. The chief, however, usually levies fines upon offenders, of which he takes personal possession and could, if he so desired, use a portion of them for his private needs, since no special account of such matters is kept by anyone. As a matter of fact such a thing rarely or never happens; on the contrary the chief uses the fines for paying the services of officers of the law whom he may send on missions of various kinds, such as bringing culprits to justice, settling disputes among his people, and the like. A portion of the money he uses also for the payment of shamans whom he employs now and then to expel dangerous spirits from his village, from deep pools in the river, or from other places where these mysterious beings are supposed to endanger the lives of the people at large. At the present time, when coins of Ecuador and Colombia are comparatively easy to obtain, fines are paid in money, but in earlier times they were always paid in commodities.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the skin the stone or other object which, by traveling through the body, together with the spirit which resides in it, causes the illness. 755

Shamans or doctors form, to a certain extent at least, a special class by themselves, but, so far as could be ascertained, they have no secret or special organization. They are not, on the other hand, "predestined" or specially selected by natural temperament. Any one may become a shaman if he so wishes by simply training under the guidance and instruction of one or more old shamans of recognized ability. For this training he pays a stipulated sum, and is instructed every night until he has learned thoroughly the songs and incantations and the various rituals of his instructor, and also has become more or less familiar with the special spirits which his instructor invokes. He does not, however, rely solely on the spirits of his instructor, but sooner or later acquires others of his own. Likewise, he may devise new songs and incantations. 756 [465]

Not only has the shaman to cure by expelling the spirits from the body of a patient, but he has the more important function of expelling spirits from a locality or from a particular house infested with those which cause illness. This expulsion of spirits from a locality or a house is usually accomplished by several persons under the direction of a head shaman. A decoction of *rum and bejuco is almost always used by the* shaman himself in this exorcism; the other participants are provided with a kind of decoction made by soaking a species of native mint in water. A large number of cigars are also provided, and it is the blowing of the tobacco smoke, 789

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

789 along with the spraying of the decoctions from the mouth, that makes the particular locality or house untenable for the spirits. The shaman intersperses his blowing and spraying with incantations and with low whistling. He also carries a special lance-shape wand which he waves constantly with a forward motion.

In one instance in which the spirits were to be expelled from a house, the procedure was as follows: The party commenced at one end of the main floor and went slowly toward the opposite end. As they proceeded, each person thoroughly sprayed the floor in front of him and blew clouds of smoke into the air before him. Also every basket, bench, and pottery vessel, and every nook and corner wherein a spirit might be hiding, was thoroughly sprayed and smoked. The main floor being finished, the loft was treated in a similar manner. Next the party descended to the ground under the house, where everything was thoroughly sprayed, even to the pigs and chickens in their pens and coops. Finally, to be sure that the spirits had been completely expelled, the party proceeded, with its spraying and incantations, into the adjoining clearing, and even for a short distance into the jungle.

755 Such a ceremony is not an especially solemn occasion. In fact the participants laugh and talk throughout, much as if they were engaged in any daily pursuit. This expulsion of spirits is resorted to when several members of a family have been stricken with the same disease. For instance, in case several members have been attacked in succession with fever, one or more shamans are summoned and the spirits which are believed

by a new sibling. Weaning is gradual; however, the child is also told that an animal will come to eat him if he continues to suck which frightens him and hastens his loss of interest in the breast. From about the age of four months he is given supplementary foods and by the age of three years he eats everything. Women who are unable to nurse apply a poultice to their breasts. This poultice is made of lechera, a weed with a milky sap; this is done in the vain hope of stimulating lactation. The neighboring Negro women wean their infants at one year, and when opportunity affords, they chide the Cayapa women about their protracted nursing. This is beginning to have some effect, and a few women now wean their children by one year.

When a woman dies in childbirth, the child may be given to another woman who is lactating. Some feel that "the child dies anyway as the spirit of the dead mother will kill it." On the other hand, the infant can be taken directly to the ceremonial center where earth from the mother's grave is thrown at it at the time of her burial. If this ritual is practiced, two men stand on opposite sides of the grave passing the infant back and forth five or six times. This, it is

said, insures that the infant will live. Following this procedure, the neonate is transferred to the care of a lactating woman. This mother surrogate is paid for her services by the child's father. Eventually, when the child can speak, he is returned to his father.

Birth Control. Induced abortions are unknown, according to all informants, and this information is very likely reliable because bastards /išui-/ are first delivered, and then are usually killed. Similarly, there does not seem to be any knowledge of birth control devices nor of the practice of coitus interruptus. In marked contrast to the Negroes of the area whose children line up like stepping-stones, there is often a two- to four-year break between living children for the Cayapa. In some cases this difference is accounted for by the high infant mortality rate; in other cases, it is explained by lower fertility; in still other cases the lower sex drive may be the causative factor. We shall discuss the latter premise in the chapter dealing with personality factors. In any event, the Cayapa recognize their weakness in numbers

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all lined up single file broadside to the altar. There were two bridal couples and the two sets of godparents, each couple clutching a lighted candle. The priest, an Italian, who had just arrived from missionary service in the Congo, told them that candles were not at all needed for the marriage service. The members of the wedding party looked somewhat discomfited, but they maintained their gripe on the candles. The priest repeated his admonitions several times. There was no argument, but the Indians just stood there holding their candles in front of them. Finally, the priest, with a generous Italian shrug, said, "If you want to get married with candles, I'll marry you with candles, but you really don't need them." In a small way, Catholic flexibility had met Cayapa rigidity and the priest was beginning his accommodation.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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time this passes. The daughter-in-law is expected to help her mother-in-law when needed, but as both women have to work with and cook for their respective husbands, no onerous burdens are placed on the daughter-in-law. The household has no direction as such. Each nuclear family attends to its own tasks. If asked, they aid in the planting and weeding of the gardens of other co-residents but only if this does not detract from their own work. In temporary work-visits a man works for his in-laws in the following way. A man works with the man who married his sister but not with brothers of his brother-in-law. On the other hand, a man is expected on request, to work for any of the brothers and/or parents of his wife.

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Distant kin who may be referred to just as "family" may be resident in the household for varying periods of time, sometimes for years. No special disabilities are entailed and behavior is as described for close kin.

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Compadrazgo. The indisputable mark of Iberian contact in the New World is in the social institution

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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of ritual co-parenthood called Compadrazgo. Historically and basically it is concerned with the ritual induction into the Catholic Church of an individual through the rites of baptism, confirmation, and marriage. The god-parent stands in the role of sponsor, and in effect gives assurance of good faith on the part of the unbaptized, the unconfirmed, and the betrothed. Compadrazgo relationships are held to be sacred, and the incest taboo is extended to those involved in the ritual co-parenthood and to their descendents. Wherever found, compadrazgo seems to have been accepted with gusto, and there are innumerable variations on the basic theme outlined above. Such flexibility is indeed noteworthy. Mintz and Wolf discuss some of the reasons for the success of this social institution:

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> Compadrazgo, once accepted by a social grouping, can be moulded into the community way of life by many means. It is a two-way social system which sets up reciprocal relations of variable complexity and solemnity. By imposing automatically, and with a varying degree of sanctity, statuses and obligations of a fixed nature, on the people who participate, it makes the immediate social environment more stable, the participants more interdependent and more secure (Mintz and Wolf 1950: 353).

relationship of greatest importance is that between the compadres and not between the /kumbatápa/ and /kumbatáma/, that is 'god-father' and 'god-mother,' and the god-child or /ihádu/. The compadres refer to each other as /kopáre/ or /komáre/. The relationship thus set up is utterly without sanction from the Church, and in point of fact, the parties, if they are Negro and Indian, do not feel that they are actually tied to each other ritually.

Quite often the Negro who asks to be permitted to cut the child's nails is a travelling merchant who, from time to time, visits the area. It is to his advantage to have an Indian compadre as this assures him of a place to eat and to sleep in his travels. Similarly, if the Negro lives near a town, the Cayapa compadre will visit him occasionally. Indians going to Esmeraldas, for example, may stay for several days in the home of a Negro compadre. Very often the Negro asks to cut the nails of a Cayapa child for pecuniary reasons so that, for example, the banana merchants seek to extend their compadre ties to as many banana growers as they can. Sometimes the Negro attempts to establish previously

never able to collect cases or to gather actual names, but some of my informants said that they had heard of people occasionally taking a new set of marriage padrinos. The feeling was that this could perhaps be done if the original padrinos gave their permission. In these cases, then, a person could have multiple marriage padrinos. It is most unfortunate that field work exigencies precluded following up these leads. In any event, compadrazgo among the Cayapa has shown itself to be a tremendously flexible instrument of societal ordering.

Religion. The Cayapa are a religious people who call themselves Catholic and are considered to be Catholic by the Church, albeit, "Children in the Faith." They know nothing of the practice of confession and this is not expected of them by the Church. The basic tenets of Catholicism with respect to baptism, marriage, and burial in the Church are followed faithfully by the Cayapa. Within a few months of birth children are taken to the coastal town of Limones or Esmeraldas for baptism. Most marriages are sanctified by a priest, and within a few weeks to a few months after death a special mass will be paid for by the nearest Kin of the deceased.

harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas *fiesta*, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several canoes in *Esmeraldas*. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several *fiestas* in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the *fiesta* and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding *fiesta* responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the *fiesta* is now undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

than as a personal phenomenon. That is, there are no family shrines within the home. Individuals do not pray. It is only on festive occasions when many families come together that the trappings of religion are brought forth. The statues of the saints will be displayed in a makeshift shrine within the home which is being used as the gathering place. Some candles are lit; the chief makes the sign of the cross, and the drinking begins. As it progresses, the saints will be turned to the wall "because they do not like to see so much drinking."

The ceremonial centers with their cemeteries, churches, and fiesta activities give the Cayapa a much needed sense of self-awareness and identity. If a priest is present, so much the better; if not, the Cayapa know that they are doing the right thing, that they are moral, and that they are Catholic.

Supernaturals. The Cayapa have a large inventory of spirits and devils (Barrett 1925:360-381). Two that are not mentioned by Barrett seem to reflect a feeling of fear on the part of the Cayapa toward the Negro: The first of these is Duende; he lives at the headwaters of

were involved in the demise of the man and his children. 784
Jesus, they say, never punishes people while they are 775
living, and the fact of having been punished on earth by a tribal official in no way mitigates one's punishment after death. The young man may have been killed by witchcraft, but the Cayapa aver that this is not supernatural punishment, and he probably "just died for whatever reason."

When asked why widows could only marry widowers, 178
the answer was invariably, "Jesus ordered it that way." 587
According to my informant, the couple was permitted to 588
return to the community because of the children. They [783]
were still considered to be living in sin, but they had been punished, and now the matter was in the hands of Jesus. The /ùnʸi/ had applied the law as far as he could. He could do no more. In a way very similar to the cases of polygyny, to be discussed in the next chapter, an innovation had been introduced into the community--a new behavioral pattern was available for emulation! For the Cayapa, the realm of sin seems to be the most fruitful for cultural change.

Divorce. Divorce is theoretically prohibited 586
795

among the Cayapa. It is forbidden by the Church through the person of the priest, who is seldom seen. Many Cayapa maintain that divorce is not proper. At the present time, divorce is possible for both sexes, but it is much more difficult for a woman to obtain. In one instance, a woman was married to a mental defective and she left him with the full approval of the community. In the case of the crippled Julio Tapullo, his wife was not permitted a divorce even though Julio had been very miserly with her. On the other hand, a man may divorce his wife if she is barren or has too many still-births. In one case, a man beat his wife because she only gave birth to girls; he threatened either to kill her or to throw her out of the home (divorce), if the next child were a girl.

The divorce procedure is quite simple. The woman is simply told to leave! There is usually some grumbling by the woman's parents, but to my knowledge, complaints are never made to any of the officials. Julio Tapullo's case above was complicated by polygyny.

Santiagueño hires a Negro to bring his children back after his wife left him. Santiagueño Anapa's first

352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
412 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cooking utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunting and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who
622 rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
796 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

584 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
583 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible, consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
[411] family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows, i.e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these. It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique will administer a hundred blows (well-counted on fingers and toes) with the ship. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
[273] can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato (corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
[415] ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 village of Punta Venado is such a rancho, built with its floor of bamboo resting almost upon the ground. On the other hand, ranchos that are built for regular temporary shelters such as those above mentioned, have their floors raised from two to four feet from the ground. This rancho in the plaza of the village is shown in pls. CXXXII-CXXXIV. In the background of pl. CXXXII and pl. CXXXIII distant views are illustrated, and pl. CXXXIV shows it in detail and indicates its special and interesting use. During one day only of the year is this rancho occupied. At the fiesta held during Easter week the entire plaza is carefully cleared of its dense growth of weeds, grass, and vines, thus making access to the rancho possible. Before dawn on Easter Sunday itself, all dancing in the village ceases. The musical instruments are transferred to this rancho and a procession is formed which brings some of the images of saints from the church to the rancho, where they sit in state, as it were, throughout the day, while music is played before them almost constantly. It is said that this is the one day of the year when these saintly images can drink as human beings, and they are frequently offered guarapo, a calabash of this cane juice being placed to their lips as if they were in the act of drinking. During this time people are prohibited from drinking rum in the presence of the images, though they may drink as much guarapo as they desire.

796 [351] 778 [272] [784]

348 The cane-mill, which is itself an important and a permanent building, is constructed in exactly the same manner as a regular dwelling. It is usually situated

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

near the permanent dwelling, and is almost always surrounded by cane-fields. The cane-mill is equipped with what may be termed the mill proper, consisting of a pair of large and very heavy rollers with a large hand-wheel used in turning them, the large storage pots for fermenting the cane juice, and the fireplace and pottery still used in distilling the rum made from the fermented juice. The similarity which such a mill bears to an ordinary dwelling is shown in pls. I, II, in each of which the structure to the right is the mill, and that to the left the dwelling. These two illustrations show also how close together the mill and the dwelling are sometimes built. In pl. VI is shown an isolated mill, with a field of young cane in the background. The dwelling of the owner of this cane-mill, illustrated in pl. V, is situated directly opposite on the bank of the river.

The three classes of buildings described are generally isolated from others. The continuously inhabited dwellings are never assembled into villages, but are scattered at intervals along the banks of the stream. There are, however, within the Cayapa territory, three villages, each consisting of a church and a number of houses. These villages are used by the people only when they come together for religious feasts and on other festival occasions. The houses in these villages are never occupied regularly except at such times, though they are constructed in every way like the dwellings occupied permanently by the people as homes.

The church, which of course is a modern institution, having existed only since the time of the Spanish con-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

spot. He brought home a small amount, but when it was cooked and his wife called him to eat, he never appeared hungry, consuming but a small amount and declaring that the food was not good. Later his form was changed to that which he now has, and he is obliged to walk on all four feet. His finely-colored shirt became his present spotted skin.

CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCES

Of aboriginal ceremonies there are few traces left among the Cayapa, so completely have the fiestas of the church supplanted them. In these festivities there are certain remnants of aboriginal customs, but they are entirely subordinated to the practices of the Catholic church.

Contrary to the customs of many aboriginal peoples, there are not at present, and apparently never have been, any special ceremonial observances associated with birth, puberty, and menstruation, although there are certain restrictions and slight observances of an ordinary character connected with each of these.

The marriage and mortuary ceremonies, already described, are, on the other hand, quite elaborate, and apparently retain much of their aboriginality, although largely assuming the nature of these ceremonies as celebrated by the church.

Two regular church festivals, that of "Noche Buena" or Christmas, and that of "Semana Santa" or Easter, are celebrated, as one might suppose, entirely according to church custom.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

177 796 Another festival, having its origin in the Ecuadorian national holiday, August tenth, is also celebrated by the Cayapa, although the date of the event is never a fixed one with them. This is ordinarily the one time of the year when a priest visits the villages, and the date of its celebration depends largely on his convenience. However, regardless of the date of its celebration, this festival is always designated "La Fiesta de Agosto."

796 Usually combined with all these fiestas are what are called *bodas* and *ofrendas*. In its restricted sense the boda is a marriage ceremony or a marriage feast, while the ofrenda is the feast of the dead. The latter term is used in its more restricted sense among the Cayapa, and is a special feast held usually in honor of one or more relatives of the family giving the feast who have died within the previous twelve months, although such a feast may with equal propriety be held in honor of relatives long dead, especially if they had been notable people. The boda, on the other hand, partakes as much of the nature of a mortuary ceremony as of a marriage feast, and the word *boda* is used generally to include all kinds of feasting. At all gatherings of the Cayapa, regardless of their chief purpose, the people feast and dance a great deal, and much rum is consumed.

The three fiestas mentioned, as also the boda and the ofrenda, will be described from observations made on these ceremonies during 1908 and 1909.

La Fiesta de Semana Santa

"La Fiesta de Semana Santa," or the Easter festival, which is the most important and most elaborate of the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

fiestas of the Cayapa, illustrates the completeness with which intrusive religious ideas may become engrafted on the beliefs of a primitive people.

As celebrated in 1909 at Punta Venado, this fiesta was of five days' duration, and in detail was as follows:

First day. Hueves Santo, April eighth

While many of the fiesteros reached the village on the previous day, a considerable number did not arrive until toward evening of this the first day of the fiesta. By evening, however, all had reached the village, and its population now aggregated about five hundred. On the first day there was no dancing or special feasting, but during the day several religious services were held in the church, consisting of simple "rosarios" said by one or another of the leading men of the village, or by one of the negroes present. The greater part of the day was spent by the men in completely clearing the plaza. Owing to the rapid and rank growth of vegetation, the entire village was overgrown with weeds, grass, shrubs, and vines, although it had been cleared to a considerable extent for the Christmas fiesta.

Second day. Viernes Santo, April ninth

The second day saw also no dancing or special feasting. Services similar to those of the first day were celebrated in the church throughout the day. A large number of banners were made of bandana handkerchiefs and bright-colored cloth, and about twenty-five candle torches of bamboo were constructed. These torches were made by

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 373 fastening in pairs, on opposite sides of a long bamboo pole, short joints of bamboo of the proper size to hold a candle. Some torches had as many as fifteen of these pairs of candle sockets, and in all there were spaces on the torches for upward of five hundred lights. The 796 several stretchers used in carrying the images of saints and also an image of Christ were newly draped and prepared for use in the processions.

At about 7 o'clock P.M. criers were sent out to summon the people to the church for the first of the more important services of the fiesta, which everyone is obliged to attend. By 7:30 all had assembled. The doors were then closed and fastened, and guards placed over them to prevent anyone from leaving during the service. 796 This rite was conducted by the sindico, or warden of the 795 church, assisted by some of the head-men of the village, and at intervals as it progressed first one and then another of the numerous candles about the altar were extinguished until at last but one flame remained. This the sindico took into the vestry behind the altar, leaving the room in utter darkness, whereupon each of the men and boys immediately produced one or two large paddle-shape pieces of tough green bark, which he had kept concealed upon his person, and proceeded to castigate himself severely. The men all wore shirts made of light calico or of bandana handkerchiefs. That they might receive the full force of the punishment, however, each man pulled his shirt up about his neck and struck himself upon the bare back with his paddle. The blows were delivered with great force, making a loud whacking sound, but no severe pain was inflicted, as the paddles

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

EASTER FESTIVAL AT PUNTA VERADO

[p. 386(A)]

342
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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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PL. CXXXIII

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

FIRING "SALVOS" IN THE PLAZA.

[p. 386(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

were flat and very wide. After about ten minutes of this castigation, the sindico returned from the vestry with the candle, the paddles were dropped, and all the men and boys scurried off to the side and rear walls of the church.

This self-inflicted punishment is in this particular region confined to the Indians alone. Although there is a large negro population, and many negroes attend this ceremony, none participate in this part of it. The negroes in certain other sections, namely, to the south of Esmeraldas, are said to inflict similar punishment on themselves, while those of some other parts are quite unacquainted with the custom. This, together with certain other observances, such as whipping with a cat-o'-nine-tails on Easter Sunday, may be due to the influence exerted over the Cayapa by early Catholic priests. That the same customs do not prevail among the negroes is due seemingly to the fact that at the time of the later influx of negro slaves, other orders and other church customs had superseded those which may have given these particular ideas to the Cayapa. It is possible also that in certain of these customs there is a vestige of some aboriginal ceremonial observances, but if so it is not now possible to segregate them.

On the return of the single light to the altar, several other candles were lighted and the service was concluded by further responsive chanting.

Next was formed a procession, in which practically everyone appeared, headed by bearers of a cross and images of saints, followed by bearers of the candle torches and the banners, and by a large number of other fiesteros. Each person, whether carrying anything else or not, bore

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

PL. CXXXV

PROCESSION CIRCLING THE PLAZA

[p. 388(a)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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MUSIC IN A RANCHO

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 388(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

a short candle in one hand. In addition, a considerable space in front of the church was filled with row upon row of candles, and nearly all the houses in the pueblo, especially those near the church, were illuminated with candles. In all, not fewer than twelve or fifteen hundred candles were thus used. As is usual with such processions, there was much shooting of firearms in front of the church immediately before the procession came forth. After passing round the church and about the plaza, the procession returned to the edifice, where the images of the saints were redeposited at the altar, and the banners, and also the torches, which were still burning, were placed about the walls.

After the chanting of another rosario, two long spears were taken to the front of the church and crossed between the front house-posts, which were twenty feet apart and about fifteen feet back from the door. The spears were crossed at about a foot from their points, the shafts passing upward and their ends resting each upon the shoulder of a man at one of the posts. Directly behind the point where the spears crossed was placed a short piece of lighted candle, one that would burn out in twenty or thirty minutes. As such a piece of candle was consumed, two other men relieved the guards with the spears. These remained on duty during the burning of another candle, when they in turn were relieved. This guard, typifying the guard before the tomb of Christ, was maintained uninterruptedly until about 3:30 A.M., when the procession with the images of saints, the candle torches, and the banners, was repeated. For the exit and reentrance of the procession, the guards with-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

drew their spears and permitted passage through the central space between the house-posts. At all other times no one was permitted to pass between these posts, although frequent services were held throughout the night. 796

On the return of the procession to the church and the redepositing of the images, banners, and torches, the space between the house-posts was closed by the spears and the guard kept as before until about 7:30 A.M., when another service, a "gloria," was chanted. During this service the guards circled about each other, each slowly twirling his spear in the right hand, much as a man may twirl a cane. Toward the close of this service the spearmen mounted guard at each house-post, with the spears held vertically and with the points up, but after its conclusion the guard was no longer maintained.

Third day. Sabado Santo, April tenth

After the early morning ceremony above referred to, nothing other than the chanting of rosarios took place in the pueblo until about noon. A dance was then commenced in one of the houses and continued until nearly dawn of the following morning. [535

Fourth day. Domingo de Pasqual, April eleventh

Shortly before dawn, four images of saints were placed in a small "rancho" in the plaza. Here also were brought the marimba, the drums, and the rattles used in the dance during the night. The exterior of this structure, with the rank growth of grass and weeds in the plaza about 796 342 [534]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

it, is shown in the background of pl. CXXXII. In pl. CXXXIII part of the structure is just visible below the cloud of smoke before the church, and in pl. CXXXVI it is shown in the background. In both of these the plaza is shown completely cleared of vegetation as it appeared during this particular fiesta. The interior of the "rancho" with the instruments and their players is shown in pl. CXXXIV. Here throughout the day, until about 4 P.M., the music was continued almost without cessation, regardless of the fact that services, processions, and feasts were at different times in progress in the pueblo. It is the custom to give the images guarapo to drink on this one day of the year, and this must be done very ceremoniously and with much music. The images themselves are supposed never to drink rum, nor is it drunk in their presence, but great quantities of guarapo are consumed actually by the fiesteros as well as ceremonially by the images. A small calabash is filled with this drink and is held to the lips of the image for some minutes, or if the image is so placed that the calabash cannot be placed to its lips, they are moistened with guarapo by dipping the finger into the liquid. The images having been allowed to imbibe from this calabash, its contents are either thrown on the ground or drunk by some of those present. In addition, other guarapo is constantly drunk by the fiesteros. Almost no rum is drunk in the vicinity of the "rancho," but in case it is desired to drink rum, etiquette requires that a person must turn away from the saints, otherwise they would be displeased at the sight.

At about 8:30 A.M. a service was held in the church,

PANTOMIME OF THE ANGEL DESCENDING TO THE TOMB

[P. 390(a)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

396
342

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

346
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PROCESSION REENTERING THE CHURCH

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 390(8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

followed by an ofrenda, or feast for the dead, in one of the houses, and simultaneously by a procession about the village, some attending one and some the other. The procession was similar to those held during the night, except for the absence of the candle torches and the addition of a pantomime of the descent of an angel upon the tomb of Christ.

Among the Cayapa there is celebrated on this particular day a kind of passion play in which an attempt is made to act out in a small way the resurrection of Christ. In the center of the plaza, and not far from the "rancho" where the saints were drinking guarapo, was a scaffold about fourteen feet in height, in the floor of which was an opening through which a small boy, dressed in full European costume of white cloth and with white-cotton imitations of the wings and tail of a bird, was lowered by means of a rope upon a representation of the tomb of Christ. This tomb was a kind of box made of slats carved in ornamental forms, in which rested an image of Christ and over which a black cloth had been placed. As the boy who impersonated the angel was lowered from the staging by a couple of men, he extended his arms and legs as a bird might extend its wings and tail, and, nearing the tomb, he seized in his mouth the black cloth and was drawn back to the staging, typifying the return of the angel to the sky. In pl. CXXXVI is shown part of this scene. The boy dressed in white and holding the black cloth obtained in his descent upon the "tomb" may be seen standing with the two men on the scaffold. The "tomb" is just being removed from under the scaffold. The procession then wended its way, circling round the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 church, as shown in pl. CXXXV, and passing again down the plaza, this time to the "rancho," which it circled, finally returning and reëntering the church (pl. CXXXVII).

796 785 At about 10 A.M. the sub-chief took his place at the extreme left of the altar, and criers were sent to summon all to the church for the annual castigation with the cat-o'-nine-tails, which punishment is obligatory upon all the Indians, both old and young. This ceremony, however, is never participated in by the negroes. If a man, the devotee bows or sits upon the left heel; if a woman, she bows or sits before the altar and receives one or more strokes from the cat-o'-nine-tails, which always has five points, so that each stroke counts as five lashes. The devotee must receive one stroke, and may take as many more as he desires. Often a person takes two or three strokes, and later returns once or even several times for an equal number. The castigator uses discretion in inflicting the punishment—to an adult he admisters blows with full force, but to a child the blow is light. The men come in their usual attire and receive their lashes upon the thin and very tightly drawn clout. The women, on the other hand, dress especially for the occasion, putting on always a calico or bandana covering to completely hide the face and the upper part of the body and wearing their newest and best manta. Frequently several mantas are worn one outside the other, for protection against the blows. It is customary for the women to make and to keep a manta for this special occasion and which after the ceremony may be worn every day, but it must never be worn before the ceremony. Comparatively small boys and girls come vol-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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CASTIGATOR WITH CAT-O'-NINE-TAILS

[P. 392(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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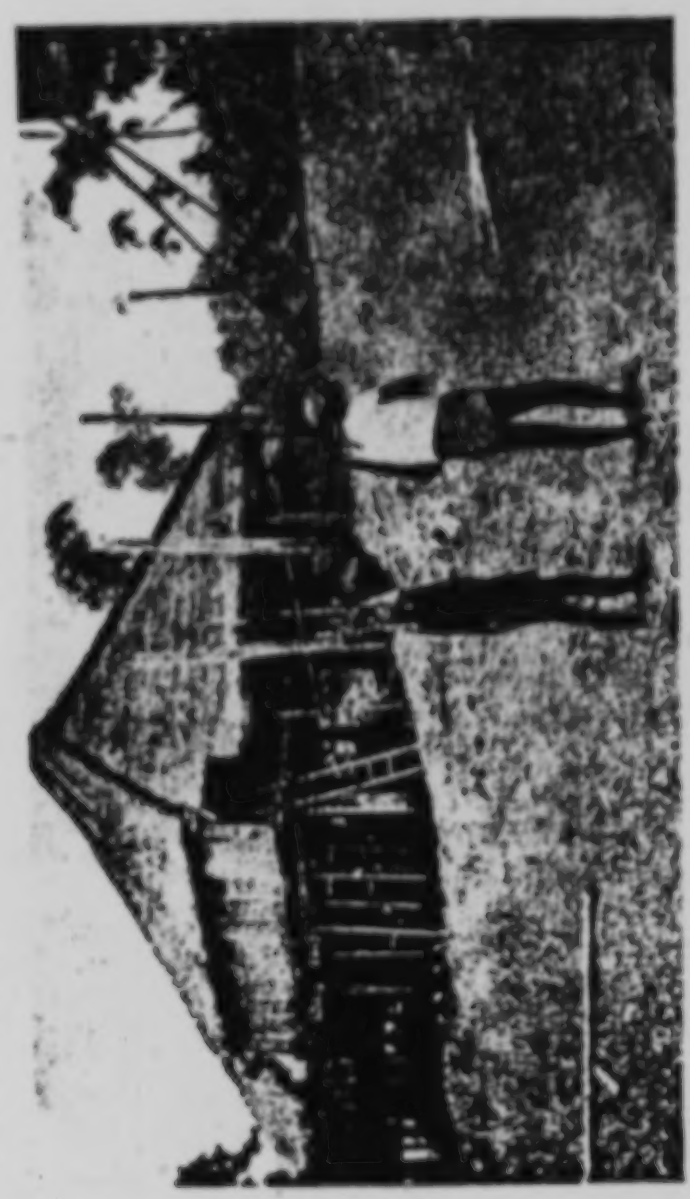

THE CEREMONIAL WHIPPING

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 392 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

untarily for this castigation, but children of from two to five years are usually accompanied. If necessary they are brought forcibly by their elders. The very small children generally receive but a light tap from the castigator.

A few minutes after the castigation at the altar commenced, an assistant took up his position just outside the door of the church and there administered punishment to any who desired it, after which they were at liberty to enter and receive still more at the altar if they desired, although this was not necessary. Pl. CXXXVIII presents a view of this castigator with his cat-o'-nine-tails. Pl.

FIG. 28.—Technic of cording on cat-o'-nine-tails

CXXXIX, 2, shows him in the act of striking a devotee. In actual practice this was done at the door of the church. These two pictures, however, were posed at a short distance from the building in order to gain a better light. Fig. 28 shows the technic of cording on the whip.

By 11:30 the castigation of the devotees was finished and the second ofrenda of the day was called. Nearly everyone attended, but a few remained at the "rancho" to play before the saintly images there.

At about 4 P.M. the saints from the "rancho" were re-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

turned with proper ceremony to the church, and the ceremonies of the fiesta proper were ended.

The night was spent in dancing, although this was not an essential part of the ceremony. By evening of the following day (Monday) all the fiesteros had started toward their homes, and some even left the village during the afternoon of Sunday.

This fiesta is the most important of all the gatherings of the Cayapa and is one which almost all attend even though they may be so situated that the journey to their particular village is a difficult one, and may never attend the other gatherings of the year. Even those Cayapa who live on the Rio Verde and at other distant points endeavor to return to their old home village to celebrate this particular ceremony.

La Fiesta de Noche Buena

"La fiesta de Noche Buena," or the Christmas festival, is the less important of the two strictly religious ceremonies of the Cayapa, and, while the services are held by the síndico, or guardian of the church, and by others, these are not so elaborate as are those held at Semana Santa just described, and less interest is displayed. All these services and indeed the entire conduct of the fiesta are almost identical with those of Semana Santa, except that various of the ceremonies and processions, especially those concerned with enacting the resurrection of Christ, are absent, as is also the ceremonial drinking by the images of saints. There is much dancing both day and night, and there are frequent feasts, some being

[i.e. Easter. --- Analyst]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

of the type known as bodas and others of the type known as ofrendas, given by different persons. 796

This is one of the principal times when offenders against tribal laws are punished, although they may be punished with equal effect at any other public gathering. This fiesta usually lasts from three days to a week. [626]

La Fiesta de Agosto

As before stated, the date of the Fiesta de Agosto is quite irregular, depending largely on the convenience of the priest who is to attend. The whole fiesta had its origin in the Ecuadorian national holiday, August tenth, and by the whites and negroes of other parts of the province it is celebrated always on that date. Among the Cayapa, however, this festival takes the place of the Easter fiesta as celebrated among the whites and negroes, in so far as the services of the priest are concerned. Whereas he always celebrates Easter at some point near the coast, and the whites and negroes almost always attend, the Cayapa await the arrival of the priest at their own villages for any such special services.

At a time when they know that the priest is in one of the villages at the mouth of the river, usually the village of La Tola, during the late summer or early autumn, a deputation is sent by the Cayapa to invite the priest to come to their villages to hold this annual fiesta. Governed largely by other engagements, the priest appoints a time when he will be able to be present; the Cayapa officials then notify all the people of a given village to assemble at that particular time. A day or so

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 before the appointed time a large canoe manned by a deputation of Cayapa is sent by the chief to La Tola, or wherever the priest may happen to be residing at the time, and he is brought up. His arrival at the pueblo is usually preceded by the gathering of practically all the Cayapa who can attend the fiesta, although some stragglers may not appear until the following day.

[346] In each of the three Cayapa villages there is a special house, known by the Spanish term convento ("monastery"), which is reserved for the priest and at no time is ever occupied by anyone else. After establishing himself the priest usually goes directly to the church and holds the first service, and thereafter throughout his stay he is kept busy holding services of one kind or another. Usually two regular services are held each day, [765] besides the various special masses for the repose of the souls of the dead, especially those who have died within the year. In addition to these services the priest officiates at all the marriages, baptisms, and confirmations for the year past. He remains usually from a week to two weeks at each of the three Cayapa villages, depending on the interest of the Indians and the apparent need of his presence.

As in each of the other fiestas described, ofrendas and bodas are held almost every day, and sometimes several in a single day. Except in one particular these are the same as the ofrendas and bodas at the other fiestas and those celebrated between times. On this occasion every one who intends to give a feast usually brings to the morning service in the church a small portion or several small portions of each kind of food to be used at the feast.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

These are placed on a table specially provided for the purpose in the center of the church, and a particular blessing is given these by the priest during the service. They are then usually taken to the convento as a gift to the priest, or they may be taken back to the feasting table. 796

During his entire stay the priest is provided by the Cayapa with an abundance of all kinds of native foods. Every morning quantities of plantains, yuca, fruits, game, and fish are taken to the convento, and in every way the Cayapa see that he is abundantly supplied. In addition, of course, he is paid in money by them for the various masses and special services which he conducts.

Boda

In the strictest sense of the term, a boda is a marriage feast or ceremony. Among the Cayapa, however, it has attained in addition a more general signification, being applied to any gathering at which there is feasting and dancing, but which is without special church services such as are held in the fiestas. A boda therefore usually includes, besides the ordinary feasts proper, other special feasts known as ofrendas, which are really feasts for the dead. In addition there are usually held certain simple church services which do not require the presence of a priest. Usually a number of bodas are held during the course of the year. Each in a way is a personal or family festival, and is almost always given by one, or not more than two, families. They are all practically alike in their essential features. A detailed description of one will give an adequate idea of all. 796 585 765 796

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 A boda held from January seventh to tenth, 1909, was as follows:

At the Christmas fiesta announcement was made that two certain families would give a boda on January seventh. Meanwhile the members of these families commenced to accumulate the provisions for the feasts. Much hunting and fishing and drying of meat were done; rum was distilled; vegetal foods were procured; and, not the least in importance, a trip was made to the ocean to procure shellfish and crabs. On the afternoon of January seventh, accordingly, a considerable number of people assembled, still others coming in on the following day. No feasts or special ceremonies were held until the next day.

First day. January eighth, 1909

At about 9 A.M. a service was conducted in the church, followed by feasts in one of the houses of the village.

The first of these feasts was an ofrenda. While the service was being held in the church, the members of the family, assisted by friends, were placing upon the table all the food which had been prepared the night before. The table, as usual, was prepared by spreading upon a considerable area of the floor a covering of the large leaves of hoja blanca, and upon these were placed all manner of eatables. Liquids or semi-liquids were contained in pottery or calabash dishes, and dry foods were placed directly upon the leaves. There were many of
796 the various mammals, birds, and fishes of the region
252 dried and smoked until almost jet black; monkeys,
262 guatins, squirrels, zorras, woodrats, and other mammals

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

dried whole; and guantas, deer, jaguars, pumas, armadillos, sloths, and wild hogs, all in dismembered parts. Among the birds were parrots, toucans, doves, grouse, wild turkeys, herons, and egrets, all dried whole. Dried fish of various species, especially the shad, were present. In vegetal foods also there was great variety, as the plantain, yuca, papaya, rascadera, sugar-cane, coconut, guabo, zapote, bread-fruit, orange, chonta dura, and palma real. Care was taken in arranging the table to see that there should be as much display as possible. The dried mammals and birds were in many cases placed in erect poses, and fruits or pieces of other foods were placed in the beaks of the birds and in the mouths or between the paws of the mammals. In one or two instances mammals were so posed as to appear as if fighting.

Directly after the service in the church, to which a small portion of the food was taken in order that by its presence during the service it might receive the blessing for all the food used in the feast, all the people of the village congregated at this particular house. The men and larger boys occupied the room in which the table was spread, and the women, girls, and small boys the room adjoining. The givers of the feast then presented to whomsoever they thought proper various articles from the table, such as a dried mammal, bird, or fish, and some fruit. These were for the recipients personally, and were to be taken home by them. On receiving such a gift, a man always took it personally or sent it to some of the women of his family in the adjoining room. This division of the food took a considerable part of what was

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

upon the table; the rest was divided into small bits, and, after an invocation by the warden of the church, the men and boys, all seated on low benches about the table, proceeded to feast. The women meanwhile partook of a portion of the food that had been sent to the next room to them. Having finished the meal, a benediction was pronounced by the warden and the floor was cleared of all scraps of food and the leaves forming the table.

Immediately fresh leaves were spread as at first, and the boda, the word being here used in its more restricted sense, was served. While an ofrenda has a very elaborate assortment of foods, a boda has only fish, oysters, or meats cooked in ripe plantain in the form of a thick gruel. This is served always in the aboriginal pottery plates of the kind shown in pl. LXXXVII, 4, although for everyday use dishes of European manufacture have almost entirely supplanted the pottery plates formerly used. In this particular case the boda consisted of a single course of plantain and fish, but sometimes other courses are served in order. The feast having been finished, the majority of the people went to their respective abodes in the village or to the house of the chief.

At such gatherings offenders against the law are usually brought before the chief, by whom justice is dispensed and differences between indivjduals adjudicated. On this particular occasion several matters of this nature demanded the chief's attention. The details of these will show something of the methods of dispensing justice among the Cayapa.

Immediately after the boda on this first day the chief sent some officers to bring before him certain offenders

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

against the law. The offenders were, in this case, a man and a woman. The man had deserted his wife and child after abusing them for a considerable time and had assumed relations with a young widow. He had therefore been guilty not only of infidelity and abuse, but also of violating the immutable law forbidding divorce. The woman's crime was somewhat less grave. Being a widow, she had a right to remarry, but she had no claim to the husband of another woman. In justice to the Cayapa as a tribe it should here be remarked, as has been elsewhere pointed out, that cases of infidelity, wife-desertion, and abuse are extremely rare. Almost without exception the family relations are held sacred by both men and women, and in general the relations existing between the sexes are governed by stringent laws which are regarded faithfully. In this instance both the offenders were brought to the house of the chief and were placed in the stocks where they remained during the afternoon. The man displayed no sign of emotion, but the woman wailed and chanted the greater part of the time. Both were remonstrated with by friends, and the mother of the woman sat beside her almost constantly, weeping and chanting her plaint at the disgrace that had been brought upon the family by the daughter's misconduct.

It would appear that the keeping of such offenders for many hours in the stocks is an exemplary measure and is done for the effect which it will have on the community at large. The punishment which they are to receive is often decided on long before its infliction, but they are kept in the stocks as an example to the people at large

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

627 and especially to the younger generation, and their con-
796 duct is discussed both privately and publicly throughout the village and its evils are pointed out. Especially is this done by the public utterances of officials, who speak in the large hall in the chief's house where the offenders are incarcerated.

Toward evening the prisoners were released from the stocks and permitted, under guard, to take food, being later returned to the stocks. About nine o'clock a gathering assembled in the room, the man was taken from the stocks, and several of the officials, including the chief, made short speeches concerning the pair and their crime. One of the speakers was a woman, a relative of one of the offenders. At last the sub-chief spoke rapidly and eloquently for about twenty minutes, berating the man for his conduct and his disobedience to the laws of tribal society.

Finally the commission of officers who had been sent in the morning to bring the two for punishment was called forth and its leader gave a ritualistic invocation, after which the offending man was brought forward and made to stand before the stocks with his body inclined slightly forward. The chief then administered fifteen strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, the equivalent of seventy-five lashes. The culprit was destined to receive a greater number of strokes, but owing to the chief's infirmity due to a recent gun-shot wound, and to the fact that the culprit proposed to buy partial immunity with rum for the assemblage, he was given his liberty after receiving the punishment noted.

The woman was then brought forward and received

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The WOMAN WAS then brought forward AND received
ten strokes, or fifty lashes. Her case, however, was 796
different from that of the man, and she was not then set 627
at liberty. By living with the man she signified her 587
desire to marry, hence it was determined that a husband should be found for her. She was therefore placed under a guard of three officers for the night, while the officials set about to find a man who would consent to take her as his wife. She was thus held in custody until January eleventh. Meantime an old man living on the Rio Camarones was found who was willing to marry her. As a matter of fact, her relatives had tried to arrange the same marriage some months before, but as she was unwilling to marry the old man, the priest had refused on his last visit to the village in October, to perform the ceremony. When the boda ended on the afternoon of January tenth the woman was given into the custody of the chief's wife, being held in the chief's house until the following morning, when a commission of three officers called for her and delivered her to the old man who was supposedly destined to become her husband. As a matter of fact, she remained with him only a few days, when she and her paramour stole away to parts unknown.

Second day. January ninth, 1909

A short service was held as usual in the church, fol- 796
lowed by another ofrenda. This was marked by disorder in dividing the food, everyone grabbing for what he [264]
considered a proper share. This was in very bad taste, according to Cayapa etiquette, and was loudly condemned by the older men. This misbehavior was prob-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

ably due in part to the increased drunkenness, which was apparent throughout the day, but was due more largely to the greed of several negroes present.

After this feast the floor was cleared of remnants of the meal and of the leaves used to make the table. The second feast, the boda, was then served as usual. This consisted of three courses, each served on the same plate in the case of each individual, care being used in replenishing the supply that the plates of different individuals should not be interchanged. The three courses of these mush-like foods consisted of plantain with fish, plantain with meat, and plantain with oysters. In case any individual did not eat any or all of his portion, it was taken to the next room by the host or by one of the attendants and given to one of the women of his family. The men giving the boda served the guests, while the women attended to filling the plates.

In this particular instance the whole of the previous night had been spent by the hostess and her friends in cooking and preparing the plantain mushes used in this boda. While hot they were poured into burden-baskets lined with leaves. When served they were cold and very thick.

Immediately following the feasts another refractory pair were brought to justice. In this case the man had forsaken his wife and for three months had been living with his first cousin, who had deserted her husband. Each of the culprits, therefore, was charged with the double crime of desertion of spouse and cohabitation with first cousin. These are considered great breaches of tribal law and are severely punished. As on the previous day,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the offenders were placed in the stocks, remonstrated with by relatives and friends, and finally whipped. In this case the man received a hundred and seventy-five lashes, or thirty-five strokes of the cat-o'-nine-tails, and in addition was required to pay a fine in money amounting to about fifteen or twenty sucres. The woman's punishment was a hundred and twenty-five lashes, or twenty-five strokes. The greater severity of the punishment in the cases of these two offenders was due to the fact that they were first cousins, which relationship prohibits marriage under any consideration.

Another example of punishment was witnessed late in the afternoon. A young man had inbided freely and while in his cups ran amuck in two or three houses. Others endeavored to quiet him, and to hold him and prevent serious trouble, but he seemed crazed with the rum and determined to fight, until finally it became necessary for officers to take him in hand. After a struggle he was carried to the stocks and secured by one foot. He fought desperately to release himself, but finally fell asleep and after several hours awoke in a much better mood.

In this instance was shown a good example of the devotion of the Cayapa women. Throughout his drunken frenzy the young man's mother had endeavored to quiet him, and for her trouble been struck by him repeatedly. Nevertheless, as soon as he quieted down in the stocks she took up her station beside him and fanned him almost continuously during the time he slept. Such instances are very common. It is not considered a disgrace for anyone, either man or woman, to become intoxicated,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 and the care of those who are sober is to see that a person does no serious damage while in that state. The rum 627 used produces a cycle of symptoms, beginning with 273 jollity and loquacity, passing through a desire to display skill, such as bending hands with an opponent, and ending with a frenzied desire to fight. It is then that the women usually take a hand and try to pacify the men. Sometimes several women are required to hold a drunken man and prevent serious trouble.

In the case of the young man above mentioned, no further punishment was inflicted. When he awoke in a fairly sober state he was taken before the chief, who lectured him on the error of his ways, and warned that if he repeated the offense he would be castigated and fined.

Third day. January tenth, 1909

796 A brief church service, preceded and followed by a procession about the plaza, was held in the forenoon as on the two previous days, and was followed by an ofrenda and a boda. Whereas on the two previous days the ofrendas had been more for the dead in general, in this case there was a feast for a person who recently had died. This fact brought out another interesting custom. After [785] the feasting (both the ofrenda and the boda) was finished, the sub-chief took his position at one end of the hall and administered a stroke or two with the cat-o'-nine-tails to each member of the family who had given the feast, and many others presented themselves for similar castigation, but it was compulsory only with the members of the immediate family and their relatives.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

During the feasts the cat-o'-nine-tails used for the castigation, together with various articles of apparel of the deceased and certain articles given for the purpose by relatives, was suspended upon a pitigua cord over the table. These articles were later distributed among some of the guests not related to the family.

After these feasts and the attendant ceremonies many of the people went again to the chief's house. The same pair of culprits who received punishment the day before were again brought in, placed in the stocks, and later castigated. The woman received twenty-five strokes, or a hundred and twenty-five lashes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, while the man was given between thirty and forty strokes. The whipping of the man was due chiefly to the fact that he still refused to return to his lawful family. Even after he had been thus severely whipped by some of the officers a second time and was brought before the chief, he refused to return to his family. The chief and others argued with him and tried again to persuade him to see the error of his way, but he stoutly maintained that he would not return, and the chief finally became so vexed that he gave the culprit a couple of resounding slaps on the side of the head and remanded him to the stocks where he remained nearly the rest of the day. Toward evening he was liberated and was not further punished. It is very unusual for the chief to slap a culprit, and such an act is done only under great provocation. In the case of almost anyone else, such a slap would be highly resented and would result in a fight, but a culprit does not dare offer resistance to the chief under such circumstances.

Whites will go to the white clouds, forever floating between heaven and earth. While the Cayapa believe that they are a moral people, probably everyone has sinned a little and so after death every Cayapa soul is scourged in hell. Periodically the soul is weighed and when the scale tips in favor of the soul over its sins, it goes to heaven.

The matter of sin and sex so concern the Cayapa that when they were presented by the first missionaries with the account of Adam and Eve, they transformed it by saying that in the beginning Jesus created two men and two women. The women were not created from the ribs or any other part of the men's bodies, and so, everyone was properly nonrelated. From these four beings sprang the human race.

At irregular intervals, a priest comes up from Limones for Christmas or Easter. He holds a brief service, consecrates marriages, and baptizes children. The Cayapa are very much taken with Catholic imagery and the use of candles. As the writer once watched the priest perform a marriage at Punta Venado, there was a brief contest of wills. The Cayapa wedding party had

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all lined up single file broadside to the altar. There were two bridal couples and the two sets of godparents, each couple clutching a lighted candle. The priest, an Italian, who had just arrived from missionary service in the Congo, told them that candles were not at all needed for the marriage service. The members of the wedding party looked somewhat discomfited, but they maintained their grips on the candles. The priest repeated his admonitions several times. There was no argument, but the Indians just stood there holding their candles in front of them. Finally, the priest, with a generous Italian shrug, said, "If you want to get married with candles, I'll marry you with candles, but you really don't need them." In a small way, Catholic flexibility had met Cayapa rigidity and the priest was beginning his accommodation.

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Easter is the most important holiday for the Cayapa. The day before Easter week, people begin arriving at the ceremonial center and set up housekeeping. The following day, most of the people have arrived. There were no special services, and most of the day was spent in clearing the plaza. The /ún^{y}i/ began the work of

clearing. He worked alone for perhaps two hours before he was joined unenthusiastically by eight other men. They all worked separately and at a considerable distance from each other. Other men made minor repairs to the church, and still others made small repairs to the houses surrounding the plaza. All of the houses were in very poor repair, but no one felt obliged to undertake the effort required to make really good repairs. The houses were only used during Easter and Christmas, and none of the inhabitants felt sorely pressed.

The second day of Easter saw people busily engaged in building bamboo cross poles to which were fastened candles. That evening, about six, all of the fiesteros, dressed in their finery, formed a procession. A Negro carried a large statue of a saint in his arms at the head of the parade. Behind him, forming a straggling line, two and three abreast, came the Cayapa. Some men and women held candles in their hands, some men carried the large bamboo cross-poles with six to eight candles. Some carried the smaller statues of the saints. They walked around the church three times, and then entered. Groups of Negroes were present and they sang hymns in Spanish. The Cayapa like to have the

Negroes present for Church services, because they like to hear them sing. One of the complaints voiced against the/ũn^{y}i/ was that he had not invited enough Negro singers to the fiesta.

On Easter Sunday, there was a great deal of varied activity in all of the houses as the Cayapa prepared for the church activities. This meant that they put on their newest clothing, and young children were dressed in the kind of ornamentation ordinarily worn by women, they often had row upon row of beads and bangles hanging from the neck down to the waist. Around ten o'clock, the church bell rang, and people began drifting over to the church. The officials stood outside with their whips, and as people approached, they struck them several times across the buttocks. Some went into the church, where the chief stood in front of the altar. They bent forward and received the blows. Children were whipped also, but very lightly. Some of the officials went into each of the houses looking for stragglers. After all had been whipped, they whipped themselves and one of them whipped the chief. Only a few of the Negroes joined in the ritual, and, in these

instances, it was done with a joking air. There was some laughter as the Cayapa were whipping themselves, but it was restrained. As the official went about looking for more people, they kept stating, "Everyone has to be whipped, everyone." This practice very likely was brought in by Catholic missionaries at a very early period.

In general, the description of a fiesta given by Barrett applies, with one major exception. The passion play described by Barrett was no longer being performed. In its place a group of fiesteros set up a marimba, small hand drums and several bass drums in a small rancho between the church and the main house of the chief. During the evening of Easter Sunday, they played with such gusto that sometime between one and two in the morning the structure collapsed. Concurrently with all of these activities, the chief dispensed justice, marriages were arranged, marriages were celebrated, Negro funerals were conducted, fisticuffs were engaged in, people drank, also passed out, woke up, and the band played on. This continued for six days and nights.

Christmas was similar, except that there were no nighttime processions around the church. Ideally, seven sponsors are chosen for the Christmas *fiesta*, and they are expected to supply rum, tobacco, and *guarapo*, and perfumed toilet water which is used to douse the *fiesteros* during the evening following the church services on the twenty-fifth. The families of the sponsors distribute the goods to all comers until the supply is exhausted. This is expensive, and the outlay in cash may run to over five hundred *sucres*. While it is said to be an honor to be a sponsor, no one apparently accepts the honor willingly. Sour corn meal is prepared several days before Christmas and mixed with water. This drink, called *campu* is put in small canoe-like containers on the evening of the 25th. Ten to twelve containers are divided up and blessed by the chief who makes the sign of the cross. The drink is then carried around and people dip gourds of it and drink. During the Christmas *fiesta*, the chief wandered around for hours arguing with men who claimed that they were too busy or too poor to become a sponsor for the next Christmas *fiesta*. Finally, the chief lost his temper and

harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several canoes in Esmeraldas. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is now undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

than as a personal, phenomenon. That is, there are no family shrines within the home. Individuals do not pray. It is only on festive occasions when many families come together that the trappings of religion are brought forth. The statues of the saints will be displayed in a makeshift shrine within the home which is being used as the gathering place. Some candles are lit; the chief makes the sign of the cross, and the drinking begins. As it progresses, the saints will be turned to the wall "because they do not like to see so much drinking."

The ceremonial centers with their cemeteries, churches, and fiesta activities give the Cayapa a much needed sense of self-awareness and identity. If a priest is present, so much the better; if not, the Cayapa know that they are doing the right thing, that they are moral, and that they are Catholic.

Supernaturals. The Cayapa have a large inventory of spirits and devils (Barrett 1925:360-381). Two that are not mentioned by Barrett seem to reflect a feeling of fear on the part of the Cayapa toward the Negro: The first of these is duende; he lives at the headwaters of

main classes of officials. First, there is the /únʸi/ or gobernador; second, there is the /káša únʸi/ or gobernador nuevo; and third, there are those officials called /čáⁱtala/. This term may derive from /čačí/ 'people' and /-tala/ 'together,' that is, an official who gathers people together. Those officials who are called capitán or /tánde/, the latter from teniente, and the secretario, seem to be /čáⁱtala/ and are listed on the official roles in the provincial capital of Esmeraldas. Regardless of Spanish title, the /čaⁱtala/ are not functionally distinct. That is, the duties of all of the officials are the same: to help arrange marriages and to settle disputes. At the ceremonial center they may as a group try a case while the /únʸi/ listens to the proceedings and comes to a decision. In addition to these officials, there are individuals who are called policemen and who are available at the request of any of the officials. Their duties include the bringing in of culprits for trial as well as aiding in the maintenance of a modicum of order at the fiestas.

The /únʸi/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections

uncertainties. These uncertainties are carried over into the new period of chieftainship wherein there is a great difference between the people's perception of authority and their expectation of authority. Gabriel is not seen as a strong chief but, rather, as a man who drinks excessively and as a result, is unable to function as a chief should. At this point political behavior took two forms among the Cayapa. On one level, individuals were seen expressing dissatisfaction with Gabriel as the newly installed /únʸi/ and threatening to go to Quito, the national capitol, to have him replaced. The youngest son of the late /únʸi/ was voicing complaints that by rights he should have been the /únʸi/ because he speaks excellent Spanish in marked contrast to Gabriel. Most of the complaints seemed to emanate from the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas, more especially from the region of Pichiyaco, the home of the late /únʸi/. Complaints were voiced that Gabriel could not speak good Spanish, that he could not perform his duties, that he could not settle disputes, that he was /vinrúku/, "a drunkard." As the time drew near for the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado, many people

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began saying that they would attend the fiesta at one of the other tribal sections rather than attend one headed by an incompetent drunkard. Others said that if they attended, they would not ask Gabriel to settle their disputes; rather than this, they said, they would go to the national authorities. Gabriel was clearly not very secure in his position. The behavior of the people in these instances was political because there was a shifting of support from one authority to a contender. Furthermore, the shift of support was ideologically motivated in terms of values concerning the nature of the chieftainship (of Easton 1958; Siverts 1960). Gabriel's reaction to this was to drink more. Often when I would be talking to one or more Indians, Gabriel would appear on the scene, quite drunk, and begin to electioneer in a loud voice. He would tell the Indian(s) that he was responsible for my being there and that they would all benefit by my knowledge of hypodermics and penicillin. Whenever I saw Gabriel, he was obviously drunk; these observations extended over many months.

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been met during the Christmas fiesta. He took no overt steps to assert his authority beyond stating to a few Negro bystanders that he was the /ún^{y}i/. He remained drunk a good deal of the time but so did most of the other fiesteros including women and, at times, children. Little by little, people became aware of the fact that there was indeed an /ún^{y}i/ available, and a few began drifting over to where he lay drunk, sprawled in his hammock; despite his inebriation, /xavítu/ "complaints," were presented to him. It turned out that most of the disputes to be settled were from the area that had initially manifested greatest opposition to Gabriel. Gabriel, therefore, began to function as the /ún^{y}i/ in fact, as well as in name; however, his performance was not at all satisfactory. For example, on one occasion when he was asked to cure a sick child because he had studied curing with a brujo from Sapallo Grande, he was ineffective in carrying out this ritual because of his drunkenness.

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As the fiesta wore on day and night without dissolution for a full week, the second level of political

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behavior began to develop. Individuals, all very drunk, and occasionally two or three holding each other up, would stand in front of Gabriel and lecture him on his drunkenness. This was not the way an /inʸi/ should act, they would say; he must be sober; he must change his ways, or the people would not listen to him. From time to time his wife would place herself before his supine form which was sprawled occasionally on the floor, but most often in his hammock. She would loudly and clearly, in front of the assembled crowd, harangue him in the same vein, telling him to sober up and get out and behave as an /inʸi/ should. Scenes like these were repeated throughout the year at various small parties and again at Punta Venado during the next Easter season. The attendance during Easter was markedly less than at the previous Christmas gathering. Political resistance had not died down. The situation described above has all of the elements of a comedy [drunks moralizing to a drunkard], but Gabriel was an element of poignant tragedy within the comedy. The previous year he had not been a drunkard, but that year he was not the /inʸi/.

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4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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personal direction during a situation of crisis and was soundly rebuffed on all sides. During 1959-60 rumors were constantly in the air in Ecuador that the end of the world was going to take place soon. These rumors had reached the Cayapa and were vouched for by one of the priests at the town of Limones. This priest had been forecasting such an event for some time. According to Gabriel, Jesus carries the world in his arms and when the sins of the people pile up, the world gets heavier and heavier until at last the burden becomes insupportable, and Jesus lets the world fall. That, said Gabriel, will happen very soon unless the Cayapa can appease the wrath of God by holding a special fiesta on the tenth of August, a national holiday. Gabriel was so concerned that he sent a message to the chiefs of the other sections, inviting them to a meeting at his home to discuss the impending disaster and the means by which to avert it. He wanted each group to stage a fiesta at its own ceremonial center at the same time "to give added strength." To make doubly sure, he wanted four young children to be married "as they did in the

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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old days." Being young they would, of course, be without sin, and Jesus would find the sight touching and forgive the world. Gabriel also let it be known that any of the Punta Venado group who did not attend would be fined by a special commission composed of two Indians and two Negroes. The Negroes would be needed to speak harshly to the stay-at-homes because the Indians have too much shame to speak with the needed firmness. The chiefs of the other sections never came to the proposed meeting. Probably sensing his lack of control over the other groups as well as within his own group [several people had voiced opposition to going so far to Punta Venado], he about-faced and stated that a celebration would be held at his house, to be followed in a week by another to be held at the Cimarrón house in Encanto. According to informants, this would serve adequately because the statues of the saints are in Gabriel's house and would be brought to Encanto when needed.

It is clear that at this time Gabriel had no control over the other sections and very little over his own. Resistance to him was on an individual basis

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marriage, and she accepted. Lorenzo claimed that he never consulted the girl's mother [her father was dead], as he was ashamed and afraid of her. Because Lorenzo's parents were dead, he moved into his mother-in-law's house. After several years the young couple was married by the Catholic priest in Punta Venado.

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After the death of his first wife, Lorenzo lived in his mother-in-law's house for about five years. He stated that after his wife died, her mother told him that he was no longer her son-in-law. Thereafter, apparently she either did not prepare his food or did not do so properly. Lorenzo says that he did not argue with her but continued living there for five years, nevertheless!

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One night Lorenzo attended a party given at the home of Antonio Largo. He saw his present wife there for the first time and was immediately attracted to her. While the men and women are somewhat separated at fiestas, the women serve the men guarapo /wápu/, a fermented sugar cane drink, and at these times some conversation may be had. Lorenzo told her that he wanted her to come away with him "immediately,"

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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earlier by way of the custom of night courtship described above. These affairs need not end in marriage, and both parties are free to seek greener pastures. It is the decided impression of the writer that the Cayapa women are the sexual initiators generally and that they are visited by a comparatively small number of sexual activists among the men.

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Arranged Marriages. Most men do not have the brashness of character required to steal a woman, and many are not able to carry through a successful night courtship. For them, therefore an arranged marriage is necessary. One way of arranging a marriage is for the father of a young man or woman to ask one of the tribal officials to find a spouse for his offspring. If the official does not know of anyone immediately available, he will make inquiries at whatever fiesta he happens to attend. There is no charge for this service.

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This sort of match-making was attempted unsuccessfully at a fiesta that I attended at Sapallo Grande in 1960. The fiesta was a combined affair, honoring the dead and celebrating a recent marriage.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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It was sponsored by Marianito Añapa of the Río Camerones who is a member of the Sapallo Grande section. The marriage was for one of his sons. During the festivities it was noticed that Ciro Añapa, a young man in his twenties, was very drunk and he seemed to be having a difficult time with Trivinio Balsor who is one of the policía of the Punta Venado section. Trivinio was also very drunk. From time to time, Ciro would break out in tears and loud sobs while Trivinio spoke to him. After a while, Ciro pushed Trivinio away from him and went to another part of the room where he continued to cry and sob for a long time. All that had happened was that Trivinio had told Ciro that he had a girl waiting whom he could have in marriage. Ciro kept protesting that he was too young and that he wanted to finish the fourth grade at the school in Encanto. The sequence of events leading to this lacrimose scene began with the girl's father having spoken to an official of the Sapallo Grande section, who in turn had spoken to Trivinio.

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Sometimes the father of a marriageable girl will ask an official to deliver her to a specific man

301 The women's clothes are much simpler and scantier than the
291 men's. They simply consist of a piece of cotton cloth dyed blue, black or red, about two yards long, which is tightly wrapped around the lower part of the body and is tied at the waist with flax cord. The upper part of the body, up to the waist, and legs, from the feet to the knees, remain totally uncovered. By way of ornaments they wear long strings of tiny colored beads around the wrists and long, colored bead necklaces around the neck, as well as self-made mother-of-pearl amulets and some of the more well-to-do women even wear strings of silver coins. Bead necklaces are also
[584] worn in large numbers by young men during the period of their betrothal. In other words the women's wardrobes are not a serious worry to the husbands. Up to their sixth year, children run about completely naked apart from some bead or button ornaments likewise hung on them.

481 The men walk ahead of their wives, a long leaf-shaped paddle
562 in one hand and a small net-like basket containing as little as
482 possible in the other, while the heavily laden women trot behind them with short, swaying steps, along with the children. Even from their visits to town one can observe that the woman has been given the role of the load and work-horse.

482 On her back the woman carries a heavily laden basket which is strapped around her forehead, while the youngest child sits thrust out in riding position on her hip, with the mother's arm holding him tightly. In her other hand she usually carries a bundle and a cooking pot.

574 One of their first visits in town is at the local priest's. The
● 797 latter claims that the Cayapa are Catholics. But this is not true.
301 Probably they only go to the priest because he seeks to prove the blessings of the Catholic Church by means of small presents and holy coins, which, one must admit, do look very pretty worn around the neck. At home they have their own cult.

481 Their happiness is apparent when they leave the vicarage, be-
198 cause they have again received presents. They amble down the business streets, curious, amazed and admiring as they go from one shop to the other. "Chindo, Kachindo, compadre?" the gutter-snipes call after them. (The first two words are in the Cayapa language, the third is Spanish; the sentence means: "Where'ye going, fellow?") "Caminando, viendo, comprando, compadre"
[791] ("going for a walk, seeing, buying, brother") the men answer politely, but in very poor Spanish.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent canefields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported.

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Capaya* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the priests visit the *Cayapa*.

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive.

In addition to permanent houses, small temporary ranchos are sometimes built when people are far from home. The houses in the "village" are standard structures, but the church follows Spanish ways: it rests on the ground and has walls.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Although *Cayapa* tradition records a period when the people wore blankets and even ponchos, today their clothes are scanty (pl. 59, *bottom*). The men wear a tight, small, white garment, made like bathing trunks, and a thin gaudy shirt of calico, with short and very tight sleeves. On festive occasions vests of European cut and manufacture are frequently donned over the shirt, and so are felt fedoras.

Women wear a long skirt of native cloth, girded with a narrow fringed belt. As in the Highlands, several skirts of different weights are sometimes worn. Head, shoulders, and chest are usually left bare.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

Death.—Death is not considered to be a natural phenomenon but is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body. A dead man's soul hovers around his house, which is usually abandoned, though it may be dismantled and sold. The corpse is buried in a coffin in a Catholic-style cemetery near the church. The dead man's possessions are usually given away, but it is not known who inherits his fields and clearings.

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ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The great range of designs used by the *Cayapa* in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

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Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (fajas).

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Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

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Canoe paddles and wooden seats are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

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Music and dancing.—Holidays, weddings, and other feasts are accompanied by much dancing and drinking. As elsewhere along the coast, the European marimba is widely used, as are panpipes, flutes, drums, and rattles. In recent years the Highland San Juan dance has been gaining in popularity. Also of immediate Highland provenience may be the small European wooden harp with palm-fiber strings.

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Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

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Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. Guarapo, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

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RELIGION

Native *Cayapa* religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are told for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

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2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

But the soul is believed to linger after death, and the methods used to encourage its departure are strictly aboriginal. A young couple's marriage may not be consummated until solemnized by the visiting padre, but the admonitions of the village chief to both bride and groom reinforce the authority of native jurisdiction. The annual Easter whipping of the whole community is also native.

Barrett could find no clear-cut creation story. The universe is believed to be made up of three superimposed worlds, with human life centered on the middle one. Men share this middle world with many spirits, some malevolent and other benevolent, all of whom are busy affecting human happiness and goals.

Sometimes the spirits must be exorcised, as when they cause illness. For this a shaman is called, and, with the cooperation of neighbors, he drives out the spirits amid much singing, smoking, and sprinkling. The shaman also may suck out the cause of illness.

Almost anyone can become a shaman by undergoing intensive training and acquiring a set of spirit helpers. There seems to be no "predestination" for this career, though Barrett was apparently unable to get enough information on this point. Like the chief, the shaman is not a full-time professional.

Because of his magic control of spirit powers, the shaman can be a force for evil as well as for good. It is he who causes illness and eventually death. There is a great deal of similarity between the behavior and the paraphernalia of the *Cayapa* shaman and that of the Highland medicine man.

THE COLORADO

The *Colorado*, or, as they prefer to call themselves, *Tsatchela* or *Tatchila* Indians, share with the *Cayapa* the distinction of being the last surviving aboriginal group in the Lowlands of western Ecuador. The two groups know about each other and even occasionally visit back and forth; but they speak mutually unintelligible languages, and their ways of life are quite distinct.

In contrast to the *Cayapa*, the *Colorado* are rapidly disappearing. Their territory and their numbers have been shrinking constantly, and one can easily foresee the time when the group will become extinct. They have not been able to withdraw before the pressure of "civilization," and they have been incorporated to a large degree into the Highland plantation system known as concertaje. The area they occupy on the upper reaches of several affluents of the Esmeraldas and Daule Rivers in the western part of Pichincha Province has been an area of heavy colonization in recent decades. During World War II an all-weather road was opened which increased the area's accessibility to colonization from the Highlands.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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PL. IV

PRIEST'S HOUSE AND CHURCH AT SAPAYO GRANDE

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 48(B)]

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distantly by marriage and who, for one or another reason, seek to intensify a weak relationship. The important relationship is between the compadres and not between the sponsor and the child.

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Baptism. Every infant must be baptized as soon as possible by the priest. The god-parents chosen for this occasion are always Indian. Although some say that it is best to choose them from within the family, others claim that it is best to choose non-relatives. There are no strong feelings one way or another; however, most of my material indicates a bias in favor of having relatives as compadres of the baptism. A statistical treatment is not possible as my data center primarily on the Río Camerones region and not on the Punta Venado group as a whole.

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For the baptism the parents, the god-parents, and the infant go to Limones. The ceremony which is done in the Catholic manner by the priest costs ten sucres which is paid by the father of the child. The priest is usually presented with a gift, such as a fan or a basket, made by the Cayapa. At this time no presents are exchanged between the compadres, although

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The Cayapa are not theologians, nor are they knowledgeable about Catholic ritual. They recognize this lack, but do not concern themselves over it. They rely for ritual guidance on the priest, and in his absence their Negro neighbors are ever ready to take his place as religious mentors to the Cayapa. The Cayapa recognize that the Negro has greater understanding of the religion, but they also consider that the Negroes are great sinners, while the Cayapa are held to be very moral. For the Cayapa, religion is morality and morality means proper sexual behavior. That the Negroes seldom, if ever, marry is a constant source of scandal for the Cayapa, and that the Cayapa almost always marry in the Church [a few polygynists to the contrary] is a constant source of envy for the Negro women, who feel great personal insecurity in their free unions. The trouble with the world, say the Cayapa, is that there are many sinners in it--people who commit incest, adultery, and take more than one wife. As most Cayapa are moral, they will go to heaven, but Negroes and Whites, who are notorious sinners, will not. After death Negroes will go to the black clouds and

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Whites will go to the white clouds, forever floating between heaven and earth. While the Cayapa believe that they are a moral people, probably everyone has sinned a little and so after death every Cayapa soul is scourged in hell. Periodically the soul is weighed and when the scale tips in favor of the soul over its sins, it goes to heaven.

The matter of sin and sex so concern the Cayapa that when they were presented by the first missionaries with the account of Adam and Eve, they transformed it by saying that in the beginning Jesus created two men and two women. The women were not created from the ribs or any other part of the men's bodies, and so, everyone was properly nonrelated. From these four beings sprang the human race.

At irregular intervals, a priest comes up from Limones for Christmas or Easter. He holds a brief service, consecrates marriages, and baptizes children. The Cayapa are very much taken with Catholic imagery and the use of candles. As the writer once watched the priest perform a marriage at Punta Venado, there was a brief contest of wills. The Cayapa wedding party had

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all lined up single file broadside to the altar. There were two bridal couples and the two sets of godparents, each couple clutching a lighted candle. The priest, an Italian, who had just arrived from missionary service in the Congo, told them that candles were not at all needed for the marriage service. The members of the wedding party looked somewhat discomfited, but they maintained their grips on the candles. The priest repeated his admonitions several times. There was no argument, but the Indians just stood there holding their candles in front of them. Finally, the priest, with a generous Italian shrug, said, "If you want to get married with candles, I'll marry you with candles, but you really don't need them." In a small way, Catholic flexibility had met Cayapa rigidity and the priest was beginning his accommodation.

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Easter is the most important holiday for the Cayapa. The day before Easter week, people begin arriving at the ceremonial center and set up housekeeping. The following day, most of the people have arrived. There were no special services, and most of the day was spent in clearing the plaza. The /ún^{y}i/ began the work of

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[P 155]

CHAPTER IV

DEVIANCE AND LAW IN THE AREA OF SEX RELATIONS

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In terms of attitudes and decisions, Cayapa law can be marked off in two grand divisions: the sacred and the profane. The sacred involves the realm of sin, and sin for the Cayapa is to be found completely in the area of sexual behavior. Illicit sexual adventures, if exposed, are always punished by whipping and/or the use of the stocks. We have no information, but in all probability the whip and the stocks were introduced to the Cayapa at a very early period by Catholic missionaries. Regardless of the source of these two articles of punishment, the Cayapa have taken to them enthusiastically. The question of why sex should be so charged with feelings of sin requiring a special mode of punishment will be discussed later, when we deal with personality factors. While the Cayapa talk about sin and characterize many people as being sinners, my data do not indicate that they either dwell on, or even conceptualize sin, in terms of a world view. Rather,

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Miguel section and, after reaching an agreement on the location of a house, I made a down payment for the purchase of roofing material. Two weeks later I returned with my family, but was told that we could not settle in the San Miguel section: the inhabitants were afraid of us, as they had heard we were cannibals. The rumor had been started by people of the Punta Venado section who wanted us to live with them. Earlier, a resident missionary had started a small dispensary among the San Miguel group, and another missionary was conducting a very large medical practice in the Sapallo Grande section. Since the people of Punta Venado wanted a medical gringo, too, they started the rumors of our cannibalistic propensities to frighten the people of San Miguel into rejecting us so that we would move in with them. They told the stories with such gusto that for a brief period, even after we settled among them, they believed the fantasies were indeed true.

It is not only the complex of sphincter training, nursing and weaning that convinces the young boy that the world and its objects are threatening and cannibalistic, but play behavior also. A common game that parents and older siblings play with young males is to

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

NUMERAL SYSTEM

802 The notes on and analysis of Cayapa numerals here given were made the subject of a short contribution to the *Putnam Anniversary Volume*, 1909, in which they appear under the title of "The Cayapa Numeral System." They are based on the accompanying table of numbers, which runs to 10,000. Only one informant could carry the count above a few thousands, but there seems no doubt that the higher thousands here given are correct.

The Cayapa numeral system is a quinary-decimal-centenary one with certain variations, to be noted later, and the rules on which it is based are well fixed and regular. In it there are certain points of special interest. One of these is its centenary nature, according to which there is no separate term for thousand; but hundred is used as the base of all numbers from 100 up, thus making a number like 4000 forty hundreds, not four thousands.

Also, there appear two terms which show what may be regarded as traces of other systems, though on account of the lack of other terms in support of these systems, they must be treated as only possibilities. Four is formed on the base two, thus showing what may be a trace of a binary system; but this is the only evidence of such a system found in the whole series of numbers. Especially significant in considering this term is the fact that three exists independently of two, and thus points strongly to a system higher than the binary. The second extraneous term is twenty, which appears entirely unrelated to any of the other numbers, either lower or higher. This might be taken as a trace of a system of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

vigesimal nature, but it lacks even so much support as four, and the binary system for it has not even one other number of a form in any way resembling it. On the other hand, though two other terms of the system are held in common with a neighboring language, the terms for four and twenty do not show this indication of possible borrowing either by one people or the other.

An unusual feature here shown is the use of two distinct terms for the same number in two different parts of the system. This occurs in ten, where *pa'it'a* is used up to nineteen; and *tcũ'ũga*, apparently a borrowed term, from thirty up.

The order given to the figures of the various denominations is as follows:

All compound numbers from ten up which contain a figure of the units order have this as the final term. Thus thirteen is ten three. The numbers six to nine are compounds of five with the four lower numbers. Here the same rule is followed and the numbers one to four are terminal.

In all tens and in all hundreds, which in this system include the thousands also, the term tens or hundreds is the final one, being preceded by the number of tens or hundreds in the numeral in question. Thus 40 is four tens, 400 is four hundreds, and 4000 is forty hundreds.

In no case is there found anything in the nature of a connective term between the parts of a compound number.

Following the phonetic laws of the language, certain terms, if not used as the ultimate ones, are changed when they occur in a compound numeral. Thus *pɛ'ma*

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

•802 194 is the unit three, and *pa'it·a pēma* is thirteen, but *pē'ñ tcūñga* is thirty. So far as two and three are concerned, the change is regular and universal. One changes in the hundreds place in the numerals one hundred to one hundred ninety-nine, and in six when this occurs as a terminal figure. Five has three forms. According to these phonetic laws also, these numbers, when occurring in units or in the units place, undergo the same changes if followed by other terms possessing the necessary sounds. Thus, in the sentence "he has three new ollas," *ya-tcī kasa pē'n pīa'ma hūⁿ*, literally "his new three ollas has," the change of form of the numeral is necessary. Equally correct, however, is *ya-tcī kasa pıa'ma pēma hūⁿ*, in which the surrounding sounds do not necessitate the change. It appears also that the numbers two and three, and perhaps one and five, may exert an influence upon the term following, as in the cases of *pa'i patsa* and *pē'ñ batsa*, in which the change of the second term would seem to be related to the preceding sounds.

Rules of Composition

802 The numbers on which the Cayapa numeral system is based are 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 20, and 100. On these the composition proceeds as follows:

Four is *ta*-2.

Six to nine are 5-*dic* 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively.

Ten alone and as a component of the numbers 11 to 19 and other higher numbers in which these occur is *pa'it·a*, a term quite different from tens (*tcū'ñga*) used

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

in the composition of the tens from 30 up and in all higher numbers in which these occur. 802

Beginning with 11 all units proceed regularly by the simple addition of the unit terms 1 to 9 to the particular ten under consideration.

Twenty has a name which, unlike the other tens, is not related in any way to the units.

Beginning with 30 all the tens proceed regularly by the addition of *tcū'ñga* to the unit terms 3 to 9, with certain changes in some of these terms, as elsewhere noted.

Hundred is the last grand division, and all the higher numbers are simply the term hundred preceded by the term indicating the number of hundreds in the particular numeral.

Basal Numbers

One occurs as a basal number in the following: In 1 where it is rendered *ma'iñ*; in 6, where it is rendered *ma'lyō*; and in 100, where it is rendered *mam*, and in all higher numbers containing one of these in composition. In the accompanying table of numerals these three forms occur in the following numbers:

ma'iñ occurs in 1, 11, 21, 60, 101, 600, 1100, 1600, 2100, and 6000*
ma'lyō occurs in 6 and 16
mam occurs in 100, 101, 110, 120, and 10000.

Two occurs as a basal number in the following: in 2, 4, 7, and 9, in all of which it is rendered *pa'lyō*. It is

* While 1 in the composite number 6 is rendered *ma'lyō*, this is true only where 6 is the terminal figure in the higher composite numbers. In all other cases it is rendered *ma'iñ*.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

802 also rendered *pa'lyō*, if in the units place, in all higher numbers in which any of these four occur. If, however, they appear in the tens or a higher column, 2 becomes *pai*, as is the case in ordinary sentence structure; for instance, *pai kū'tca*, two dogs. An exception appears in 20 and 2000, since 20 is rendered by a term, *ma'n-tcalōra*, entirely unrelated to any of the other numbers and also since the system proceeds strictly on a centenary basis from 100 up.

In the accompanying table these two forms occur as follows:

pa'lyō occurs in 2, 4, 7, 9, 12, 14, 17, and 19.
pai occurs in 40, 70, 90, 200, 400, 700, 900, 1200, 1400, 1700, 1900, 2200, 4000, 7000, and 9000.

Three occurs as a basal number in 3 and 8, in both of which it is rendered *pē'ma*, and in all higher numbers which contain either of these. In all cases in which either occurs in the units column it retains its original unit form given above. Wherever it occurs in the tens or in a higher column its form is changed to *pēñ*, here again following the ordinary phonetic rules. These two forms are here found in the following numbers:

pē'ma in 3, 8, 13, and 18.
pēñ in 30, 80, 300, 800, 1300, 1800, 3000, and 8000.

Five is used as a basal number as follows: in 5, where it is rendered *ma'n-da*, and 6, 7, 8, and 9, in all of which it is rendered *ma'n-dic*, and in all higher numbers in which these occur. In the higher numbers where 5 appears in any of the columns from the tens up, its

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

form is *mañ*. Though 5 appears in the units as *ma'n-da*, it would seem, when its other forms are considered, that this is really a compound and that its simplest form is *man* or *mañ*. As with the lower numbers, in all cases in which 5 appears in the units column, it retains its unit form, but in all other cases it is changed. Since the system is in part of quinary one, 6 begins the second set or group, and 6, 7, 8, and 9 are composed of 5, with 1, 2, 3, and 4, respectively, added. In these the term 5 takes the form *ma'n-dic*, probably *ma'n-da-ic* in full. In this form it occurs in all the higher numbers in which 6, 7, 8, and 9 appear. As above stated, in any of the higher numbers in which 5 itself appears in any of the columns above the units, it has the form *mañ*, which is the same rendition that it has in a sentence when followed by such a term as *ya* or *kū'tca*, as *ma'ñ ya*, five houses, or *ma'ñ kūtca*, five dogs. In the list of numerals the three forms occur as follows:

ma'n-da occurs in 5 and 15.
ma'n-dic occurs in 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 17, 18, 19, 60, 70, 80, 90, 600, 700, 800, 900, 1600, 1700, 1800, 1900, 6000, 7000, 8000, and 9000.
mañ occurs in 50, 500, 1500, and 5000.

Ten occurs as a basal number as follows: in the numbers 10 to 19, inclusive, where it is rendered *pa'il'a*, and in the higher numbers in which any one of these appears. This term ten is quite a different one from tens, *tcū'ñga*, which is used in the numbers from 30 up. This unusual use of a term for tens which is entirely distinct from the simple 10 appears to be explainable through borrowing, since in a neighboring

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

802 [177] language, the Quichua,* both 10 and tens are rendered *tcū'ñga*, though the cause of such borrowing if such it is, remains uncertain. These two terms appear in the accompanying list as follows:

pa'it a appears in 10 to 19 inclusive, and in 1000 to 1900 inclusive.

tcū'ñga appears in 30 to 90 inclusive, and in 3000 to 9000 inclusive.

Twenty, *ma'ntcalōra*, one of the two exceptions to the regularity of this numeral system, appears as a basal number in 20 and in all higher numbers in which it, as such, occurs. In the accompanying list

ma'ntcalōra appears in 20, 21, 120, 2000, 2100, and 2200.

Hundred, *pa'tsa* or *ba'tsa*, depending on its phonetic surroundings, forms the base of all numbers from 100 up. This includes the thousands also, since the system is centenary above 100. Thus, 8000 is not eight thousands but eighty hundreds.

[193] * There is in Cayapa no nominal plural, hence *tcūñga* and *ba'tsa* are both singular and plural so far as form is concerned. The former, not being the term used for 10, is really used only in a plural sense, but the latter is used as both singular and plural. Further, the term *tcū'ñga* is, according to a short Quichua vocabulary obtained from a couple of informants temporarily on the Rio Cayapas, the regular term ten in that language and is used throughout their entire system. The term hundred has also a close parallel, *pa'tsak*, in Quichua, but, while Cayapa has a strict centenary system above 100, Quichua carries the hundreds only as far as 1000, which is *wara'ñga*, a term entirely unrelated to hundred.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

pa'tsa or *ba'tsa* appears here in 100, 101, 110, 120, 200 to 2200 inclusive and 3000 to 10000 inclusive. 802

	Cayapa Numerals	Analysis
1	*maiñ*	1*
2	*pa'lyō*	2
3	*pē'ma*	3
4	*ta'l-palyō*	*tal*-2
5	*ma'n-da*	5-*da*
6	*man-dic ma'lyō*	5-*dic* 1
7	*man-dic pa'lyō*	5-*dic* 2
8	*man-dic pē'ma*	5-*dic* 3
9	*man-dic ta'l-palyō*	5-*dic* *tal*-2
10	*pa'iṭ'a*	10
11	*pa'iṭ'a ma'iñ*	10 1
12	*pa'iṭ'a pa'lyō*	10 2
13	*pa'iṭ'a pē'ma*	10 3
14	*pa'iṭ'a ta'l-palyō*	10 *tal*-2
15	*pa'iṭ'a ma'n-da*	10 5-*da*
16	*pa'iṭ'a ma'n-dic malyō*	10 5-*dic* 1
17	*pa'iṭ'a ma'n-dic palyō*	10 5-*dic* 2
18	*pa'iṭ'a ma'n-dic pēma*	10 5-*dic* 3
19	*pa'iṭ'a man-dic ta'l-palyō*	10 5-*dic* *tal*-2
20	*ma'ntcalōra*	20
21	*ma'ntcalōra ma'iñ*	20 1
30	*pē'ñ tcū'ñga*	3 tens [See pp. 453-54]
40	*ta'l-pai tcūñga*	*tal*-2 tens
50	*ma'ñ tcūñga*	5 tens
60	*man-dic ma'iñ tcūñga*	5-*dic* 1 ten
70	*man-dic pa'i tcūñga*	5-*dic* 2 tens
80	*man-dic pē'ñ tcūñga*	5-*dic* 3 tens
90	*man-dic ta'l-pai tcūñga*	5-*dic* *tal*-2 tens
100	*mam ba'tsa*	1 hundred
101	*mam batsa ma'iñ*	1 hundred 1
110	*mam batsa pa'iṭ'a*	1 hundred 10
120	*mam batsa ma'ntcalōra*	1 hundred 20

* So far all efforts to reduce these terms to tangible objects such as are often used by primitive peoples in counting have not met with success.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

●802

CAYAPA NUMERALS		ANALYSIS
200	*pai pa'tsa*	2 hundreds
300	*pēñ ba'tsa*	3 hundreds
400	*tal-pai pa'tsa*	*tal*-2 hundreds
500	*mañba'tsa*	5 hundreds
600	*man-dic ma'iñ batsa*	5-*dic* 1 hundreds
700	*man-dic pa'i patsa*	5-*dic* 2 hundreds
800	*man-dic pē'ñ batsa*	5-*dic* 3 hundreds
900	*man-dic ta'l-pai patsa*	5-*dic* tal-2 hundreds
1000	*pa'iṭ'a patsa*	10 hundreds
1100	*pa'iṭ'a ma'iñ batsa*	10 1 hundreds
1200	*pa'iṭ'a pa'i patsa*	10 2 hundreds
1300	*pa'iṭ'a pē'ñ batsa*	10 3 hundreds
1400	*pa'iṭ'a ta'l-pai patsa*	10 *tal*-2 hundreds
1500	*pa'iṭ'a ma'ñ batsa*	10 5 hundreds
1600	*pa'iṭ'a man-dic ma'iñ batsa*	10 5-*dic* 1 hundreds
1700	*pa'iṭ'a man-dic pa'i patsa*	10 5-*dic* 2 hundreds
1800	*pa'iṭ'a man-dic pē'ñ batsa*	10 5-*dic* 3 hundreds
1900	*pa'iṭ'a man-dic ta'l-pai patsa*	10 5-*dic* *tal*-2 hundreds
2000	*ma'ntcalōra patsa*	20 hundreds
2100	*mantcalōra ma'iñ batsa*	20 1 hundreds
2200	*mantcalōra pa'i patsa*	20 2 hundreds
3000	*pē'ñ tcūñga patsa*	3 tens hundreds
4000	*ta'l-pai tcūñga patsa*	*tal*-2 tens hundreds
5000	*ma'ñ tcūñga patsa*	5 tens hundreds
6000	*man-dic ma'iñ tcuñga patsa*	5-*dic* 1 tens hundreds
7000	*man-dic pa'i tcūñga patsa*	5-*dic* 2 tens hundreds
8000	*man-dic pē'ñ tcūñga patsa*	5-*dic* 3 tens hundreds
9000	*man-dic ta'l-pai tcūñga patsa*	5-*dic* *tal*-2 tens hundreds
10000	*ma'm batsa patsa*	1 hundred hundreds

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

A SYSTEM OF MNEMONIC WRITING

802
176
211
[177]

As has already been noted, the Cayapa have no written language and express nothing in writing of any kind. An interesting example of the power of adaptation, however, was given by one individual along this line. The incident, while it has no direct bearing on the general life and culture of the tribe as a whole, may perhaps be significant and of interest when the general subject of mnemonics and hieroglyphic writing is considered, for it shows how readily a single individual of a tribe may borrow a principle which is entirely foreign to the culture of his own people and, with this as a basis, may invent a new system which might give rise to an entirely new order of things if it were carried to its full possibilities. Furthermore, this system is of considerable interest from a phonetic point of view, since it shows that it is founded on strictly phonetic considerations and thus shows what may be termed the natural tendency of the mind of man to correlate and arrange at least some linguistic ideas along logical, phonetic lines.

On the arrival of the author in the Cayapa country he took up his residence with a prominent official of the tribe known, according to the present-day Spanish terminology, as "El Secretario del Gobernacion." When the author expressed a desire to learn the Cayapa language, his host manifested an equal desire to learn English. It was therefore mutually agreed that each should instruct the other. A beginning was made with the numeral system, the author being given the names of the Cayapa numerals. As the terms were pronounced,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

802
176
211

careful record of them was made in writing. However, when the Secretario was told the English numerals, he was entirely dependent on his memory, since no system of writing was known to him. On the following day, when each endeavored to recite his lesson to the other, the Secretario was greatly surprised to hear the author read from his notes and correctly pronounce the Cayapa numerals told him the day before, whereas he, on the other hand, had much difficulty in getting his pronunciation correct and in remembering certain of the English numerals. He asked the author how it was possible to remember these numbers and the pronunciation of them; and upon being told about the aid to the memory given by the writing, he was immediately desirous of trying such a plan himself. Being provided with pencil and paper, he thereupon carefully recorded the first ten of the accompanying set of mnemonic characters (fig. 29). With this paper before him he was able, on the following day, to the author's surprise, to recount with almost perfect exactness these first ten English numerals. A day or two more added another set, and in the course of about a week he had worked out a complete system of mnemonic characters for the numerals from one to one hundred. Furthermore, an interesting feature of this set of mnemonic characters is the fact that they are strictly decimal in their composition, whereas the Cayapa numerals form a much more complex system, it being quinary-decimal-centenary.

The units themselves appear to be entirely unrelated one to another, and as the author watched the Indian making these characters it was evident that a pure proc-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

ess of invention was evolving in his mind, his chief desire being in each instance to get some character that

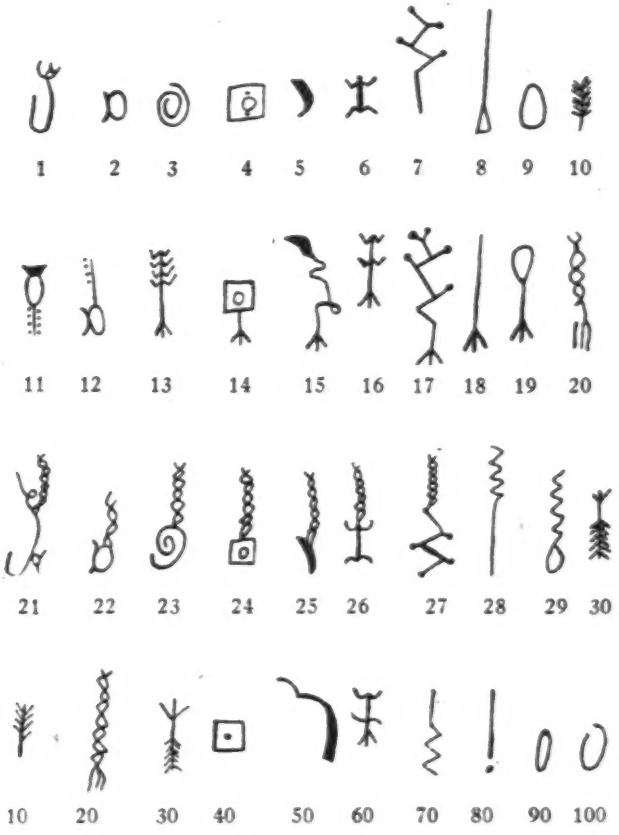

FIG. 29.—Mnemonic characters

should represent the particular number and which should be different from all the others.

In forming most of the characters to represent the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

802 176 211

numbers from eleven to nineteen he took carefully into account those representing the units one to nine. In fact, he always referred to these and in most cases reproduced them entirely, or in part, as portions of the characters representing the 'teens. Indeed the characters representing fourteen to nineteen are clearly and obviously these same unit characters with the addition of the crowfoot beneath, which represented to his mind the idea of 'teen—not that it was related to ten, but the crowfoot actually represented to him the sounds comprising 'teen. It is even more evident in thirteen, where the crowfoot first appears but where the unit character for three is not present, that the various parts of these characters actually represented to his mind sounds, rather than precisely correlated ideas of the numeral system. This became clear whenever he used this table of characters, for when he first repeated these numbers he did so very slowly and pointed to the particular part of the character which represented the sound which he was speaking. For instance, in the case of fourteen he would point to the square enclosing the circle and say "four;" then his pencil would go down to the crowfoot and he would say "teen." Likewise in nineteen the oval was nine and the crowfoot 'teen. As still further evidence of the phonetic nature of these mnemonic characters, eleven and twelve are excellent examples. To our minds eleven and twelve belong logically to the set of 'teens, though "'teen" does not appear in them. To the Cayapa's mind, however, the vertical line with the four dots on each side in the sign for eleven represented "e," and the oval with its heavy crescent above

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

802
176
211

represented "leven." Likewise, in the case of twelve, the oval with the crescent on the side represented "two," and the vertical line with the four dots on the left represented "helve." Furthermore, he learned this number not as twelve but as "two-helve," and no amount of correction at any later time could change his pronunciation. In both of these instances we have a composition of the character along strictly phonetic lines. In the higher numbers a similar condition prevailed, though in many instances the same sound or set of sounds was represented by different characters. For instance, the "ty" in the higher tens was variously represented. In fifty it was the long heavy curved line, in sixty the crowfoot, and eighty the dot. In each instance this character forms the lower part of these respective characters. In seventy it was the vertical line, and in thirty the crowfoot, which form in these instances the upper part of the character. Forty and ninety are simply four and nine somewhat altered.

As above mentioned, the idea of the addition of ten to the unit in the numbers eleven to nineteen is indicated by joining directly to the characters one to nine certain other characters representing the sounds, not the idea, expressed in "teen." Likewise also in the numbers twenty-one to twenty-nine. The upper part of the character twenty is joined directly to the unit character and forms an integral part of it. From thirty onward, however, a different method was used. Here the unit character was placed directly after the character representing the particular ten which was being used, thus requiring two independent characters instead of one

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

●802
176
211

composite character to represent any particular number. This arrangement of the characters may have been more or less due to the fact that the inventor had seen the English numbers and had had these explained to him. His arrangement of these may possibly have been influenced by the arrangement of the English, and the fact that the lower numbers were not arranged in a similar manner may be because when he invented them he did not thoroughly comprehend this arrangement of the English.

In the accompanying set of these characters it will be observed that in large measure the tens are formed on the units as bases. There are, however, certain exceptions to this rule. For instance, ten, twenty, and thirty are evidently formed independently without taking the numbers one, two, and three into consideration. The remainder of the tens, however, from forty to ninety inclusive, are palpably formed directly from the units four to nine inclusive by the simple addition of some extra stroke or by the alteration of the unit character.

In view of the above-mentioned phonetic nature of this whole system it appears natural that these three numbers, ten, twenty, and thirty, should be different from their corresponding units, since the sounds involved in these three are very different from the sounds involved in the same units. Attention should be called also to the fact that the character thirty strongly resembles thirteen and that to the informant's mind the upper branching portion of the character thirteen represented the portion of this numeral which we pronounce 'thir," while the crowfoot below represented "teen," and that likewise

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the very similar lower portion of the character thirty represented the same sound "thir" while the crowfoot above it represented "ty."

802
176
211

It is therefore evident that, while this set of characters is strictly mnemonic in its use, it is formed on a phonetic basis. It is, as first stated, the original invention of a single individual and in no way represents a tribal characteristic, but with it at hand this individual appeared to be greatly assisted in his difficult task of learning to count in English, and so assiduously did he study his system that in the course of a short time he was able to count fluently from one to one hundred. For a considerable length of time he was unable to do this without the aid of his set of numeral characters, but ultimately, of course, he became so familiar with this that he repeated them easily from memory.

or the front may differ from the back in solid colors. Often the panels may be cut vertically or diagonally with different brightly hued colors. The shirt, which falls to knee-length, is usually bordered at the hem by the same band that joins the front and rear panels. Sometimes the multicolored hem may be overlaid with the panel material that has been cut in triangular points. This gorgeous array is usually topped off with a white plastic fedora that has been smuggled in from Colombia. If the feet are shod, they are usually encased in knee-length rubber boots. For festive occasions, the men wear lipstick and round patches of rouge on their cheeks. Sometimes they also place a round spot of rouge about an inch and a half in diameter, in the middle of their foreheads. The over-all effect is quite striking.

Some men do not use cosmetics but prefer to dress up for fiestas in western clothing that often includes underwear and transparent nylon sport shirts in white, red, blue, yellow, or green. On occasion, a man will place a bright yellow straight plastic comb in his hair. Men quite often buy wrist watches for which they have no earthly use. The watches are fairly expensive, poorly

made, and seldom in working order. The brand names are obvious imitations of well known trade-marks, and men may be seen sporting watches marked "Algin," "Danrus," or "Wiltham." If queried as to the time of day, the most likely response is "just today the watch stopped working."

Attractive as the Cayapa male is in his festive array, the woman is clearly the fashion leader. Because she is short-legged and thick-waisted, her adornment is calculated to conceal these features and to shift attention to her face instead. Like the male, she is rouged and lip-painted. Occasionally she paints a black line across her cheeks and upper lip. Her hair, which is waist length, is fastened at the side and front with multi-colored barrettes, while the crown of the head is covered by a Juliet's cap fabricated of shiny coins. Around her shoulders and neck depend row after row of brightly-hued glass and metal beads and strings of coins. The ultimate row of baubles may fall below the hip line. Beaded ligatures may be placed on her arms, and silver rings may adorn all of her fingers except the thumbs. Around her shoulders she wears a bright

155
572
123
124

Given the psychological factors that have been discussed so far, it would seem that some informants could only unconsciously structure the relationship in terms of possible homoerotic feelings which could develop in a situation of increased duration and frequency of interaction with one person. This is what the informant-anthropologist relation does. When I would begin to use other informants, as an anthropologist must, the first informant would react in terms of rejection, and pout; he would gradually become withdrawn, and finally break off the informant relationship. The situation is quite similar to the "camarada complex" described by Ruben E. Reina for Chinautla in Guatemala (Reina 1959:44-50).

155
572
123

A similar situation was revealed in the matter of giving rides in my motorized canoe whenever I went on long trips. For example, Lorenzo Martín once asked for a ride when I planned to go up to San Miguel and I agreed. A time was set, broadly enough to take account of Cayapa casualness regarding time. He never arrived at all! When next seen he said that I should have waited much longer than I did, and he was clearly offended that I had not. At another occasion, he came

[805]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

sun and the moon travel from west to east, they being the same orbs, however, which illumine our world. 772

The sun and the moon, pa"ta and pō pa"ta, are two men whose eyes are their source of light. Formerly they both gave the same amount of illumination, but owing to this fact night was, in ancient times, as bright as day, and the inhabitants of the earth were able to hunt at all hours. They thus menaced the existence of all animal life, a fact which, when the Creator saw it, caused him to alter conditions by covering up one of moon's eyes, so that now the moon gives only half as much light as the sun. 772 821

Near the eastern margin of our world there is a large hole through which the sun comes up from the underworld in the morning. He then walks up a trail in the sky, shedding as he goes the light of day upon the earth. By some this is referred to as "walking up the big mountain of the sky." As elsewhere noted, it is supposed that at this eastern margin of the world there lives a race of pigmies called pa'ta'mbele, whose diminutive size is due to the great heat of the sun, which is so near them as it emerges from the lower world.

At the zenith there is a chair in which the sun takes a brief rest at noon. Here he eats a small lunch consisting of cornmeal mush and boiled grouse-eggs, after which he continues along the trail down the western slope of the sky until evening, when he reaches another opening near the western margin of the earth through which he disappears into the underworld to furnish it with light. His only companion during these endless journeys is a white dog. He himself is dressed in pure white, his

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

772 clothing being made after the fashion of the shirt and trunks commonly worn by Cayapa men.

821 The moon travels the same trail and in exactly the same manner as does the sun, stopping at the zenith to rest and eat. He is in every way the equal of the sun, except that he is unable to give so much light and is entirely alone, not even having a dog as a companion. His clothing also is pure white and is the same as that of the sun. Being in ordinary human form, neither the sun nor the moon is able to fly, but they keep up their journeys along this endless trail year in and year out with no halt save those short stops at the zeniths of our world and the underworld.

821 No accounts of eclipses of either the sun or the moon could be obtained, and no theories concerning the phases of the moon were advanced. In fact, other than the foregoing meager mythical account of the sun and the moon, no information whatsoever was obtainable from the Cayapa respecting either of these celestial bodies. Furthermore, no particular information was obtainable in regard to any of the individual stars or any of the constellations. The almost total absence of star-lore and of acquaintance with the heavenly bodies may possibly be accounted for by the fact, already noted in referring to the climate of the region, that the sky is almost continuously overcast, the clouds hiding from view almost constantly all the heavenly bodies. To be sure the Cayapa formerly lived in the interior where these conditions do not prevail to such an extent, but they have lived in their present environment for several generations and have had ample time to lose much of any system of star-lore that they may have possessed originally.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Spirits

776 In addition to human beings and other animate creatures, the world is peopled by a myriad of spirits of many kinds. As has been already indicated, these spirits live in or upon mountains, at certain places in streams, in stones, in fragments of ancient pottery, and in every sort of object of unusual form. Many are benevolent spirits, while others are always malevolent, and still others may be both malevolent or benevolent as occasion demands. Some classes of spirits are entirely male, others entirely female, while in still others are found men, women, and children, and full family relations. Some are giants, some dwarfs, and many are of ordinary human size. Most are in human form, though the bodies of some are deformed or are lacking some particular parts or organs. Many of these spirits dress as do the Cayapa, though others have special forms of dress, and still others no dress at all. Spirits are of various colors also, though the greater number are of the same color as well as of the same bodily form as the Cayapa. In large measure they move about only at night.

Thunder

776 One of the most important of the spirits recognized
•821 by the Cayapa is Thunder, kū'ĭdya. According to some informants the Thunders are two, a male and a female; they somewhat exceed in size the average spirits, and have light-blue bodies covered with coarse hair somewhat like hog-bristles. The thunder spirits wear no clothing

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

and do not paint their bodies; they have large blue wings with which they fly from place to place, and the flapping of which causes the detonation we call thunder. They have no special abode, but frequent certain places more than others: especially do they frequent a particular high hill far up the Rio Cayapas. 776 821

Other informants differ in some particulars in their description of Thunder. By them it is said that he has no wings and does not fly, but that he and his wife sit constantly on top of a large tree on a high hill far away in the mountains. They are giants, with very massive backs, and are very strong. They have very long finger-nails, which are hard like rocks; these they shed from time to time and when found they are much prized by shamans for curing disease. Instead of having bluish bodies covered with bristles, the Thunders wear the ordinary attire of the Cayapa, but of a blue color. In addition they both wear blue caps, and both have long hair on their arms. When in a bad temper, Thunder talks loudly and growls, thus making the thundering noise. His bad disposition is especially manifest in the rainy season, while at other periods he is mild-tempered, growling only occasionally. Thunder's wife never has anything to say. It is said that up to about a generation ago the Thunders lived toward the lower course of the Rio Cayapas, but that in recent years they moved into a very remote part of the mountains and that thunder is consequently less frequently heard now in the Cayapa country. [755]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

LIGHTNING

776 •821 [177] Lightning, kū'ĭdya pĭdya, which almost all peoples seem to recognize in one way or another as directly connected with thunder, is attributed by the Cayapa to the sword-like weapon carried by the Thunder spirit. As they describe this weapon at the present time, it is obvious that modern ideas have intruded, although it seems probable that the concept of lightning coming from an implement carried by the Thunder being is aboriginal. The sword is said to be of steel and to be carried in a scabbard; it is highly polished, so that when it is unsheathed the glint of the sunlight upon it is like the reflection from a mirror. It is maintained by some that Thunder strikes and kills people with this sword, or at any rate with the glint of light from it.

It is said that in the dry season Thunder is quite contented and lives at peace with the world. In the rainy season, however, he becomes restless and very much discontented with human beings and with conditions generally, and it is then that, according to the first informant mentioned, he flies from place to place through the clouds, flapping his wings and making an uproarious noise, swinging his sword and causing the flashes of lightning. In due time, however, his wrath subsides and he becomes weary, and during the remainder of the year he grows restless only occasionally, with the result that thunderstorms rarely occur and lightning is seldom seen.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the spirits themselves never eat any of the material part of the great quantities of food which they appropriate and cook; consequently this food is fed to their pets. The food is thrown to them upon the floor, as we might feed an animal, but all food offered to human beings who are guests in the cave is served upon coiled serpents. 176

While the bū′tcūlya live primarily on the earth, they are able to ascend into the upper world by means of the rainbow (bū′tcūlya ciñgūtiñatū) to visit Thunder. The object of this visit is purely a friendly one, since the bū′′tcūlya are not servants of Thunder and neither do favors for nor receive favors from him. [821]

INDIOS BRAVOS

A class of beings which seems to be partly mythical and partly to have a basis in fact are the Indios Bravos, or he ūya′la. As was mentioned in speaking of the history of the Cayapa, it is claimed by them that their occupancy of the country adjacent to the Rio Cayapas dates only from comparatively recent historic times, and that formerly there lived upon the river the Indios Bravos, a people who subsisted, partly at least, on raw human flesh. In other respects these people were much like the Cayapa themselves. They lived in isolated family groups and had no villages; they were a little taller than the Cayapa, but of the same general appearance and color; their clothing, however, consisted of a short skirt of black cloth, which was the dress of both men and women; they used no paint on their faces or bodies; their most striking physical feature was their very large eye 176 173

505 might hear a piano or phonograph music from somewhere. That they still must quickly take a look at. The entire crowd rushes busily into the house concerned and up the stairs. Their curiosity is soon satisfied and they come down again and now they must be off quickly so as to be able to make use of the tide current. Their
501 unpainted canoes are 8 to 10 meters (Translator--about 8 to 10 yds.) in length and from 70 to 90 centimeters (Translator--2 1/3 to 3 ft.) in width. They are slim and pleasing in shape and have
[531] black colored decorations around the edges. Each one of them accommodates from 5 to 8 persons, close together, with their meager belongings. They paddle along nimbly with their leaf-shaped oars and, while their canoes glide along silently and swiftly, the entire crowd has soon disappeared in the mouth of the
484 Mira River. It will take them two days to reach their hometowns.
648 During the journey they camp in the open over night, somewhere along the shore, in an empty pasture. But they have to be careful. Occasionally they are attacked and robbed there by Negroes, and if they resist, they are murdered in cold blood. Only recently a whole group of them, men, women and children, 14 persons altogether, were most cruelly murdered on the Mira River by some bestial Negroes.

101 [285] However, our friends will now have arrived home safe
342 and sound on the upper Cayapa River. They are greeted from afar
361 by the friendly smoke of their own hearths. Their villages con-
824 sist of a few, widely dispersed bamboo huts of a most primitive type. A few uncut tree trunks have simply been rammed into the earth in a rectangle. The floor is at a height of 3 to 4 meters (Translator--ca. 3 to 4 yds.) and is made of split bamboo. Above this, at an equal distance, is the roof made of coconut (?) palm (Steinnusspalme) leaves. That is the entire structure. Since these houses have no walls, it is obivous that doors and windows are not
417 required either. The trunk of the Ceiba trees, light as a cork,
824 into which a few steps are hewn, serves as stairs. (The Ceiba tree
512 produces the silk-like balsa wool, called "Kapok" on the European market.) These stairs are obliquely leaned on, without being fastened anywhere. A hen-roost can be climbed more easily than one of these Cayapa ladders. In order to be somewhat safe from surprises by unwanted visitors, the ladders are drawn up to the living quarters overnight, and when a family goes on a trip, the ladder is thrown into the river and left to float away. After
322 all it is so simple and easy to fetch another Ceiba trunk from the nearby forest on returning and quickly hack a few step-like cuts into it with a chopping knife.

|81| Left to themselves and untouched, the Cayapa are gay, content and happy. Politics and book knowledge do not trouble them. The forest, fields and rivers yield in abundance everything they need for living. They know all the medicinal herbs and roots of [824] their region and know exactly which will protect them against snake bites and which one will cure their toothaches. The administration of the community is in good hands and does not cost anything; they do not have to pay taxes or tributes. They do not bother with what goes on in the cities of the white men and the outside world. Their main concerns are the instincts of nature, women and children, eating and drinking; they are indifferent to everything else, because they neither know nor understand it. Their simple and carefree life makes them happy—they are richer than we who, as a result of rushing and ambitious pushing, cannot find peace and happiness. They are happier in their ignorance than we, who proudly call our thin varnish of culture "civilization" and who scornfully characterize the Cayapa as "savages."

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

731 floods it not infrequently happens that the waters rise
361 so high as completely to surround the house, and indeed sometimes to within a few inches of its floor.

132 The excessive rainfall naturally produces great humidity,[3] which would be very oppressive were it not for the fact that the sky is almost constantly overcast, so that the full power of the sun is rarely felt in the region. This fortunate circumstance renders the climate, which would otherwise be almost intolerable, very equable and pleasant.

Resources

TREES AND PLANTS

137 By virtue of the climatic conditions above set forth the vegetation of the Cayapa region is typically tropical. Almost every foot of ground is covered by a dense jungle growth comprising many species of trees, palms, shrubs, and smaller plants, and characterized by an abundance of vines and parasitic vegetation. So dense is this growth that it is practically impossible to travel on land even a short distance without the use of a machete.

137 Among the most important and characteristic plants
824 of the region are the various species of palms, many of which are put to use by the Cayapa in one way or another. In the following list[1] of the trees and plants of this section are given the Cayapa and the local Spanish names of those palms which are most useful to the

[3] One of the engineer's reports, above referred to, places the humidity at an average of about 80 per cent.

[1] [illegible] Cat. 116, pp. 9-11.--A]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Indians. A number of these palms produce foods, and several provide leaves which are used in making house-thatch, while the trunk of one makes a durable flooring for houses. These matters will be taken up more specifically in the discussion of these subjects.

Another characteristic plant is the giant bamboo, which grows in clumps at frequent intervals along the banks of the rivers, especially along their lower courses. This bamboo often reaches a height of seventy feet or more, and has a basal diameter approximating ten inches. These immense stems serve various useful purposes, among the most important of which may be mentioned that of joists and rafters in house-building.

There is a great variety of trees in the jungle, many of which produce useful woods. Perhaps the most important uses of wood among the Cayapa are in house construction and in canoe-making. In the former the guayacan, which provides the almost indestructible pillars that support the pile structures, is of greatest importance. Several varieties of trees are used in canoe-making, but two or three kinds are preferred to all others.

Another characteristic of the jungle is the association of many species of plant life together in one area. Whereas in the North Temperate zone it is customary to see large tracts of land occupied by a single principal species of tree, such as the pine, in this Ecuadorian region a considerable number of trees of one species growing close together and in such manner as to form anything comparable with a grove is rarely seen. As a

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

137 rule the various species of trees are associated in a strictly heterogeneous manner, and in all cases there is a fairly dense undergrowth, besides vines and aerial roots in abundance. These latter hang from the trees in such profusion as alone to make it necessary to cut a trail in proceeding even for a short distance by land.

●824 Of these aerial roots the one known by the local
137 Spanish term *pitigua* deserves special mention. It is very strong and durable, is little affected by climate,
[342] and is not attacked by insects. It is, therefore, extensively employed in binding joints in house-building, and indeed wherever a good binding material is needed.
[285] It is also extensively used in making certain kinds of basketry.

This general mention of the natural vegetal resources of the Cayapa region will suffice for present consideration, but the separate plants and their particular uses will be treated in detail in the following pages in connection with matters with which they are particularly concerned.

The heterogeneity of the flora of the region, above referred to, is fortunate for its inhabitants, since it places nearly every kind of plant, on which so much of the culture of the Cayapa Indians depends, within comparatively easy reach of all. That the flora should be so varied in any given locality, and that any given species should be so generally distributed, is due to the almost identical climate, soil, and other environmental conditions throughout the region.

The following is a list of the principal vegetal resources, both indigenous and introduced, employed by the Cayapa:

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

137
192
824

Trees and Plants

ENGLISH	SPANISH	CAYAPA
	guayacan	waiaka'n[4]
rubber	caucho	sa'be
cedar	cedro	inū'n-tcī, or inō'n-tcī
	guadaripo	tū-tcī
	amarillo	pītōa'lō
	balsa	na'na
	dama jaua	te'ckī-tcī or tū'ckī-tcī
	achote	ca'imū (canyūñ-tcī = the shrub)
	hawa	ma'iñ-tcī
	guabo	cī'lyū (cī'-tcī = the tree). See p. 109
	guabo macheton	mactē-pa' cīlyū
	guabo dulce	pī' cīlyū
	guabo tacoane	ni'ñga cīlyū
	guabo agria	sa' cīlyū
		pū' cīlyū
calabash	calabaza	wa'iyū (wa'i-tcī = the tree), also cu'lya
chocolate	cacao	kaka'bō
papaw	papaya	papa'ia
	caimito	a'kū'iñya (akūi'ñ-tcī = the tree)
	zapote	sapō'te
orange	naranjo	la'nsa (lansa'-tcī = the tree)

[4] In some instances these names are invariably given by informants with *tcī*, signifying tree, following the root of the word; in others this is never added unless it is intended particularly to show that the tree itself is meant. In some cases the addition of *tcī* causes considerable phonetic change in the root. In those cases where the simple root form and also the compound form were obtained, the latter follows the former in parentheses.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

137
192
824

English	Spanish	Cayapa
lemon	limon	lē′mō (lēmō′-tcī = the tree)
	chocolatillo	tcōkōla′ɬe, tcōkōlaſī′a
sandpaper tree		lya′pic-hakī
plantain	platano	pa′nda
banana	seda	sē′da, sēda-kīnī′a
	hoja blanca	fī′ba-hakī[5]
	hoja negra	e′lūñ-hakī
sugar-cane	caña dulce	e′lla
wild cane	caña brava	nya′nyī
corn	maiz	pī′cū
tobacco	tabaco	ta′kō
	yuca	kū′′tcū, kū′ctcū
	rascadera	ɬū′a
pineapple	piña	tcī′lya
pepper	aji	tyū
	yerba buena	ēvī vē′nō[6]
pumpkin	sapayo	ū
	kuna-kuna	wa′-tcī
	matamba	bī′ta
		nintcū′a[7]
	tangarea	ōlō′n-tcī
	Palms	
ivory nut	palma tagua	tī′mō būlō (ti′ñ-tcī = the palm)[8]
	palma real	ūya′-tcī

[177]

[5] This term, like the Spanish *hoja blanca*, signifies "white leaf."

[6] The name of this introduced plant is obviously a corruption of the Spanish.

[7] A porous vine used as a smoking material by children.

[8] In the majority of cases the names given by informants for these palms are combinations of the simple names of the palms with the word *tcī*, signifying "tree." The five cases in which the simple name was obtainable are here noted, the compound terms following them in parentheses.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ENGLISH	SPANISH	CAYAPA
	palma palmicha	sā′wī (sa′n-tcī = the palm)
	palma chonta dura	ka′imbī (kanō′-tcī = the palm)
	palma chapil or milpeso	kūla′pō-tcī
	palma guividnande	vīñga′-tcī
	palma guinul	pūka″-tcī
	palma pambil	bū′a (bū′iñ-tcī = the palm)
	palma crespa	pī′nlya-tcī
	palma chontilla	pē′aputc
coconut	palma coco	kō′kō (kō′kō-tcī = the palm)
fan-leaf palm	palma rampile	pī′tcūa ya′ha kapi′m-tcī

137
192
824

GAME

Game is abundant in the jungle, and there are fish of various species in the streams. The ocean is within a comparatively short distance and its shores abound in many species of Crustacea and mollusks, as well as in the various salt-water fish, all highly prized by the Indians. 136

The specific uses of each species and its mode of capture, together with other points of interest in connection with it, will be taken up in detail at appropriate points in the following pages. For the present purposes it will be sufficient to give lists of the principal mammals, birds, fishes, Crustacea, mollusks, reptiles, and amphibians which are found in the region.

These lists, like the list of trees and plants previously given, are by no means complete, since they include

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

motion is desired, a string with a grip is used. Occasionally a girl may be seen spinning a top, but it is primarily an amusement of the boys.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Buildings

The buildings of the Cayapa may be divided into four classes: the dwelling or regular abode, the rancho or temporary structure, the cane-mill and distillery, and the church, this last, of course, being of modern introduction. All these buildings, except the church, which is at ground level, are pile structures and are constructed according to a single general plan.

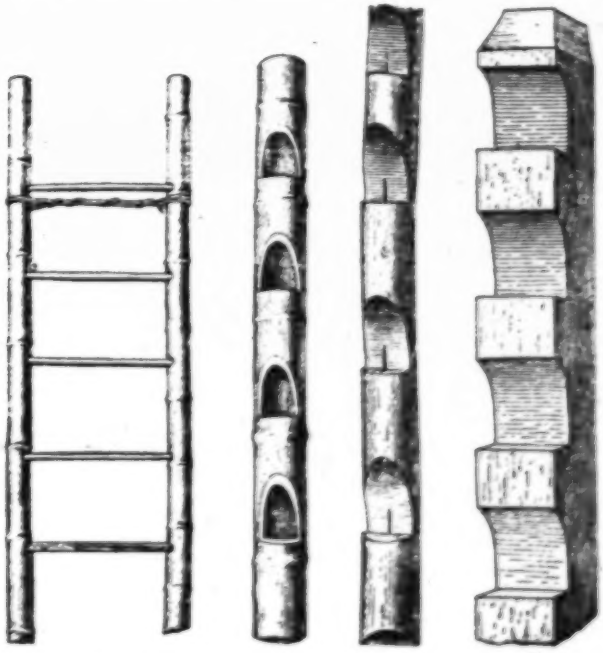
In pls. I-IV are shown typical dwellings. They are always rectangular in ground-plan (pl. XI), and vary in size according to the number of occupants, some reaching large dimensions. The dwelling of which the above-mentioned ground-plan is presented is 87 feet in extreme length and 41 feet in width. Dwellings are almost invariably situated along the river bank, and each is flanked by fields of sugar-cane, plantains, bananas, cacao, pineapples, and other crops. The dwellings are raised four to twelve feet from the ground, and access is gained by means of ladders such as those illustrated in fig. 1, especially those of the types shown in *a* and *d*.

The houses are fairly simple in construction. The framework consists of a number of heavy squared posts of a hard black wood called by the local Spanish name

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 guayacan, in which notches are cut at the level of the [824] floor (pl. XIII, *b*) to hold the stringers that support it. The tops of these posts are also notched for the beams that support the superstructure. The sides of the

[417]



a *b* *c* *d*

FIG. 1.—Types of ladders

[824] building are entirely unenclosed. The roof is steep and is thatched with palm leaves. Sometimes a single roof covers the whole building, as in those structures shown in pls. II, VII; but upon the larger buildings it is ordinarily in two parts, as indicated in pls. X, XI. While the floor in such a structure is continuous, the presence

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

of these two roofs serves to separate the building into two parts: one for the general living and sleeping room, the other for cooking. The structure is thus given the appearance of a double house, although the floors of the two rooms are always at the same level and the house is a unit in every respect except the roof. The double roof serves to exclude the smoke, which rises from the open fire-box in the kitchen, from the living and sleeping room. This division of the roof results in two inner gables, the eaves of which are brought within the area of the house itself (pl. XI, *h*, *i*) and under normal conditions would allow the rain-water to fall upon the floor. To prevent this, a large eaves-trough is made by hollowing out half of the long trunk of a species of palm locally called pambil (Cayapa, bū'iñ-tcī). The roof always projects a considerable distance beyond the edge of the floor, so that rain-water from the eaves falls at a distance of at least three or four feet from the sides of the building, and the eaves extend far enough down to prevent the wind from blowing the water back on the floor. As before stated, the ordinary dwellings have no sides, but their place is partly taken by a more or less elaborate railing, such as that shown in pl. V, which lessens the danger of one accidentally falling from the elevated floor. Raised platforms are frequently constructed at one or more points along the sides of the building. Such platforms are from four to ten feet in length and from four to seven feet in width, as are those shown in pl. XI, *e*. The roof is correspondingly extended to cover them. These platforms are raised usually

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

in pl. VII. In some other dwellings another transverse beam (fig. 5, *f'*) is used as the support for the gable rafters.

In practically all cases in which two such stringers cross or where a stringer passes through a notch in a post, the parts of such a joint are securely bound together by one or another of the several methods shown in figs. 2–4. The binding material is a durable aerial root, called pitigua in the local Spanish, which is gathered and kept on hand for this purpose and for making certain kinds of basketry. It is kept in coils such as that shown in pl. XCI, 4, and when dry it needs only to be soaked for a short time to render it pliable.

The roof frame of such a building consists of a short central ridge-pole (pl. XIV, *i*), supported by two and in some cases three stout vertical bamboos (*m*) which in turn rest upon a horizontal beam (*j*) running lengthwise through the center of the building. The ridge-pole is of such length as to give the gable roofs a pitch of about forty-five degrees. It varies, therefore, according to the proportionate dimensions of the structure, but is usually from a third to a half as long as the building itself. The bamboos supporting the ridge-pole are, in the case of the large dwelling above mentioned, 13 feet 9 inches in height. The bamboo rafters of the sides of the roof rest directly upon and are bound to this ridge-pole. Those forming each gable are fastened together by means of a palm-wood rod passing through holes near the small upper ends of the rafters. This rod is bound to the two end-rafters of the sides of the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

roof, usually at a point two or three feet down from the ridge-pole. The other ends of these gable rafters are spread fan-like along the end beam (fig. 5, *f*, *f'*) of the superstructure so as to produce a complete frame for the attachment of the thatch of the gable. There is thus left at the top of this gable a small triangular opening, such as that shown in pl. X, which serves as a vent for the smoke from the open fire-box. The thatch is so laid on that it projects about two feet beyond the ends of the side roofs, while the thatch on the gable end just meets the underside of this projection. The projection of the ends of the side roofs in this manner prevents the rain from driving through the thatch along the line upon which the side and gable roofs meet, and it is also sufficient to prevent the entrance of rain through the triangular opening at the extreme top of the gable. The slant of the roof, both gable and side, is usually about forty-five degrees. The slant of the gable is regulated by the length of the short ridge-pole above mentioned. This whole construction of the superstructure of such a building is well illustrated in the unfinished dwelling shown in pl. VII.

The covering of the roof is a thatch of palm-leaves, usually those of the tagua, or ivory-nut palm. The necessity for a constant supply of these leaves, combined with the desire to perpetuate the supply of ivory nuts (since these are a source of considerable wealth), has caused the Cayapa to preserve carefully the groves of these palms. Even single palms growing quite apart from others are conserved. The trees, vines, and under-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

growth of the jungle are cut away from time to time around these palms, and about once a year, usually on the occasion of harvesting leaves for a thatch, the crown of leaves is trimmed. Any drooping dead leaves at the base of the crown are thrown away and the thoroughly mature healthy leaves only are selected for the thatch. Thus there remain at the center of this crown a number of young and more tender leaves which serve the needs of the plant itself and prevent damage to it which might otherwise arise from the loss of the mature leaves.

The tagua is a low-growing species of palm, the upper end of the stem, from which the leaves spring, rarely exceeding sixteen feet above the ground. The leaves are therefore easily gathered by means of a short ladder. This, combined with the fact that the tagua produces a very good quality of leaf, makes it almost the only species used for permanent thatch. While several other species of palm produce leaves of durable quality, they grow to such height that it is not expedient in most cases to gather the leaves except by cutting down the palm itself.

The tagua leaves, which reach an average length of about fourteen feet, have stout leaflets extending from the midrib at an angle of perhaps seventy degrees and for a distance of about three feet on each side of the midrib. To prepare the leaves for use, they are split in two along their midribs. Four of these half-leaves are then laid together so that the natural under-surfaces of the leaflets all face the same direction and the midribs are tied together with pitigua at two points.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 The last courses of thatch covering the side roofs are so laid as to overlap one another and to securely cover the ridge-pole. Further, another special course or two are laid along the ridge so as to guard against any possibility of leakage. Surmounting the roof along this ridge-pole is in many cases a rider made of bamboo and consisting of two or more sets of short bamboo poles crossed at the ridge and extending from three to several feet down upon the sides of the roof. To the points where these sets cross are bound a horizontal pole which serves to tie them together and to form them into a strong unit. Such riders may be seen in pls. II, VIII, X.

Though such a roof is carefully made, it is likely to leak a little from time to time as some small portion of the thatch which was not properly cured gives way or as some leaflets are eaten by insects. Such a leak is [324] quickly and effectually mended by placing a green leaf of hoja blanca between the courses of thatch at this point. These tough leaves are from three to four feet long and from twelve to eighteen inches wide, and effectually shed the water. In case, however, a considerable section of the roof becomes leaky, the area affected is re-thatched with tagua-leaves.

Buildings of the second class, the rancho or temporary structure, are built on the same general plan as are the permanent dwellings, except that they are much more [324] rudely constructed. In place of the well-squared, durable house-posts, bamboo is generally used. Further, in lieu of a thatch of a more durable kind of palm-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

leaf, a covering of the most available material is employed. The material used for this temporary thatch is usually a palm-leaf, but generally of some species of palm which provides a much less durable thatch than that used for the permanent dwelling.

These ranchos serve two purposes almost exclusively, namely, temporary shelters while traveling, and temporary shelters for work which lies too far from home to make daily journeys to and from the regular dwelling profitable. When traveling it is infeasible, not to say dangerous, to sleep upon the ground and without some kind of a roof, owing to the torrential rains which are almost sure to occur during the night, as well as to the danger from poisonous reptiles and other creatures. If, therefore, in traveling, it is impossible to reach a house by night, an early halt is made and a rancho constructed. This is rarely necessary except in case of a long trip over an uninhabited mountain trail, since along the navigable rivers are houses which may be reached in the course of the day's travel. Here the traveler, whoever he may be, is always welcomed according to the custom of the country, the unwritten law of which requires that shelter be given any traveler, whether he be an old acquaintance or a total stranger. When it is necessary, in gathering rubber or pita, in making canoes, or in doing any other work, to journey so far from the permanent dwelling as to make daily travel back and forth unprofitable, a small rancho is built. Such a structure may be used for a short time or for several seasons, it being re-thatched as occasion demands In the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

354 [283] twisted string of pita, by means of which one of the older members of the family, while performing some other task, keeps the hammock swinging.

302 Aboriginally both men and women wore long loose hair, without braiding or other special mode of dressing; but now long hair is worn only by the women, the men keeping their hair cut short. Some of the women cut the front hair even with the eyebrows, otherwise their hair is never cut, nor is it dressed in any special fashion, being simply parted in the middle and allowed to fall loosely over the back and breast. The only time that the hair is ever worn otherwise is when a woman is engaged in some very hot work; it is then often coiled up on the head or tied in a large knot at the back. The hair of little girls is never cut, but that of boys is cut when they are very young. As a rule the men have no special mode of dressing the hair; it is simply kept cropped to an even length all round, and is allowed to grow from the crown straight down in all directions, without parting or other training. Now and then a man may part his hair in the middle, but this practice is exceptional. These styles of hair-dressing are shown in pls. XVI–XXXVIII.

A characteristic feature of Cayapa life is the custom of painting the face and other exposed parts of the body with red, yellow, and black pigment, and in many different designs. The red and yellow pigments, called in Cayapa mū' and la''mū' respectively, are derived from the seed-pods of a small shrub known by the colloquial Spanish name achote and by the Cayapa name can-

302 824

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

yū′ñ-tcī. This achote is of two different species, almost identical in general appearance. The seeds of one are surrounded with a yellow covering, those of the other with a red covering. When ripe, these pods are gathered, the seeds removed, and the color drawn off by soaking the pods in water, for a considerable length of time. This red or yellow liquid is then boiled down to a pasty consistency and mixed with any fairly hard fat, such as lard or the fat of the jaguar, the puma, or other wild animal. It is said that the viscous milky juice of a species of tree called sande is sometimes used instead of one of these fats; but the paint produced with it is not so good as that in which the fat is used. This strong, greasy pigment is applied with either a small pointed stick, if small dots or narrow lines are required, or with a wide carved stick called mōpɬtcpaɬ′pa (pls. CXXI, CXXII) if a wide line is desired or if a considerable surface is to be colored.

The black pigment, called ma′lyū, is obtained from the fruit of a tree called ha′wū. This fruit, which is globose in form and from two to three inches in diameter, is gathered while green and cut in halves. The seeds and the inner fleshy parts are then extracted and ground to pulp upon a mealing stone such as is used for grinding plantains. At the same time there is ground into the pulp a quantity of charcoal, and the result is a thin black paste. When dots and narrow lines are desired, this paste is applied to the skiñ with a small stick tipped with cotton; but when a wide line is to be made, it is applied with a finger.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

283
342
824

PITA LEAVES FOR MAKING CORD

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

species now used, the one producing a globular fruit called wa'iyû, and the other an ellipsoidal fruit called cũ'lya, were introduced here from Colombia. Every house is provided with one or more of these trees, and usually at least one of each of the two species. These large gourd-like fruits are produced in considerable numbers by such a tree and find a variety of uses. They are gathered when just ready to turn from green to ripe and are immediately hollowed out into utensils of several kinds. The details of manufacture and the uses of these utensils are treated on pages 166–173.

Another fruit, some species of which are said to be indigenous and some introduced, which is found abundantly in this region, is what is called by the local Spanish name guabo or guaba. This requires no cultivation, but the trees are carefully guarded against destruction. It is rarely if ever purposely planted, but grows from the accidental dropping of seeds. In the vicinity of almost every house there are several trees of one or more of these species. The fruits, which grow in long pods, are much esteemed and are almost invariably eaten raw. Each variety has its own special name, as follows:

Cayapa	*Spanish*
mactẽ'-pa cĩlyû,	guabo de macheton (machete guabo, so named on account of the shape of the pod).
ni'ñga cĩlyû,	guabo de tacoano.
pĩ' cĩlyû,	guabo dulce (sweet guabo). The Cayapa name signifies "water guabo."
sa' cĩlyû,	guabo agria (sour guabo). The Cayapa name also signifies "sour guabo."
pû'cĩlyû,	guabo.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[487] 484 along these rivers—these are used for hunting or for short trips from the rivers. All the permanent habitations are situated along the banks of the rivers, and to pass from one to another of these, as well as for making trips of greater length, the dug-out canoe, called kûʹle, 502 is used. In fact, the canoe is one of the most prominent features of Cayapa life. Everyone begins in early childhood the training which makes him an expert canoeman, and is perfectly at home in a dug-out, whether it be along the smooth sluggish waters of the lower course of the river, in the rapids of the upper course, or out on the ocean coasting to some nearby point.

396 From the important place the canoe holds in the life ●824 of the people, it is natural that much care should be given to its construction and that the art of canoe-making should have reached a high state of perfection. Of the many species of trees in the jungle, only a few produce woods which are hard and tough enough to be suitable for canoe-making. These qualities are found in certain species which have what may be called a criss-cross grain, that is, an interlacing of the wood fibers which makes splitting almost impossible. Though a considerable degree of hardness is required, too great hardness is not desirable. Certain woods, therefore, such as the guayacan, are too hard and heavy to be suitable.

396 [313] Having found a tree of the desired kind, it is felled with an ax and the canoe is roughly fashioned from a portion of its trunk, as is shown in pl. LXIX, and finally this section is cut loose from the remainder of the tree.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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LEAVES USED TO RUB DOWN PADDLES

[p. 148(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

501 be called the grip. In a woman's paddle this end may be truly called the grip, and it is usually notched in more or less of a fish-tail form, shown in pl. LXXVI, 9 to 11. This notch is quite smooth, and is actually gripped by the hand. In the case of the man's paddle, however, a purely ornamental tip is put on the end, which is almost never touched in paddling. A few of the typical forms of these ornamental ends are shown in figs. 1 to 4 and 6 to 8 of the same plate.

[531] Occasionally various simple figures are carved either in relief or in intaglio near the upper ends of the paddles. An illustration of such carving relief is shown in pl. LXXVI, 9. Such ornamentation is seen frequently on women's paddles, but only occasionally on those of the men.

[824] As a finishing touch to paddles and in order to make them perfectly smooth, especially along their handles, they are rubbed down with the under-surface of a dry leaf called lya'pic hakī, which is covered with minute but very hard spines that serve the purpose of sand-paper. A bunch of these palmate leaves is shown in pl. LXXVII.

502 [462] Although on a long journey a woman may act as pilot of the canoe, a man sometimes serves in this capacity while the woman sits forward and paddles, as shown in pl. LXXX. Again, it is customary for the woman to use the short paddle on all occasions, but now and then she may be seen using the man's long paddle. Such an instance is shown in pl. LXXIX, where the pilot of the canoe in the foreground is a woman using one of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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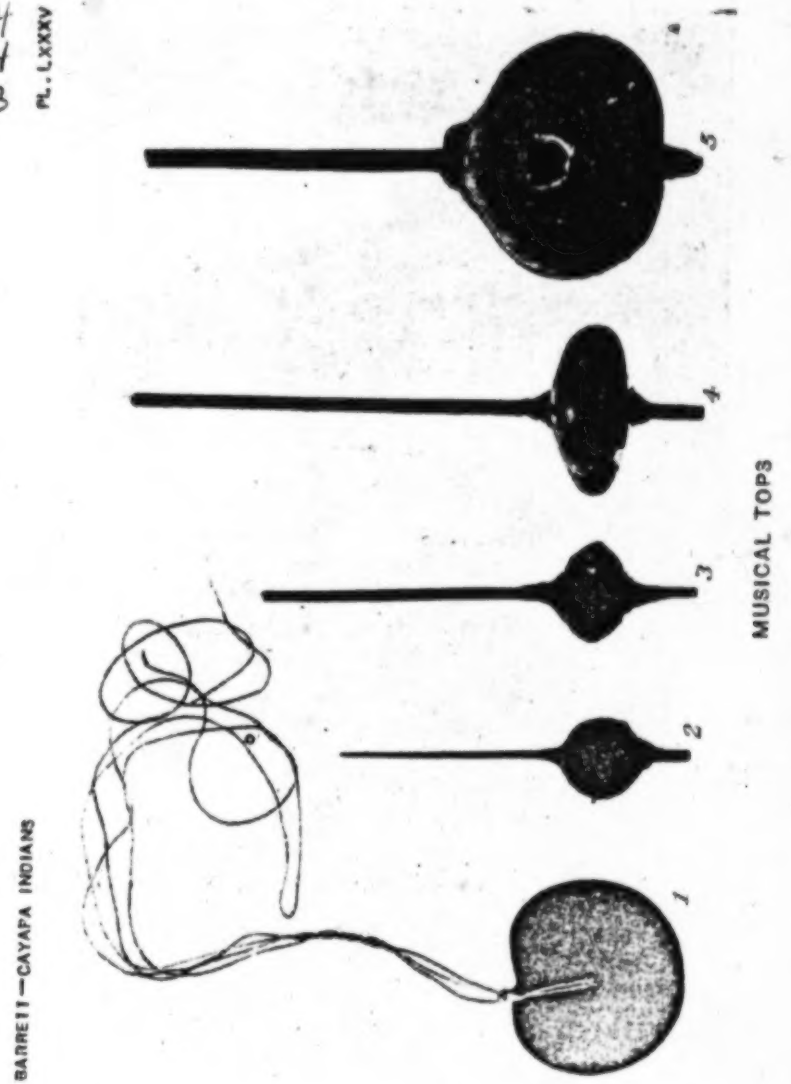
PL. LXXXV



p. 162 (B)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

323 After a pot has become fairly dry and hard, its surface receives the final smoothing, and in some cases it is given [824 almost a polish. This is done by means of a large 413] discoidal nut, called mūlūmbū mūñge'nū, indigenous to the region. The same nut is used in making tops and also the spinning handles for tops. In pl. LXXXV, 1, 4, it is shown used in these two ways. In smoothing pottery the edge of the nut is wet with saliva and is rubbed back and forth repeatedly over the vessel, thus smoothing the surface and making it more impervious by filling the pores. No slip or paint of any kind is used.

The vessels are now ready for firing. A quantity of wood is gathered and the pots are carried to an open place near the house. Here they are stacked one within another or arranged on the ground in any convenient manner, and a kiln is made by carefully piling wood around and among them. Coals are brought from the fire-box in the house, the pile is ignited, and the fire is carefully watched and more wood added as required. A pottery kiln is shown in pl. LXXXIX, the photograph for which was taken just after the fire was lighted. This firing process requires from twenty minutes to an hour, depending on the number and size of the pots, and the quantity of wood used. As the fire dies down, the pots are left as shown in pl. XC, being now thoroughly fired. The earthenware is generally removed with a pole while still hot, and is tested by tapping gently to detect any possible cracking. If badly cracked the vessels are [356] immediately thrown away, but in the case of large pots that are only slightly cracked, they are often kept and repaired with wax (brea).

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

THE CAYAPA INDIANS OF ECUADOR

By S. A. Barrett

MANUFACTURES—*Continued*

Textile Arts

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THE Cayapa weave many useful articles from the native materials that abound in their territory. These objects comprise various types of basketry, one type each of fan, mat, cloth, and three of nets. Their finest textile work is the cloth woven from cotton and wool in elaborate patterns. The only other decorated textiles are fans, mats, and a few types of baskets. This class of decoration is due largely to the materials and to the technic of the articles manufactured, all of which are made from strips of the bark of one or another of five endogenous plants. These strips have different natural colors on their two surfaces, and by bringing their light or their dark sides uppermost, simple geometric patterns alone are worked out without further coloring. Such technic makes possible only a limited number of patterns, as has been pointed out by Dr. Max Schmidt.[14]

[14] Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien, Berlin, 1905. Besondere Geflechtsart der Indianer im Ucayaligebeit, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, N. F., VI, H. 4, 270–281. Braunschweig, 1907.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

BASKETRY

285 Cayapa basketry may be classified according to the materials from which it is made, its technic, and its forms and uses.

Classification according to materials is recognized by the Cayapa themselves, as is shown by the following terms:

MATERIALS

285 824 Pitigua = te'tcūa (the root of an aerophitic plant); te'tcūm pickalyī = basket made of te'tcūa.

Rampile = pī'tcūa (a species of palm); pi'tcūm pickalyī = basket made of rampile.

Hoja blanca = fī'ba hakī; fī'bañ pickalyī = basket made of hoja blanca.

Hoja negra = e'lūñ hakī; e'lūñ pickalyī = basket made of hoja negra.

Chocolatilla = tcōkōla'/e; tcōkōla'te pickalyī = basket made of chocolatilla.

Crinande = viñga'tcī; viñga' pickalyī = basket made of crinande.

Hoja de chapil = kūla'hakī; dīc-pūnūntsū'mī; kūla' pickalyī, kūla'pō pickalyī = basket made of hoja de chapil.

The word picka'lyī, which strictly signifies any kind of basket other than the burden-basket or the hamper-shape basket, is here used as a general term meaning baskets of all kinds. All considerations of technic, form, and use are omitted in the above classification, material only being taken into account.

The basket materials used by the Cayapa may be divided into three classes. First, the heavy strips or splints of the inner fibers of the aerial root called pitigua, used for making the more durable baskets such as those shown in pl. XCII, 1, 3, 4, 6–8, and in pl. XCIII, 1, 3, 4, 12.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

In the second class of material may be included the thin bark of five species of endogenous plants: rampile, hoja blanca, hoja negra, chocolatilla, and crinande, which are used for making the lighter and less durable baskets, especially the hamper-shape baskets such as those shown in pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 6, 10, 11, as well as diminutive trinket baskets like those in figs. 15–17 (pp. 200-201). These materials, especially rampile, are used also in making baskets of other forms, but requiring no great durability or strength. Baskets of this class are shown in figs. 7–9 of pl. XCIII. Rampile is also extensively employed in making fans and mats. In the third class of materials is the leaf of the palm known in Spanish as chapil, sometimes also called milpeso, and, by the Cayapa, kūla′pō. Two forms of basket, one conical, the other square-sided (pl. XCII, 2, 5 respectively), are made of this material. Such baskets are suitable only for temporary use, since after a day or two the material becomes dry and brittle; while green, however, it is pliable and fairly strong. The conical basket (fig. 2) serves a ceremonial as well as a utilitarian purpose, being employed by shamans in their medicine practices.

The most important of the various basketry materials is the pitigua. This durable fiber is derived from the long roots of a single species of aerophitic plant which usually grows in the upper branches of trees and sends its long, slender roots to the ground. Pitigua is much sought for various purposes by the negroes and whites of the region, as well as by the Indians, so that along the lower course of the Rio Cayapas it has become somewhat scarce. When the plant is found, however, its roots are

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

easily gathered, since by simply pulling on them they usually break off at or near the plant itself, and often a root seventy-five or even a hundred feet in length is obtained. It is employed not only for basket-making but for many other purposes, such as for binding together the parts of a house-frame (figs. 2–5), for binding the palm-leaf thatch upon the roof (pl. VII), and indeed wherever material for tying or binding is needed. It serves also the many purposes for which civilized people use string and rope, as for mooring canoes, securing animals, etc. Pitigua fiber is practically indestructible so far as dampness is concerned, and may even be kept wet for a considerable time without rotting. If kept from direct contact with water, however, it will last for years even in this humid climate, as is shown by the bindings on the frames of some of the Cayapa houses that have been in use for ten or fifteen years at least.

When gathered these roots are usually made up into large coils (pl. XCI, 4) and laid away in a dry place until needed. To render them pliable they are soaked over night in the river. In two forms of baskets the warp elements are made of the smaller whole roots of the pitigua, otherwise the material is always split into strips or splints, which are prepared as follows:

The bark of the root being first removed, its inner woody portion is split into long, thin ribbons. The individual fibers of the root are extremely long and straight, hence when once started a ribbon can be split the full length of the root with almost perfect evenness. Usually one end of the root is taken up and split with a knife or machete, for a distance of an inch or two, into

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 trimmed to approximately equal widths, but for ordinary baskets this is not deemed necessary.

222 285 824 In case the pitigua root is not available, there are other parasitic plants which send aerial roots to the ground that may be used for temporary baskets.

Of the less durable and lighter materials used for making hamper-shape baskets, the most important is rampile, which comes from the bark of the petiole of a fan-leaf palm which produces thin strips from one-eighth to one-half inch in width and from three to twelve feet in length. In splitting off this bark, the circumference of the end of the stem is cut with a sharp instrument into as many segments as the desired width of the strips demands. Usually the strips on several stems are started at one time and then the bark of each is split off by pulling with the fingers one strip after another. In splitting the bark in this manner, a certain amount of the inner succulent fiber of the stem is taken with it. To remove this a number of strips, perhaps twenty, are grasped between the great and second toe in such manner that one end of the bunch of strips reaches almost to the body. Thus held, the strips are taken in turn and the succulent portions cut transversely at a point a couple of inches from the end. The strips are now taken rapidly one by one and the bark is peeled from the succulent fibers. It remains only to size the strips, that is, to bring them to an even width. This is done by splitting, since in this material, as in the pitigua, the fibers are long and straight, so that when once started they part evenly the full length of the strip. It is rarely necessary to do any special cutting and trimming to make these strips of proper widths.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The material of this class next in importance to the rampile is that obtained from the petiole of the hoja blanca, called by the Cayapa fi'ba haki, signifying, as does the Spanish term, "white leaf." This plant has a long pinnate leaf somewhat similar to that of the banana, but with a long, round, slender, and fairly hard petiole. It derives its name from the fact that the under-surface of the leaf-blade has a thick coating of white bloom. The strips of this material used in basket-making are obtained from the petiole of the leaf in the same manner as are those of the rampile, except that before splitting off the bark it is scraped. This removes a thin, succulent outer coat of light-green, and leaves the inner creamy-white bark which is hard and tough, though very thin. This hoja blanca bark is used chiefly for making small hamper-shape baskets (figs. 15–17) used as receptacles for trinkets, though it is frequently employed in making fans, especially the finer ones. It is much less durable than is the rampile, and for that reason, as also on account of its thinness, it is not adapted to the manufacture of large hampers or of mats.

The blades of the leaves of hoja blanca find a variety of uses, chief among which is as a covering for cargoes of canoes to protect them against rain. The leaves are much tougher than are those of most plants of a similar kind in this region and shed water perfectly. They are used even for repairing leaks in house-thatch, though they are never employed for entirely thatching a permanent building.

Hoja blanca is the only basket material which is ever artificially colored. The strips are stained with red

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 386 achote, the plant which produces the red face-paint used by the Cayapa. This coloring matter is rubbed on the stem after it has been scraped down to the hard white layer of the bark and before the bark is stripped from the stem. The colored strips are used occasionally as a means of producing the geometric designs used in small hamper-shape baskets and in fans.

285 824 Three other plants with a habit of growth similar to that of the hoja blanca occasionally furnish materials for the hamper-shape baskets. They are the chocolatilla, called by the Cayapa tcōkōla'te, which yields a brown material; the hoja negra, called e'lūñ hakī; and the crinande, called viñga'tcī. The material in each of these plants comes from the petioles of the leaves. They are obtained and manipulated in the same manner as is that derived from the hoja blanca. None of the three, however, is ever colored.

285 482 [222] As above mentioned, the leaf of a large species of palm, called in Spanish chapil, is used on rare occasions for basket-making. Should a person be out hunting, or for any other reason be at a considerable distance from his house and unexpectedly find some fruit or other commodity which he cares to take home, he may, by securing a couple of the large leaves of the chapil, quickly fashion a temporary burden-basket, such as either of those shown in pl. XCII, 2, 5, in which to carry them. Such a basket is never kept for further use, for as soon as the leaves become dry they are very brittle and entirely worthless.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 in pl. XCV, 11, on the other hand, the outer horizontal element is absent and there is but one spiral element. In this instance, however, there are two horizontal elements running like wicker through the openings immediately below the border and serving to give additional strength to it.

Baskets of this technic are among those more rarely made by the Cayapa. They have no special use, but serve any of the many ordinary household purposes to which Cayapa basketry is put, such as the storage of small articles and various foods.

In addition to the six technics above described, here termed the regular basketry technics, there are the two employed to a very limited extent in making the palm-leaf burden-baskets, which are used temporarily and only in emergencies for carrying burdens, or are now and then employed ceremonially by some shaman in his medicine practices. Two of these baskets are shown in pl. XCII, 2, 5.

285 824 In the first the technic resembles checkerwork to a certain extent. Such a conical basket is made from a single large pinnate leaf of the palm called by the Spanish chapil and by the Cayapa kūla'pō-tcí. Such a leaf is often as much as ten feet long. Perhaps eight feet of this is serviceable for basket-making, the two feet near the tip of the leaf being rather weak and provided with short leaflets. Having broken off the unserviceable section at its tip, such a leaf is bent at its middle point and its leaflets are interwoven after the fashion of checkerwork, thus producing a loosely woven basket with large meshes. The remaining ends of the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

leaflets are at last wrapped about the edge and bound loosely to secure them and produce the border of the basket. 285 824

The second type of palm-leaf basket is square in cross-section and has vertical walls. In this, two leaves which are made to cross each other at the bottom are used. The bottom of such a basket is usually about a foot square and the walls are two and a half or three feet high. The midribs of the leaves pass up the middle of the sides, and the leaflets, entirely unwoven, form the sides themselves. Extending up the four corners are heavy rolls formed by these leaflets, and it is in these that the particular technic employed only in this type of basket is found. When the two midribs are crossed at their middle points, they are securely bound together to keep them in position during the manipulation of the leaflets in making the corners of the basket. At a point five or six inches from this center, each of the midribs is then bent upward. As the leaves are thus placed in position, the leaflets extending out from the right-hand side of one midrib cross those extending from the left of the adjacent midrib. Beginning at the bottom, one of these leaflets is passed round a corresponding leaflet of the opposite set, its end joining that of the leaflet it has just gone round in passing upward to help form a core about which the other leaflets are in turn passed. In passing about this core each leaflet goes completely round it, coming back to the front below itself and then folding abruptly upward over itself to enter the core. This produces the technic which in the preceding pages was likened to the "half-hitch" in 285

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 to a certain extent for fanning themselves. As is shown
293 in pl. CIV this fan is always square and has a substantial
372 handle extending from one corner. Almost the only
[824] material used for fans is the bark of the petiole of the fan-leaf palm. On rare occasions the bark of the hoja blanca is employed, and such fans almost always show a pattern in red produced by coloring one set of the twilling elements with achote. Both these materials are prepared in exactly the same manner as in making basketry.

285 The blade of the fan is always made in the over-three and under-three form of twilling, while the handle consists of a bundle of the elements which form the blade, this bundle having an outer surface of twilling or wickerwork, as shown in pl. CIII, 5–9. Such fans are usually eight or nine inches square, though they are sometimes larger and frequently smaller. The larger fans are used almost exclusively for fanning the fire, while the smaller ones are used for giving personal comfort.

285 Fans are decorated with a considerable variety of
531 geometric designs of the same character as those found on mats, and in lesser variety on twilled basketry. Pl. CV shows a number of these patterns, which in most instances are without special name and in no case are they symbolic, as has been pointed out in treating the decorative art of the Cayapa.

285 The exact manipulation of the splints used in fan-making is shown in pl. CIII, 14 and 15, which exhibit respectively the uppermost corner and the right-hand corner of the front or upper surface of the fan. In detail the manipulation is as follows: A single long

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

pulling upon those loops which contain the particular warp strands which it is desired to bring forward. When these are brought forward the weaving batten is passed behind them and the whole set of warp strands is properly separated and ready to receive the woof. This is accomplished by passing the shuttle through below the weaving batten, which is placed with its edges horizontally in order to separate the two sets of warp strands. 286

In threading up the loom, the warp threads are fastened to a thin, narrow, palm-wood rod (*l*). A heavier rod (*k*), on either side of which one-half of the warp strands pass, is fastened by means of loops to *a* and *b*, and bears the strain of the weaving as the batten is brought down with considerable force in order to drive down the preceding course of woof and produce a tightly woven piece of cloth.

The only remaining movable element of the loom, except the batten and the shuttle, is the width gauge (*m*), which is used to hold the manta to an exact width. This rod is made either of bamboo or of palm-wood, and is provided at either end with a single short and sharp point, which is stuck into the edge of the manta just below the line along which the weaving is being done. [824]

The batten (*c*) is a flat piece of wood, usually about two or two and one-half inches wide, and of a length six or eight inches greater than the width of an ordinary manta, or about three and one-half feet. Its edges and point are much like those of a heavy double-edged sword, and both the edges and the point are fairly sharp, thus permitting the point to be inserted easily between the warp strands and also allowing a direct and forceful blow

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

286 to be struck along the full width of the textile with the edge of the sword. These swords are always made of
286 the wood of the quende tree. This is a reddish, very hard
824 and durable wood, the surface of which is made extremely smooth with the leaf, lya'pic hakı, which is used especially for smoothing wooden objects. The quende is a rare wood in this region, and the battens are, on this account and also by reason of the difficulty of their manufacture, highly prized by the Cayapa. In fact, the
286 batten or sword is the only part of a loom which it is at all difficult to make and which cannot be easily replaced if broken or lost.

The shuttle is simply a cylindrical double-pointed rod of palm-wood, about half an inch in diameter and of a length slightly greater than the width of the cloth. Upon this rod is wound the weft. Beginning near the middle, the first winding is done in a space of six or seven inches along the middle of the shuttle. In passing the thread from one end to the other of this wound section, approximately a half-turn of the shuttle is made, the thread being given a complete turn about the shuttle at the end of the wound section, then being passed back with another half-turn to the opposite end of the wound section where another complete turn is given to hold it in place. So the winding proceeds back and forth from end to end of this middle section, each time the turn of the thread at the end of the section holding it from slipping. The wound section gradually increases in length until, when the shuttle is completely wound, it measures twelve or fifteen inches and forms at the middle of the shuttle a cigar-shape section from an inch to an inch and a half

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

since such weaving is done in large measure only at odd times.

The trunks or mocho (pl. CXVI) worn by the men is made of cloth woven by the women, a special narrow fabric being produced for this purpose. One of these pieces of cloth contains enough for two mochos. It is always cut and sewed by the men themselves, some of them being adept with the needle. The women know almost nothing about sewing. It ordinarily even falls to the men to make the small mochos for the boys until they are old enough to sew for themselves.

The subject of manta designs is treated under Decorative Art.

CORDAGE AND NETTING

In most cases cordage and nets are made of the fine, long, white fibers obtained from the leaf of the plant called in Spanish pita and in Cayapa sa′nō, and to a much more limited extent the fibers from the bark of a tree called in Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa señgī′lya are used.

The preparation and manipulation of pita, to which reference has been made hitherto, are quite elaborate. The long, slender, full-grown leaves of the plant are cut off close to the ground and brought to the house in bundles, such as those shown leaning against the house in pl. LXVI. While the leaf is still green the fibers are extracted by first scraping off the succulent portion of the concave side of the leaf and then stripping out the fibers from the remainder. For this scraping there are required a semi-cylindrical log of palm-wood, called sañwi cī′nō,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

283 lowest one in the bunch is brought down on the convex surface of the log, and with the corner of a knife the succulent outer layer is split throughout the length of the section of the leaf exposed. This allows the leaf to be easily flattened against the log so that the succulent layer may be scraped off with one of the edges of the knife (fig. 25).

283 413 [824] The knife used for this purpose is illustrated in pl. CXVII, 2. It is usually made from half of a section of wild cane (Spanish caña brava), and is ordinarily from fifteen to eighteen inches in length. The soft center of the cane is hollowed out so that only the hard, woody portion of the outside of the stalk remains. The two edges of this semi-cylindrical section are very sharp, thus producing a serviceable implement.

283 The succulent portion of the leaf having been scraped off and the fine fibers exposed to a length of eight or ten inches at the base of the leaf, the fibers are loosened with a thumb or finger nail and are then split loose as far up the leaf as the scraping has progressed by pulling them gently outward. A slit is then made in this scraped section and the loosened fibers are passed through and looped (fig. 25) in such manner as to prevent them from becoming tangled as the scraping proceeds farther up the leaf. When this half of the leaf is completely scraped, it is hung at the side of the pole and the corresponding portion of the next leaf is scraped.

Finally, all the lower halves of the leaves having been scraped, the upper halves which had been placed overhead are brought down upon the log and held in position by means of the horizontal cord which secured the lower

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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PITA FIBERS, PLIES, AND CORDS

[p. 273(4)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

283 several other cords are completed, these are added to the braids at the ends. Thus by adding group after group of these braids, when the whole bundle of cords is completed and both its ends are braided it forms a skein of cords which appears like that shown in pl. CXVIII, 3. The skein is kept in this form and the individual cords are extracted from its middle. This tends to pull backward and to loosen the braids at the two ends of the bundle and thus easily to free the ends of the individual cord from the braids.

[824] The other kind of string obtained from the bark of the tree called in Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa señgi'lya, is made in a manner similar to that employed in making pita string. The fibers used in making this string are obtained by beating out the bark by the method employed in making bark cloth. After being washed, as in the case of bark cloth also, these fibers are dried, folded, and bound into bundles (pl. CXIX, 2). When needed, the sheets are taken from the bundle and the fibers are separated and twisted into a heavy and rather loose cord which serves very well for making a hammock or as the main cable of a trot-line (pl. CXIX, 1), but otherwise is little used. The string bears the same Cayapa name as the tree itself, and its primary use is for hammocks, which are woven with the same technic as are fish-nets, shortly to be described. The meshes are, however, extremely large and are made without the aid of a mesh-stick, being kept sufficiently even by the eye alone.

[352 227]

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The Cayapa do not splice cords by twisting together the fibers at their ends, as is done by some Indians. An individual pita cord is usually from ten to sixteen feet

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The paddle is rubbed down with abrasive leaves called /ʌʸápis háki/. In working the blade of the paddle, a longitudinal ridge is left on both surfaces:

> Along this line the blade reaches a thickness of about three-quarters of an inch. At each side of these medial lines the blade is hollowed out very much after the fashion of a hollow-ground razor; otherwise its thickness is fairly uniform. The thickness of the blade decreases slightly toward the edge, so that the edge itself at the greatest width of the blade rarely exceeds three-sixteenths of an inch in thickness, and it may be as thin as an eighth of an inch.
>
> The handles or poles of the paddles are ordinarily from an inch to an inch and three quarters in diameter and are almost perfectly cylindrical. They taper slightly from the blade to the upper end, or what may be called the grip. In a woman's paddle this end may be truly called the grip, and it is usually notched in more or less of a fish tail form, . . . In the case of a man's paddle, however, a purely ornamental tip is put on the end, which is almost never touched in paddling (Barrett 1925:149-150).

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Benches: /čumbúlʸa/. These are small seats measuring from four to eight inches in height and from four to nine inches in width. They are always cut from one piece of wood and often have two supporting surfaces. Barrett reports eight types of which I have seen but three. Most commonly these benches are composed of three flat surfaces, less commonly the seating surface is concave. Barrett should be referred to for details of style and construction. (Barrett 1925: 154-157).

details of style and construction (Barrett 1925:154-157). 000

Dolls: /náwawa/. Dolls for children were scarce among the Cayapa of the Punta Venado section. Barrett briefly discusses dolls, and the impression received is that they were common. They were always made of a single block of wood, and were carved in both human and animal forms. No measurements are given, but they were very likely similar to the dolls of today, measuring usually twelve to thirteen inches in length and from three to four inches in width. They are most frequently carved out of Guayacan, an extremely hard wood. The one Guayacan doll in my possession is carved in two pieces. It is a seated figure, obviously of a white man, wearing a visored cap, a necktie cut in bas-relief, a jacket, breeches, and boots that are tinted reddish. He is seated in a two-legged chair which is sufficient since his own feet serve as the other two legs. The chair is fastened to the figure by two nails through the bottom, and five nails from the rear.

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At the present time, many models for play purposes are cut out of balsa in the forms of airplanes, and the forms of coastal banana boats. Other wooden articles

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is favored. In these cases, it is always the rear of the house that is raised about four or five inches. The rear of the house is the cooking area, and it is here that the firebox is located. A common size for the firebox is four feet by five feet and it is packed with earth to a depth of four to six inches. Three rocks form a pot holder within which a fire is contained. There will generally be one such rock hearth for each related family resident in the house. Behind the kitchen area a bamboo ramp about three feet wide and twenty feet long serves the boys and men as a urinal; a hole about three feet out from the house serves the girls, women and infants.

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The gabled roof is pitched at about a forty-five degree angle and is framed by long single lengths of bamboo. The thatch consists of the long leaves of the Tagua palm which may reach a length of fourteen to sixteen feet. From the midrib of the leaf, a series of leaflets extend out for approximately three feet. Two or three months before roofing, the leaves are cut down and collected in the Tagua patch and placed on a low bamboo rack for drying. Sometimes the Tagua patch is a considerable distance behind the house, in which

[824]

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pigs who find them especially delectable. The Cayapa seldom plant coconuts, but the Negroes do so whenever possible. Important palms are the Tagua and the Chontaduro. The tagua nut was formerly an extremely important economic product; its hard seed was in constant demand on the world market for the manufacture of shirt buttons. With the rapid development of the plastics industry some thirty years ago, the market for tagua seeds completely collapsed. The Cayapa still talk nostalgically of the days when money did apparently grow on trees. Though its export value has declined, the tagua palm, nevertheless, is still important to the internal economy: the leaves are used extensively for roof thatching, the nut is a minor item in the diet, and when the tree dies, the /mĭšu/, a delectable and very oily grub can be dug out of the trunk. Both men and woman may work in the gardens. Generally speaking, however, the men clear the garden and the women plant the seeds or roots. Men and women may harvest the crops.

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The staff of life for the inhabitants of the Pacific Lowland Culture Area is the plantain which is found in many varieties. It may be eaten green or

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men, and occasionally only one shotgun is available to share among them. 224

Fishing is an important adjunct to the dietary pattern. Fish are dynamited, netted, speared, trapped, drugged, and hooked. Often a man or boy will work his canoe up-stream and then drift slowly down while he plays his hook and line which are tied to a light pole. The fisherman baits his hook with a lively grasshopper, drops his line into the water, then holds his arm motionless except for a slight movement of his wrist which causes the line to move with a sinusoidal motion. This favorite method can only be used when the river is very low. At these times, in the evening, three men or boys go out in a canoe moving slowly along the bank. One man paddles, another holds a flashlight or a pressure lantern, and the third man stands ready with a fish spear. The light attracts multitudes of fish, and the haul is invariably a huge one. Lobster can also be easily trapped when the river is low. A lobster trap, called <u>catanga</u> is baited with plantain. It is set under water alongside a bank that has some protuberance, such as a pile of driftwood. The mouth of the trap is placed so it faces

226 [262] [825] [416] [373] [824]

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While this was going on, Gerardo, a minor brujo who is also Alejandro's father, rolled up some hoja blanca leaves in the shape of a cone, and placed it on the head of the patient who, by now, was sitting up. The old man then ran both of his hands up the patient's body toward the head. When he reached the forehead he squeezed tightly, quickly gathered up the conical "dunce cap," and ran off into the jungle where he threw it away. He had brought out some of the malignant spirits through the patient's head and into the hat. As this was going on, the patient kept looking at me out of the corner of his eye; finally he said to Gerardo, while pointing his lips at me, "He's real big;" at this, Gerardo asked if I would like to try removing some of the illness. I agreed with alacrity, and as I placed my hands along the patient's sides and began massaging upwards, he cried out: "/úra, úra/, which means "good, good." Gerardo and I worked together, and used up four cone hats. Throughout all of this activity, Alejandro kept humming and chanting, and taking long pulls at the rum bottle, and occasionally spraying some in our direction.

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At the conclusion of the curing ceremony, the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

136 may be mentioned at least one species of leaf-cutting ant whose peculiarly spiny body presents an interesting appearance, though it is in no way of special importance to the Indians. One very large, black, stinging ant, called conga in Spanish, and nyû′mī in Cayapa, is much feared by the Indians and others resident in this region, for the reason that its sting produces not only an annoying local irritation, but also a rise in the temperature of one bitten, so that it is commonly said that the sting of the conga insures two days of fever.

825 136 [237] [278] [262] Certain species of small bees are of value to the Indians, particularly in the production of the wax used in calking canoes and pottery, and in painting canoes; it is also employed remedially to a slight extent as a cure for cuts and abrasions. The honey made by these bees is very little sought as a food, and is quite secondary in value to their wax. The Indians recognize four classes of these bees. The paba ta′nda is a small black species that lives in trees and makes the best wax which is yellow in color and is produced in larger quantities than that made by any of the other bees. The ciñemi′ski, also a small black bee, lives in the ground and produces an inferior black wax which is used only to a limited extent by the Indians. The third of these small black bees is the ta′nda, which lives in trees but which produces much more honey than wax. The fourth species, amūī a′ma, is a small yellow bee which likewise lives in trees and produces a black wax that is used to a considerable extent.

136 825 262 Certain insects are employed as food. Two of these,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

which were observed, were a large, black, beaked beetle (*Rhymchophorus palmarum*), called kū'perū by the Cayapa, and a large white larva called kōmu'cū by them.

Certain other insects, though of no special economic importance, are of interest to the Indians. One in particular is a large beetle (*Euchroma goliath* L. & G.) whose iridescent wing-covers are employed in making necklaces. There are also large, beautifully colored butterflies, dragonflies, and a large firefly (*Pyrophorus pellucens*), besides a host of other species of insects of greater or lesser interest.

Insects

English	Spanish	Cayapa
beetle (*Rhymchophorus palmarum*)		kū'perū
beetle (*Enchroma goliath* L. &. G.)	cucaron	kabē''tsū
firefly (*Pyrophorus pellucens*)		mū'lūkū
bees		paba ta'nda ciñemi'skī ta'nda amūī a'ma
ant (a large, black, stinging ant)	conga	nyū'mī
larva (a large white larva)		kō'mucū
larva	cogoyo	avī'
a worm or caterpillar	hualpe	tcīlī'lī

MINERALS

Among the natural resources of the country should be mentioned its minerals, certain of which are found

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

342 [349] 314 A platform of bamboo is next constructed at an elevation of two or three feet from the ground. The split green leaves, prepared as above, are then placed on this platform and a thatch built over and around them so as to protect them completely from the weather. This is done usually at the place where the leaves are cut, probably more as a matter of convenience than for any other reason, since the leaves when green are very heavy but on drying become very light. They are allowed to season here for at least two months, after which they are transported to the point where they are to be used. In some cases, however, the freshly cut leaves are transported at once to the house for which they are intended and there cured.

This seasoning in a dry place is absolutely necessary, since if the leaves were placed on the roof while still green, the constant rains of this region would soon rot [825] them. It is further claimed that if used when green they are soon attacked by insects, especially cockroaches, which, as before mentioned, are very numerous and troublesome.

342 177 The negroes also use the tagua-leaf to a large extent for thatch, and in its preparation they are very strict in their observance of certain rules concerning the phases of the moon. No timber may be felled and no thatch leaves cut in the light of the moon. In the case of timber, it is claimed that it is both subject to the attacks of insects and is rendered much more likely to break or split in working if cut in the light of the moon than if cut in the dark of the moon. Likewise thatch

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

minutes, usually until the leaf covering is largely, if not entirely black. The covering is then removed and the tamale eaten in that form or after being mashed flat upon the mealing stone. When obtainable, a species of large black beetle (*Rhynchophorus palmarum*), called kū'perū, is used as one of the ingredients in the making of these tamales, and it is said by the Indians to be one of the most toothsome of all their foods.

The method usually employed in preparing other vegetal foods, such as yuca, sweet potatoes, etc., is by boiling in the ordinary manner. Meats and fish are generally boiled in pottery vessels without the covering of leaves above mentioned, and they may also be broiled or baked. Broiling is done in the ordinary manner, by simply placing the food over the fire. In baking, however, a special method is employed. After being properly prepared and cut into small pieces, the meat is wrapped in two thicknesses of the tough green leaf above mentioned. The flat package thus formed is then placed upon the coals, and hot ashes and coals are heaped upon it. Several minutes are usually needed for this baking, and sometimes it is necessary to replenish the coals or to turn the package over to insure proper cooking. This method is much employed in cooking all kinds of meats, fish, shellfish, and crabs and other Crustacea.

In this warm, humid climate, where meat keeps but a very short time, drying and smoking over the fire is much employed by the Cayapa when any considerable quantity of meat or fish is on hand. For this purpose

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

that with this highly-developed spirit concept there is not a similar development of related myths and tales, but no such special tales appear to be current among the Cayapa, and indeed the only resemblance to tales at all is the alleged experiences that certain individuals, during intoxication or sleep, claim to have had in their encounters with strange spirits.

There is nothing resembling a culture-hero cycle or any other cycle of myths. Animal stories, so common among aboriginal peoples, are almost unknown among the Cayapa. The two following short, fragmentary tales were the only ones obtained, and it is doubtful whether these are truly aboriginal with this people.

It is said that in ancient times birds and mammals had the power of speech, their language being that of the Cayapa. The toucan wore a silver necklace, and was constantly crying because there was no chonta dura to eat, although there was an abundance of other fruits. When he changed from his human form to his present bird form, his silver necklace became the white rim of feathers, which he now has, at the yellow throat patch, and his former crying for chonta dura he still keeps up in his constant propensity to give his characteristic call, "tcandō'tō," from which he derives his onomatopoetic name.

The jaguar also was formerly a human being who had a Cayapa wife. During the day he remained about the house in the ordinary manner and without wearing his shirt. At night, however, he put on a fine shirt ornamented in colors and went out to hunt. He killed much game, and ate the greater portion of it raw on the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

spot. He brought home a small amount, but when it was cooked and his wife called him to eat, he never appeared hungry, consuming but a small amount and declaring that the food was not good. Later his form was changed to that which he now has, and he is obliged to walk on all four feet. His finely-colored shirt became his present spotted skin.

CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCES

Of aboriginal ceremonies there are few traces left among the Cayapa, so completely have the fiestas of the church supplanted them. In these festivities there are certain remnants of aboriginal customs, but they are entirely subordinated to the practices of the Catholic church.

Contrary to the customs of many aboriginal peoples, there are not at present, and apparently never have been, any special ceremonial observances associated with birth, puberty, and menstruation, although there are certain restrictions and slight observances of an ordinary character connected with each of these.

The marriage and mortuary ceremonies, already described, are, on the other hand, quite elaborate, and apparently retain much of their aboriginality, although largely assuming the nature of these ceremonies as celebrated by the church.

Two regular church festivals, that of "Noche Buena" or Christmas, and that of "Semana Santa" or Easter, are celebrated, as one might suppose, entirely according to church custom.

men, and occasionally only one shotgun is available to share among them. 224

Fishing is an important adjunct to the dietary pattern. Fish are dynamited, netted, speared, trapped, drugged, and hooked. Often a man or boy will work his canoe up-stream and then drift slowly down while he plays his hook and line which are tied to a light pole. The fisherman baits his hook with a lively grasshopper, drops his line into the water, then holds his arm motionless except for a slight movement of his wrist which causes the line to move with a sinusoidal motion. This favorite method can only be used when the river is very low. At these times, in the evening, three men or boys go out in a canoe moving slowly along the bank. One man paddles, another holds a flashlight or a pressure lantern, and the third man stands ready with a fish spear. The light attracts multitudes of fish, and the haul is invariably a huge one. Lobster can also be easily trapped when the river is low. A lobster trap, called <u>catanga</u> is baited with plantain. It is set under water alongside a bank that has some protuberance, such as a pile of driftwood. The mouth of the trap is placed so it faces

226
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the Río Camerones in the monte. People are afraid of him, because he can kill a person by catching his spirit. Duende is the owner of all of the wild pigs, as well as the /buhúlʸa/, a race of cave dwellers who are similar to the Cayapa in appearance. The second, /aʸubéri/, is the devil who plays all of the musical instruments at the same time. Some think that he just touches himself to produce the sounds. He is naked, and black like a Negro, and has a very large penis with which he kills women when he makes love to them. These beings are not really a part of the religious belief system, but other spirits are.

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The Cayapa believe that people have three souls: /tambúka/ 'heart,' /kúma/ 'soul' and /ačúa cútʸu úhmu/ 'bald ghost.' At death, the /tambúka/ leaves the body by way of the mouth and goes straight up to Jesus, who has it punished. The manner of punishment is not clear, but it goes on for a very long time. Finally, the soul enters heaven. There are no clear ideas expressed regarding the nature of heaven, but many Cayapa think in terms of a big fiesta. The /kúma/ leaves the body at death in an unknown manner and wanders about the

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children, after about the age of six, defecate in the river or in the monte behind the house. As soon as an infant is able to sit, he is placed over the woman's and girl's urination hole to defecate. He is not permitted to return to the comfort of the house until he has done so. The weather may be somewhat inclement, it may be dark, the child may howl and scream, he may decide to withhold his feces in defiance of parental command, but no leniency is shown. He must sit out on the causeway, alone, miserable, afraid or defiant, and only after he defecates, is he removed and brought into the house where he may be rewarded with the breast. By the time the child is two years old, he is trained, or perhaps, a better word, broken. Understandably, most Cayapa show an extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces. One day four young boys, ranging in age from about ten to fourteen, came to visit just as my infant son defecated. The boys stopped in their tracks and one, pointing to the mass on the floor, shouted, "/pe/" 'feces,' whereupon they fled.

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If no new sibling has arrived, the Cayapa infant is permitted to nurse at the breast for about three years.

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The Cayapa are not theologians, nor are they knowledgeable about Catholic ritual. They recognize this lack, but do not concern themselves over it. They rely for ritual guidance on the priest, and in his absence their Negro neighbors are ever ready to take his place as religious mentors to the Cayapa. The Cayapa recognize that the Negro has greater understanding of the religion, but they also consider that the Negroes are great sinners, while the Cayapa are held to be very moral. For the Cayapa, religion is morality and morality means proper sexual behavior. That the Negroes seldom, if ever, marry is a constant source of scandal for the Cayapa, and that the Cayapa almost always marry in the Church [a few polygynists to the contrary] is a constant source of envy for the Negro women, who feel great personal insecurity in their free unions. The trouble with the world, say the Cayapa, is that there are many sinners in it--people who commit incest, adultery, and take more than one wife. As most Cayapa are moral, they will go to heaven, but Negroes and Whites, who are notorious sinners, will not. After death Negroes will go to the black clouds and

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and she agreed. Now, with a new wife, neither he nor his mother-in-law wanted to live under the same roof. Feelings of anger and/or disapproval on the part of parents and kin of the dead spouse to the remarriage of the surviving spouse are not uncommon among the Cayapa. There is some feeling that the death may have been caused by the survivor. 587 [578] [961]

An interesting point emerges that is part of a general Cayapa theme: Lorenzo waited about five years before remarrying, and apparently the motivation lay not so much in his sexual needs, as in his appetite for food. His mother-in-law was not preparing his meals properly. It should be kept in mind that, by Cayapa standards, a man who is capable of /súpu taʒgahímu/,[1] who can actually walk up to a woman and propose to her, is deserving of envy, awe, and admiration. This means that such a man is sexually forward and aggressive. Many, if not most, Cayapa men are very hesitant and uncertain about sex and marriage. While chastity is not particularly valued, men in their twenties who claim to have had no sexual intercourse are not uncommon. Women, on the other hand, lose their virginity much 583 831 831 [836] [584]

[1] [i.e. "to steal a woman" - ANALYST]

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earlier by way of the custom of night courtship described above. These affairs need not end in marriage, and both parties are free to seek greener pastures. It is the decided impression of the writer that the Cayapa women are the sexual initiators generally and that they are visited by a comparatively small number of sexual activists among the men.

Arranged Marriages. Most men do not have the brashness of character required to steal a woman, and many are not able to carry through a successful night courtship. For them, therefore an arranged marriage is necessary. One way of arranging a marriage is for the father of a young man or woman to ask one of the tribal officials to find a spouse for his offspring. If the official does not know of anyone immediately available, he will make inquiries at whatever fiesta he happens to attend. There is no charge for this service.

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This sort of match-making was attempted unsuccessfully at a fiesta that I attended at Zapallo Grande in 1960. The fiesta was a combined affair, honoring the dead and celebrating a recent marriage.

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of the case were clear, and a witness was present. It is of interest that Pablo's wife seems to have convinced everyone of her innocence in the affair and that she had been truly hoodwinked. Chapiro's reputation was of course, well known, and guilt was held to be his alone. Even though justice prevailed, Chapiro was disgruntled and left without drinking. This in itself would be sufficient to mark him as a deviant, for Basurco's observations are still very much applicable. 156 684x [692]

> . . . leur seul vice est de rendre un culte trop fréquent à Bacchus, auquel ils font des libations d'ichcala, ou eau-de-vie de canne, qu'ils fabriquent eux-mêmes . . . (Basurco 1894:406).

In marked contrast to many Cayapa men, Chapiro has always been more interested in sexual pursuits than in drinking and the married men in the area were beginning to view him as a real threat. In instances like this it is felt that the best way to remove the threat is to marry him off, forcibly, if need be. In the case of Chapiro events came to a head after he had seduced Gabriel's daughter. [273] [831] [584] [627]

<u>The Seduction of Gabriel's daughter</u>. Chapiro was [836]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[P 154]

CHAPTER IV

DEVIANCE AND LAW IN THE AREA OF SEX RELATIONS

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In terms of attitudes and decisions, Cayapa law can be marked off in two grand divisions: the sacred and the profane. The sacred involves the realm of sin, and sin for the Cayapa is to be found completely in the area of sexual behavior. Illicit sexual adventures, if exposed, are always punished by whipping and/or the use of the stocks. We have no information, but in all probability the whip and the stocks were introduced to the Cayapa at a very early period by Catholic missionaries. Regardless of the source of these two articles of punishment, the Cayapa have taken to them enthusiastically. The question of why sex should be so charged with feelings of sin requiring a special mode of punishment will be discussed later, when we deal with personality factors. While the Cayapa talk about sin and characterize many people as being sinners, my data do not indicate that they either dwell on, or even conceptualize sin, in terms of a world view. Rather,

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they dwell on, are attracted to, and are repulsed by sexual involvements. In this, they agree with the missionaries, and if the missionaries call this area of life sinful, the Cayapa can readily agree. We shall see that it is in the realm of sexual deviancy and in the attempts made by Cayapa laymen to come to gripe with it that the most sweeping socio-cultural changes take place.

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Incest. Incest is generally viewed by the Cayapa as being particularly heinous. In the olden days, it is asserted, when the Cayapa lived in one village at Pueblo Viejo, anyone guilty of such a crime would be placed suspended over a table which was covered with lighted candles, and then, slowly roasted to death. While this may be apocryphal, it does indicate strong negative feelings towards incestuous behavior. The Cayapa are very clear about this and state that incest is a sin, that it goes against Jesus' commandments and must be punished. Barrett recorded the following case which indicates that the punishment was still severe if not as extreme:

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bent over slightly and received ten incredibly light blows. He then left and went to the house next door. Within three or four minutes the sound of a brawl was heard from that quarter. This man was beating his wife and throwing her around the room like a French Apache dancer. This went on for a few minutes more, and then several men took him off to one side and calmed him down. 684[x] 837 [696]

Later, several people, including the /[illegible]/, were asked by the writer why it was necessary to punish adultery, and, without exception, they replied that it was a sin against God. Only one Indian expressed indignation at the light sentence and punishment accorded the man. When queried, the others either smirked or laughed outright. One fellow pointed out philosophically that the officials were only looking ahead, "as their time for punishment might not be far off." 684[x] 837 696 [783]

Age seems to be a mitigating factor for women, and it is felt that a young single woman should not be punished for cohabiting with a married man. It is said that by her behavior she showed that she wants a man and so should be married. Quite often cognizance will be taken of the protests of relatives of the accused [831]

in reducing punishment

in reducing punishment.

A young fornicator defended by a cousin. A very attractive young girl who appeared to be about fifteen years of age was brought forward by Pindalelas, the Negro caretaker of the Church. She shrank back from him and appeared frightened by the whole affair. Several of the officials clustered around her, saying that she had sinned. The chief was off to one side, lying in his hammock, seemingly not paying any attention. The girl replied so softly to the charges that the writer was unable to hear the responses. One of the officials who evidently knew of the affair shouted, "It's a lie!" The punishment was set by the officials at fifty lashes; however, a man from the crowd spoke up, saying, "I am her cousin, don't punish her!" At this, there was a brief discussion by the officials, and it was agreed that the girl was too young to be whipped, but because she had slept with a man, it was felt that she wanted a husband and the officials said that one would be found for her.

The general feeling that adultery is a sin that must be punished carries through so that even if the

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shaming, ridicule, the application of bitter tasting substances, or frightening the child with stories of cannibalistic ogres.] Thus, within the psychoanalytic framework, the seeds of dependency drinking are sown and begin to develop.

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> . . . oral frustrations in the infant result in cannibalistic fantasies toward the mother's breast and her total person. Because the child projects its feelings and fantasies, it also views the external world as cannibalistic and develops fears of objects in it. This results in an unconscious fear of being devoured by the love object. The vagina, which is unconsciously equated with the mouth, comes to represent the castrating, devouring organ. Such anticipations result in avoidance of the heterosexual object . . . (Bieber 1961:6-7).

For the Cayapa, the equation of vagina:mouth is not at all unconscious. The vagina dentata motif is clearly present, and sexual intercourse is spoken of as the vagina eating the penis. As for cannibalistic fantasies, they still exist in the stories that the Cayapa tell of the wild Indians who lived in the area before them; these Indians were cannibals and preyed on the Cayapa. The fantasies are also used to manipulate events. When I first explored the Cayapa area up to the Río Tigre, I decided to do my work among the Cayapa of the San

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through the various stages of his psychosexual development. For the Cayapa, autonomous motivation and independence is considerably reduced and heard only faintly in a very muted minor key. Even the penis is said [831] to be able to think for itself, at least in terms of sex, for "when the penis wants to bother a woman it erects itself." This seeming lack of involvement or control of an erogenous body area has been amply demonstrated in terms of Erickson's psychosexual approach. This is paralleled to some extent by Robert W. White's discussion of effectance motivation, wherein the organism attempts to develop competence and mastery over his environment, and competence, states White, finds expression elsewhere, as well as in the erogenous bodily zones. As we shall see, this is most certainly not an either/or proposition, but more in the nature of a complimentary approach to Erickson's framework. White's position is very important for the light it throws on the Cayapa data, and requires an extended quotation.

> Clearly we are dealing with important problems of development, but is it correct to place the decisive struggle in the bathroom? Does the child in toilet training provide an adequate model, a sufficient interpretative nucleus, for all that is going on? Let us

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until the child is about four years of age. The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that stem from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. [Prior to this time the child may have been extremely healthy.] During the period of confinement to the house he is effectively blocked off from sunlight within the house and on canoe trips he is placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is seldom brought home to the confined child; the adults eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors at the river side. The child is permitted, indeed encouraged to eat refined sugar by the fist full and to drink soda pop. During his fifth year when he is permitted to leave the confines of the house he is able to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit; then the incidence of skin diseases decreases and his rickety appearance disappears.

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The low sexual drive of the adult male Cayapa is best reflected in his replies to questions on the frequency of coitus. Recalling that sexual prowess is admired, married men in their late twenties and early

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thirties spoke of "maybe twice a week." It would appear that the Cayapa, even at his braggadoccio best, operates sexually at a very low level. One Cayapa termed coitus "medio trabajo--a little like work." Another informant, when asked if he enjoyed sex, replied, "Siempre me gusta, pero no mucho--sure I like it, but not much." It is my impression that there is a very large minority among the Cayapa who feel along with Lord Chesterfield that "the position is ridiculous, the pleasure is momentary, and the price is outrageous."

The women's genital behavior is more forward, as attested by our legal material, so that it must be asked, "If female children receive the same kind and amount of toilet training as the male, and the same nursing and weaning, how can this come about, especially since I have postulated that the male sexual patterns arise out of oral fixation which is the result of the juxtaposition of harsh sphincter training and breast feeding and/or weaning?"

Both males and females strive for greatly intensified oral incorporation [not only is sexual intercourse spoken of as the vagina eating the penis, but a man tells a woman with whom he enjoys sex "/xʸá számbu/--

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your vagina is delicious,' but the matter is resolved differently for girls.

> . . . owing to the fact that a girl's 'grasginess' does not need to remain fixated in the mouth . . . it can normally shift to the vagina and pass for genital behavior (Erickson 1950:80).

The sexual forwardness of the women [forward only in comparison with the backwardness of the males], is not true genital behavior but rather an expression of incorporative fixation, and is psychologically equivalent to the heavy dependency drinking of the Cayapa male. Cayapa women also drink and get drunk, but their drinking is only the palest reflection of the drinking behavior of the men; the psychological needs of the women, it is quite clear, are satisfied more genitally.

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Affiliative Behavior. Affiliative behavior is characteristic of many animal orders, and especially of the primate. On the human level, affiliative needs are intensified by the peculiarly human process of socialization, and the general dyadic patterns of 'Me-You,' 'Thou-Us,' as learned behavior, become formed in the cultural expectancies that mark an individual's psycho-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

MARRIAGE

When a young man or a young woman desires to marry a certain person, all work other than that absolutely necessary, and all social relations with other individuals, are at an end. Such a person sits throughout the day without speaking to anyone, and no matter how much he or she may be addressed or made fun of, etiquette does not permit such a person to respond or even to laugh. 584

It sometimes happens that a young man is desirous of marrying a woman who cares nothing for him. In such a case, if his ordinary endeavors to gain her interest and attention fail, he resorts to the use of certain sweet-scented herbs, the woods of certain trees, and various other objects, which are supposed to have magic power to attract and to give him good luck in such matters. He wears such charms about his person, especially attached to his necklaces. [832]

A young man in love bides his time until the other members of his family have retired for the night, when he takes his canoe and paddles to a point near the house of the young woman he wishes to marry. On nearing her home he sings softly certain magic love-songs and then cautiously approaches the house. He then, according to some informants, attracts her attention by one means or another and endeavors to persuade her to leave the house with him for a time. According to others, he cautiously enters the house and passes a part of the night with her under her own mosquito canopy. In either case they part toward morning, so that the lover is able to return to his own home without the 583 584 [533]

'no gloss' in which a double circle is formed with one man in the center. To form the double circle, one man stations himself directly behind another and places his hands on his partner's shoulders. All couples are paired in this manner; in addition, there is a group of three players who form part of the double circle, with the third man being "it." The man in the center has a whip made of a piece of twisted cloth with which he strikes the third man. Upon being struck this man moves over to the next set and assumes the first position in the line-up. The whip bearer then strikes the newly created "third man," and this process is repeated until the whip bearer is tired, and then someone else replaces him.

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Arm wrestling and throwing an opponent over one's back are great favorites. In these events men of forty may vie with youths of thirteen. Girls and women do not participate in any of these games and sports, but are appreciative spectators. They are all exquisitely dressed and consciously trying to attract the young men. None of the games involve skill or the use of strategy; they cannot even be

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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CHAPTER III

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Children are important to the Cayapa and are welcomed because it is essential that a man or a woman have children who can perform a bada or memorial feast for the deceased parent(s) several years after death. The spirit of the dead parent would be unhappy and vexed, if this were not done. In addition, as we have discussed, the family is economically important. There is ample motivation for the Cayapa to begin a family and a variety of methods are available.

> When a young man or a young woman desires to marry a certain person, all work other than that absolutely necessary, and all social relations with other individuals, are at an end. Such a person sits throughout the day without speaking to anyone, and no matter how much he or she may be addressed or made fun of, etiquette does not permit such a person to respond or even to laugh. . . . A young swain then bides his time until the other members of his family have retired for the night, when he takes his canoe and paddles to a point near the house of the young woman he wishes to marry. On nearing her home he sings softly certain magic love-songs and then cautiously approaches the house. He then, according to some informants, attracts her attention by one

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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until the child is about four years of age. The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that stem from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. Prior to this time the child may have been extremely healthy. During the period of confinement to the house he is effectively blocked off from sunlight within the house and on canoe trips he is placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is seldom brought home to the confined child: the adults eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors at the river side. The child is permitted, indeed encouraged to eat refined sugar by the fist full and to drink soda pop. During his fifth year when he is permitted to leave the confines of the house he is able to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit: then the incidence of skin diseases decreases and his rickety appearance disappears.

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The low sexual drive of the adult male Cayapa is best reflected in his replies to questions on the frequency of coitus. Recalling that sexual prowess is admired, married men in their late twenties and early

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had never been tossed in this manner before, and his eyes flashed pure hatred for the woman as he leaned forward, glaring at her. All laughter ceased; everyone gazed fascinatedly at the child. Shortly, the woman offered the candy again, and as it was taken, she jerked her arm back violently as if it had been burned. Clearly, a Cayapa child would never react in this manner; he would have remained passive. The group broke up shortly after this; the event doubtlessly became the subject of much conversation. Frank remained extremely popular with both Indians and Negroes, and passersby on the river before our house would call out his name. When the writer visited, I was asked to bring him along, and, he was never tossed again.

By the age of three years, children are clothed in miniature replicas of their parents' clothing. Genital shame is marked by the age of five or six years. Bathing men and boys convulsively grasp their genitals as they enter the water; on the other hand, women and girls merely wade into the water and remove their shirts when they are waist deep in the river. Bathing is frequent, and swimming is considered to be a great sport by the children.

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marriage, and she accepted. Lorenzo claimed that he never consulted the girl's mother [her father was dead], so he was ashamed and afraid of her. Because [591] Lorenzo's parents were dead, he moved into his mother-in-law's house. After several years the young couple [585] was married by the Catholic priest in Punta Venado.

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After the death of his first wife, Lorenzo lived in his mother-in-law's house for about five years. He stated that after his wife died, her mother told him that he was no longer her son-in-law. Thereafter, apparently she either did not prepare his food or did not do so properly. Lorenzo says that he did not argue with her but continued living there for five years, nevertheless!

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One night Lorenzo attended a party given at the home of Antonio Largo. He saw his present wife there for the first time and was immediately attracted to her. While the men and women are somewhat separated at fiestas, the women serve the men guarapo /wápu/, a fermented sugar cane drink, and at these times some conversation may be had. Lorenzo told her that he wanted her to come away with him "immediately."

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4:Altschuler E-S (1959-1960) 1965
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of ritual co-parenthood called Compadrazgo. Historically and basically it is concerned with the ritual induction into the Catholic Church of an individual through the rites of baptism, confirmation, and marriage. The god-parent stands in the role of sponsor, and in effect gives assurance of good faith on the part of the unbaptised, the unconfirmed, and the betrothed. Compadrazgo relationships are held to be sacred, and the incest taboo is extended to those involved in the ritual co-parenthood and to their descendents. Wherever found, compadrazgo seems to have been accepted with gusto, and there are innumerable variations on the basic theme outlined above. Such flexibility is indeed noteworthy. Mintz and Wolf discuss some of the reasons for the success of this social institution:

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> Compadrazgo, once accepted by a social grouping, can be moulded into the community way of life by many means. It is a two-way social system which sets up reciprocal relations of variable complexity and solemnity. By imposing automatically, and with a varying degree of sanctity, statuses and obligations of a fixed nature, on the people who participate, it makes the immediate social environment more stable, the participants more interdependent and more secure (Mintz and Wolf 1950: 355).

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they dwell on, are attracted to, and are repulsed by sexual involvements. In this, they agree with the missionaries, and if the missionaries call this area of life sinful, the Cayapa can readily agree. We shall see that it is in the realm of sexual deviancy and in the attempts made by Cayapa lawmen to come to grips with it that the most sweeping socio-cultural changes take place.

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Incest. Incest is generally viewed by the Cayapa as being particularly heinous. In the olden days, it is asserted, when the Cayapa lived in one village at Pueblo Viejo, anyone guilty of such a crime would be placed suspended over a table which was covered with lighted candles, and then, slowly roasted to death. While this may be apocryphal, it does indicate strong negative feelings towards incestuous behavior. The Cayapa are very clear about this and state that incest is a sin, that it goes against Jesus' commandments and must be punished. Barrett recorded the following case which indicates that the punishment was still severe if not as extreme:

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The incestuous widow. The widow of the late /ʼuʼyi/, Arcilio, became pregnant by the son of Arcilio's brother, Arcide. They were both sentenced to fifty lashes but the boys' mother complained that this was too much, and that thirty lashes would be sufficient for her son. No one spoke up for the widow, and so she received the full fifty lashes for incest, even though prior to her marriage to the late /ʼuʼyi/ she and the boy were not related. 684x 696

As sexual matters fall into the realm of sin for the Cayapa, a determined sinner, in the last analysis, can only be handled by God and not by law. The Cayapa are unable to cope effectively with a determined deviant, in most instances. Attitudes towards incest outside of the nuclear family seem to be changing, as illustrated in the following case. 684x 178 [783] 684x 198 835 588

When incest is no longer incest. Lorenzo Añapa of the Río Camerones was married to his /ʼapinatacūhki/, 'father's brother's daughter.' They lived together for two months and then left to attend a fiesta at Punta Venado. Camilio Blanco notified the /ʼuʼyi/, Arcilio, who ordered that they each be whipped forty lashes. [694]

Lorenzo was then told to give up his cousin, but when they all returned home from the fiesta, he took her back immediately. Meanwhile, a woman was sent down from Sapalio Grande to him, but he refused her, saying that he already had a wife. His wife's father said that he did not mind if Lorenzo married his daughter, and the girl's brother, Nuru, said that he was in favor of the marriage, and added, "they are not very close relatives anyway." Since the family of the girl did not object to this marriage, people did not gossip much, and Arcilio said that he would not punish them again, that "Jesus would know what to do when they died."

Lorenzo had a reputation for being a good worker, and his cousin's family were happy to keep his economic services within the family. Their insistence that it was all proper and that, as first cousins, they were not closely related anyway was such a strong violation of Cayapa thought regarding incest that the couple were placed beyond the power of the law, nisra nisra, and the burden of punishment was shifted to the supernatural. We stated that anyone who witnesses an

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incestuous act performed by strangers or members of his family will make the act known. There is one exception reported. A truly determined deviant as was Pablo Candalabo can get away with repeated incest.

The determined incestuous couple. Pablo Candalabo had been committing incest with his sister, who later gave birth to twins. Pablo took these new-born infants and threw them into the river, but the bodies were found by a Negro who went to the Teniente Político. The police came and arrested Pablo and his sister, resulting in their being fined, as well as jailed for a year. After their release from jail, they came to Ensenada, where they continued living together. People gossiped and Pablo's "uncle" Gerardo, went to the Río Santiago, to get him a wife. Three months later they found a husband for his sister in San Miguel. When Pablo's sister later died, her husband did not cry at her funeral, claiming that he did not feel any grief because the woman was really her brother's wife and not his own. He then related at the funeral how once when he was out fishing at night, he came back to the house very quietly with the lamp extinguished and heard Pablo making love

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to his sister.

Here again, Pablo's determination placed him beyond the pale of Cayapa law. His brother-in-law apparently realized the futility of making a public complaint and unburdened himself only at his wife's funeral.

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Adultery. As with incest, decisions rendered in cases of adultery require a firm declaration on the part of the official trying the case that the behavior is abhorrent and sinful; however, the punishment seems to be somewhat more lax than is the case with incest, and more feeling seems to be present that woman are the aggressors in adultery. The following case was witnessed by the writer during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado in 1959.

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The philandering captain and his light punishment. The /kapitán/, Gabriel, was in his hammock, quite drunk, and a group of men were standing around him speaking drunkenly in Cayapa. Suddenly, everyone dashed to a corner of the house and looked over to an adjacent dwelling where a fracas was in progress. A woman was beating and berating another woman who offered no

resistance. After a few minutes of severe mauling, a group of women took the aggressor off to one side and listened attentively, while she wailed and shook her fist at the other woman, who remained seated on the floor, alone. The /ún^{y}i/ was in another part of the room seated on the floor, talking to a young man who was dressed in western clothing, and sporting high-lace boots without the laces. I asked Gabriel to explain what had just taken place, and he replied that nothing serious had happened at all. A woman had complained, he said, that the young fellow had molested her while he was drunk. This was a far-fetched version of what had actually happened as pieced together from the comments of the on-lookers.

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The young man was an official of the Punta Venado section. Some people said that he was the /tánda/ 'lieutenant,' and others said that he was the capitán. He, himself, said that he was the capitán. He lived up the Río Onzole, and his duties were to bring culprits to trial and to judge cases with the other officials. He was charged with committing adultery with his /apín^{y}a/ 'father's brother's daughter,' who lived in the same

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house as he. The fact that they were closely related was not brought up at all, and the adulterous relationship seems to have been uppermost in mind. His wife was the woman who had beat the adulteress. No one seems to have brought forth a specific charge; rather, the state of affairs seemed to have been known to all, and in fact, the adulterous pair knew that they would be punished during the fiesta. The /Gu'l/ stated that they would both have to be punished, that the man should receive ten lashes and the woman fifty. The woman had obviously prepared for this as she was well wrapped in several layers of heavy ceremonial shirts. She was taken next door to the main dwelling where she assumed the position for receiving the blows by bending forward slightly at the waist. The blows were applied heavily by one of the officials in full view of all the interested by-standers. After her punishment the woman left and sat alone in one of the cubicles on the other side of the house, the area used for sleeping. She remained there alone all day long. Eventually the man was brought into the main dwelling. There was a good deal of joking and laughter among him and the other officials. He

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CHAPTER III

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

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> When a young man or a young woman desires to marry a certain person, all work other than that absolutely necessary, and all social relations with other individuals, are at an end. Such a person sits throughout the day without speaking to anyone, and no matter how much he or she may be addressed or made fun of, etiquette does not permit such a person to respond or even to laugh. . . A young swain then bides his time until the other members of his family have retired for the night, when he takes his canoe and paddles to a point near the house of the young woman he wishes to marry. On nearing her home he sings softly certain magic love-songs and then cautiously approaches the house. He then, according to some informants, attracts her attention by one

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means or another and endeavors to persuade her to leave the house with him for a time. According to others, he cautiously enters the house and passes a part of the night with her under her own mosquito canopy . . . These visits are repeated for some time, when the young couple announce their desire to marry and obtain the consent of their respective parents (Barrett 1925:321).

In 1959-60, in the Cayapa area generally, and particularly in the Punta Venado region, the custom of remaining sitting in silence was apparently no longer in vogue, except during the actual wedding celebration, when the groom does indeed sit off to one side in silence. However, the technique of nightly visitation is still a culturally approved method, but only one of several.

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Stealing a Woman. Some men prefer to "steal a woman" for wife. This is called /súpu tayahímu/, /súpu/ "woman" and /tímu/ "to steal." Lorenzo Martín, commonly called /pičendá/, "a kind of crested bird" [a nick name he detested], preferred this approach to marriage. According to him, he met his first wife while canoeing along the river. They were both alone, and after some minutes of conversation, he proposed

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and she agreed. Now, with a new wife, neither he nor his mother-in-law wanted to live under the same roof. Feelings of anger and/or disapproval on the part of parents and kin of the dead spouse to the remarriage of the surviving spouse are not uncommon among the Cayapa. There is some feeling that the death may have been caused by the survivor. 587 [578] [761]

An interesting point emerges that is part of a general Cayapa theme: Lorenzo waited about five years before remarrying, and apparently the motivation lay not so much in his sexual needs, as in his appetite for food. His mother-in-law was not preparing his meals properly. It should be kept in mind that, by Cayapa standards, a man who is capable of /súpu taʒgahímu/,[1] who can actually walk up to a woman and propose to her, is deserving of envy, awe, and admiration. This means that such a man is sexually forward and aggressive. Many, if not most, Cayapa men are very hesitant and uncertain about sex and marriage. While chastity is not particularly valued, men in their twenties who claim to have had no sexual intercourse are not uncommon. Women, on the other hand, lose their virginity much 583 831 831 [836] [584]

[1] [i.e. "to steal a woman" - ANALYST]

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earlier by way of the custom of night courtship described above. These affairs need not end in marriage, and both parties are free to seek greener pastures. It is the decided impression of the writer that the Cayapa women are the sexual initiators generally and that they are visited by a comparatively small number of sexual activists among the men.

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Arranged Marriages. Most men do not have the brashness of character required to steal a woman, and many are not able to carry through a successful night courtship. For them, therefore an arranged marriage is necessary. One way of arranging a marriage is for the father of a young man or woman to ask one of the tribal officials to find a spouse for his offspring. If the official does not know of anyone immediately available, he will make inquiries at whatever fiesta he happens to attend. There is no charge for this service.

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This sort of match-making was attempted unsuccessfully at a fiesta that I attended at Sapallo Grande in 1960. The fiesta was a combined affair, honoring the dead and celebrating a recent marriage.

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of the case were clear, and a witness was present. It is of interest that Pablo's wife seems to have convinced everyone of her innocence in the affair and that she had been truly hoodwinked. Chapiro's reputation was of course, well known, and guilt was held to be his alone. Even though justice prevailed, Chapiro was disgruntled and left without drinking. This in itself would be sufficient to mark him as a deviant, for Basurco's observations are still very much applicable.

> . . . leur seul vice est de rendre un culte trop fréquent à Bacchus, auquel ils font des libations d'ichcala ou eau-de-vie de canne, qu'ils fabriquent eux-mêmes . . . (Basurco 1894:406).

In marked contrast to many Cayapa men, Chapiro has always been more interested in sexual pursuits than in drinking and the married men in the area were beginning to view him as a real threat. In instances like this it is felt that the best way to remove the threat is to marry him off, forcibly, if need be. In the case of Chapiro events came to a head after he had seduced Gabriel's daughter.

The Seduction of Gabriel's daughter. Chapiro was

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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in love with Gabriel's daughter, but she was in love with someone else. One dark night, Chapiro sneaked into the house and made love to the girl by pretending to be her lover. Later, they stole out of the house to go to his home. When the girl saw that the house was Chapiro's, she realized that she had been tricked, but she spent the night with him anyway. The next day, while he was doing some work outside, she returned to her home. Her father was very angry. Gabriel, together with his son and his /máŋgo ná.tala/, Camilio Pianchichi, and Domingo Cimarrón went to Chapiro's house. They told him to come to Gabriel's house, but he refused to do so. Camilio took Chapiro's pressure lantern for no reason except that it was valuable, and they all left. Chapiro finally went to Gabriel's house. Gabriel was drunk and he roughly ordered Chapiro into the house. Furious words passed between them, and Chapiro said that if he were punished, he would take Gabriel's daughter again. At this three men grabbed him and took him outside where he was given sixty lashes. After the punishment, everyone began drinking, but the still-angry Chapiro left early.

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846 and demons; on the other hand it also aims at inducing the father to identify himself intimately with the child. Obviously the women, for whom these customs do not provide the least amount of consideration, quickly lose their earlier beauty and after a few years, they wilt and become horridly ugly.

594 The marriage of the Cayapa is most harmonious. They do not
595 have polygamy or polyandry, and adultery never occurs or only
337 [287] very rarely. Women or girls who have relationships with
689 white or black men or those of any other race, are killed without pity. In fact they are even forbidden to enter into innocent conversation with such men under threat of severe penalty. If one of the spouses dies, they do not remarry, remaining faithful to the
764 dead. The dead are only buried when the corpse is already in a state of decomposition and when the pestilent smell has become unbearable.

574 While the villagers and inhabitants of other races in these parts
648 are very hospitable and will always offer hospitality to travelers, no matter how poor they are, even without expecting any remuneration, the Cayapa are an exception to this rule. They fear strangers on account of their women, who are not always safe from them; but most particularly they hate the Negroes who have repeatedly attacked their women forcibly. For this reason it is not easy to obtain shelter in Cayapa villages. As they have frequently also been robbed and mistreated by Negroes, they leave their huts as soon as a Negro settles in the neighborhood, and keep on withdrawing further inland. Thus they have already completely disappeared from the banks of the Santiago River and the lower course of the Cayapa River.

135 There still is a lot of gold in their region, as indeed there are
316 small layers of alluvial gold in all these rivers. But these Indians, with the exception of a few, more modern minded, and the rene-
301 gades, do not collect it, nor do they wear gold ornaments. On the other hand none of them would tell a stranger where the yellow metal could be found, even if he were offered a fortune for his secret. From the Cayapa point of view gold is an accursed thing, which brought the white and the black devils into the country and was responsible for their being pushed back into the interior and
648 robbed of their dominion. The Negroes, however, are their sworn enemies because they have too often had to suffer bitter injustice from them.

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their case to the family, and if refused, they then point out that two Negroes are waiting in the canoe. This means that the commission will fight, if need be, to get the girl. [For the Cayapa, the Negro is a threatening figure, both in fact and in fancy.] At this point, agreement may be reached between the commission and the girl's family, or a fight may develop. In either event, so far as is known to the writer, a commission always gets its woman.

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Problems in Courtship and Marriage. Many men among the Cayapa are reluctant to take the initiative in romantic affairs, but from time to time one finds among them men like Chapiro of the Río Camerones, who seems to delight in amorous peccadillos and adventures. Chapiro has the reputation of preferring married women with whom it is said he would make love, while the husband slept only inches away on the same bedding. He pretended to be the husband and apparently deceived the wives with a large measure of success for a time.

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Chapiro caught in flagrant delicto. One night while pretending to be Pablo Añapa, Chapiro was caught

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to his sister.

Here again, Pablo's determination placed him beyond the pale of Cayapa law. His brother-in-law apparently realized the futility of making a public complaint and unburdened himself only at his wife's funeral.

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Adultery. As with incest, decisions rendered in cases of adultery require a firm declaration on the part of the official trying the case that the behavior is abhorrent and sinful; however, the punishment seems to be somewhat more lax than is the case with incest, and more feeling seems to be present that women are the aggressors in adultery. The following case was witnessed by the writer during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado in 1959.

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resistance. After a few minutes of severe mauling, a group of women took the aggressor off to one side and listened attentively, while she wailed and shook her fist at the other woman, who remained seated on the floor, alone. The /ún^{y}i/ was in another part of the room seated on the floor, talking to a young man who was dressed in western clothing, and sporting high-lace boots without the laces. I asked Gabriel to explain what had just taken place, and he replied that nothing serious had happened at all. A woman had complained, he said, that the young fellow had molested her while he was drunk. This was a far-fetched version of what had actually happened as pieced together from the comments of the on-lookers.

[291]

The young man was an official of the Punta Venado section. Some people said that he was the /ténde/ 'lieutenant,' and others said that he was the capitán. He, himself, said that he was the capitán. He lived up the Río Onzole, and his duties were to bring culprits to trial and to judge cases with the other officials. He was charged with committing adultery with his /apín^{y}a/ 'father's brother's daughter,' who lived in the same

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house as he. The fact that they were closely related was not brought up at all, and the adulterous relationship seems to have been uppermost in mind. His wife was the woman who had beat the adulteress. No one seems to have brought forth a specific charge; rather, the state of affairs seemed to have been known to all, and in fact, the adulterous pair knew that they would be punished during the fiesta. The /unʸi/ stated that they would both have to be punished, that the man should receive ten lashes and the woman fifty. The woman had obviously prepared for this as she was well wrapped in several layers of heavy ceremonial skirts. She was taken next door to the main dwelling where she assumed the position for receiving the blows by bending forward slightly at the waist. The blows were applied heavily by one of the officials in full view of all the interested by-standers. After her punishment the woman left and sat alone in one of the cubicles on the other side of the house, the area used for sleeping. She remained there alone all day long. Eventually the man was brought into the main dwelling. There was a good deal of joking and laughter among him and the other officials. He

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bent over slightly and received ten incredibly light blows. He then left and went to the house next door. Within three or four minutes the sound of a brawl was heard from that quarter. This man was beating his wife and throwing her around the room like a French Apache dancer. This went on for a few minutes more, and then several men took him off to one side and calmed him down.

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Later, several people, including the /ún^{y}i/, were asked by the writer why it was necessary to punish adultery, and, without exception, they replied that it was a sin against God. Only one Indian expressed indignation at the light sentence and punishment accorded the man. When queried, the others either smirked or laughed outright. One fellow pointed out philosophically that the officials were only looking ahead, "as their time for punishment might not be far off."

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Age seems to be a mitigating factor for women, and it is felt that a young single woman should not be punished for cohabiting with a married man. It is said that by her behavior she showed that she wants a man and so should be married. Quite often cognizance will be taken of the protests of relatives of the accused in reducing punishment

in reducing punishment.

A young fornicator defended by a cousin. A very attractive young girl who appeared to be about fifteen years of age was brought forward by Pindalenas, the Negro caretaker of the Church. She shrank back from him and appeared frightened by the whole affair. Several of the officials clustered around her, saying that she had sinned. The chief was off to one side, lying in his hammock, seemingly not paying any attention. The girl replied so softly to the charges that the writer was unable to hear the response. One of the officials who evidently knew of the affair shouted, "It's a lie!" The punishment was set by the officials at fifty lashes; however, a man from the crowd spoke up, saying, "I am her cousin, don't punish her!" At this, there was a brief discussion by the officials, and it was agreed that the girl was too young to be whipped, but because she had slept with a man, it was felt that she wanted a husband and the officials said that one would be found for her.

The general feeling that adultery is a sin that must be punished carries through so that even if the

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cuckold declares his wife innocent, his words fall on deaf ears. Punishment, however, may be ameliorated in a very typical Cayapa fashion:

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The cuckold protests in vain. Gabriel had heard that his mother's sister's daughter had been committing adultery and he resolved to punish her during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado. About mid-night, a group of officials were excitedly whispering in one corner of the room. Suddenly, they left in a body and crossed the plaza to another house which was dark and quiet. They whispered among themselves for a little while and then went in as a group. Off to one side, a man and a woman were sound asleep under blankets. The man was awakened, and it was explained to him that his wife was being charged with adultery. The husband immediately protested that she was innocent, and they argued back and forth for a few minutes. While the argument was in progress, the woman awoke, and she too protested her innocence. The officials, however, were adamant, and so the couple got up, and everyone walked over to the main house. When the assembly arrived at this house, another group of officials, who looked for all the world

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woman had really been punished. Certainly, initially the intention was present, but the proceedings soon became a travesty as all of the participants became progressively drunker. It is of interest to note that only the woman was tried, and no mention at all was made of the man or men involved. It seems to have been generally accepted that she had been taking the initiative in her sexual adventures. For the Cayapa, extra-marital sexual behavior is sinful, and at the root of all sin are women. Assigning initial guilt to women sometimes requires a certain amount of mental gymnastics which is quite ludicrous as in the following instance.

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The blame is placed on the woman because she did not say no. A 'nephew' of Arcilio was single. He made love to the wife of Arcilio's son and they were seen by the /uhʸi/. Arcilio, however, was "ashamed" and said nothing then but charged them during the Easter fiesta at Punta Venado. The woman blamed the man, but he in turn said that it was all her fault because all she had to do was to refuse his advances. They were both punished with eighty lashes.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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the system of law and government as their derivatives.

Dependency on alcohol is generally recognized as a means of reducing anxiety, although specific interpretations may differ as to the nature of the anxiety. My analysis of drinking in Cayapa culture is based on psychoanalytic theory as the data seem to fit best within that framework.

> Addictive alcoholism is classified as an oral perversion. This perversion results from traumas that occurred during the earliest stage of psychosexual development, at the time when the individual's means of achieving security and release from tension was through stimulation of the oral cavity (Chafetz and Demone, Jr. 1962: 21).

Cayapa infancy and childhood may be seen as classic examples of oral fixation derived from a traumatic blocking of normal psychosexual development. Drinking is also related to homosexuality. "Since the fixation at the oral stage is so early, in psychosexual development, the alcoholic has never achieved a genital level of differentiation and is so desirous of receiving love, he does not differentiate the sex of the provider" (Chafetz and Demone, Jr. 1962:41). Although no overt homosexuality is observed among the Cayapa, a great deal of

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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homoerotic play is evident during fiestas and, because of the low male sex drive, may be the substitute.

During Cayapa infancy and early childhood, children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training long before the zonal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely. The coincidence of the harsh toilet training and the availability of the breast leads to an intensification of oral gratification and a positive psychosexual fixation at this stage. We have already described the toilet training of the Cayapa infant and child, and discussed the extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces on the part of adolescents. The fact that the child is often permitted almost immediately to suck the nipple after having gone through a truly frightening experience involving defecation as described above, structures the peculiarly poignant oral fixation of the Cayapa infant and gives a heightened intensity. The oral fixation derived from anal frustration at such a very early period, is the psychological equivalent of oral frustration and is later intensified by the weaning practices. Weaning is accomplished by

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highly restrictive interpersonal involvements. When in their canoes, which pass each other quickly, they can easily and effectively avoid each other. Where they cannot pass by rapidly, as at the weeklong fiestas at the ceremonial centers, heavy drinking is required to get the law-jobs done, arrange the marriages, and to maintain a minimum of social integration and interaction. With the increase in social integration and interaction brought about by liberal amounts of alcohol, a new factor can be noticed. For some, latent homosexuality comes close to the surface in the form of homoeroticism. Young boys may be seen on the floor wrapped in each other's arms, and young men may be seen seated in the same hammock, facing each other, holding hands. It must be emphasized that this is not homosexual per se, but erotic in the sense of a transfer of libininal affect to another male. I have only witnessed this behavior at the fiestas. If the Cayapa have strong latent homosexual tendencies where the generalized fear of others may be seen "as a defense against sexual anxieties . . . against homosexual tendencies" (Whiting and Child 1962:269), why then do we not find it in its sexual

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manifestations? The psychoanalytic frame of reference regarding homosexuality is directly relevant for the Cayapa.

> The wish to have a larger penis, in general reflects a feeling of unacceptability and inadequacy, in particular a feeling of sexual inadequacy: a belief, usually unconsciously held, that sexual functioning has been injured and is vulnerable to further injury; a wish to supersede other males who are feared and regarded as superior. The wish for a larger penis and excessive fearfulness is significantly associated . . . (Bieber 1962: 181).

The Cayapa tell a story of an ogre who is very ugly and black and looks like a Negro; he has a very long penis with which he kills women. Here we see all of the requisite feelings for a predisposition to homosexuality as well as an expression of underlying Cayapa-Negro attitudes, marked, from the point of view of the Cayapa, by fear, aggression, envy, and sexual inadequacy.

Manifest homosexualism would be a behavioral innovation, requiring of its innovator extraordinary determination, very much akin to the persistent and determined polygynous and incestuous behavior that has been noted in the legal material. It appears that one

of the main requirements for homosexuality is a profound feeling of fear and inadequacy. hardly the sort of person who would persistently and doggedly pursue this rather striking innovation. It should be noted that the Cayapa flatly deny the existence of homosexual practices. Just once did an informant admit that "maybe some boys" practiced mutual masturbation.

In the recently built Indian school at Borante, boys and young men now maintain, for several months of the school year, a high frequency of interaction with non-related boys, and for some, very intense feelings of chumship are beginning to form that never existed before. Given the increase in duration and frequency of interaction, homoeroticism could very easily pass over into homosexualism.

Friendship is a most novel situation for the Cayapa and he cannot easily function within it. In his dealings with Negroes, rules of ritual kinship may obtain or a hail-fellow-well-met stance may be adopted. The anthropologist-Cayapa situation was completely new, especially in the informant relationship. This was the closest approach to friendship, in the western sense, that they had ever experienced.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

551 553 her original name, but as the father or mother of this first-born child. Thus, the chief of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa is known by the Christian name Antonio Napa, but is almost invariably called pī′tcū-apa, signifying "father of pī′tcū." Correspondingly his wife is known as pī′tcū-ama, "mother of pī′tcū." Such a name usually persists regardless of the names of any of the younger children and regardless of whether or not the eldest child still lives. In the case cited, the eldest son, pī′tcū, died several years ago and there are several younger children in the family, but the names pī′tcū-apa and pī′tcū-ama still persist. Now and then a person is found whose original nickname is used even after the birth of his children, but this is very exceptional.

PUBERTY

881 As in the case of birth, there appear to be almost no restrictions upon or ceremonies for either sex on reaching puberty, which is again contrary to the customs of most aboriginal peoples. Some even maintain that there are absolutely no restrictions, but others claim that girls at the age of puberty are prohibited for a short period [841] from going about and from bathing. This latter statement seems the more probable, in view of the fact that during their menstrual periods the older women are subject to the same restrictions, though they are not otherwise restricted in their actions at such times.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

spot. He brought home a small amount, but when it was cooked and his wife called him to eat, he never appeared hungry, consuming but a small amount and declaring that the food was not good. Later his form was changed to that which he now has, and he is obliged to walk on all four feet. His finely-colored shirt became his present spotted skin.

CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCES

Of aboriginal ceremonies there are few traces left among the Cayapa, so completely have the fiestas of the church supplanted them. In these festivities there are certain remnants of aboriginal customs, but they are entirely subordinated to the practices of the Catholic church.

Contrary to the customs of many aboriginal peoples, there are not at present, and apparently never have been, any special ceremonial observances associated with birth, puberty, and menstruation, although there are certain restrictions and slight observances of an ordinary character connected with each of these.

The marriage and mortuary ceremonies, already described, are, on the other hand, quite elaborate, and apparently retain much of their aboriginality, although largely assuming the nature of these ceremonies as celebrated by the church.

Two regular church festivals, that of "Noche Buena" or Christmas, and that of "Semana Santa" or Easter, are celebrated, as one might suppose, entirely according to church custom.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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Sex, Courtship, and Marriage.

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Just as there are no special rites marking a boy's entrance into puberty, there are similarly none for a girl. When the menstrual periods begin, the girl is not alarmed since she has heard the women speak of this phenomenon and therefore knows what to expect. Girls are "ashamed" to tell anyone when the menstrual discharge /suásə/ /su/ 'vagina', 'asa/ 'blood,' first appears. In fact, no one likes to talk about it at all, but there are no taboos concerning it. The menstrual discharge is not considered dangerous in any way, and the women may eat anything, bathe in the river, work in the gardens, and engage in sexual intercourse. The women claim that they experience no cramping, nor other discomfort during catomenia.

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Household. Relations within the family tend to be amiable and affectionate. Husband and wife may joke with each other and with the children. The children are taught to respect their parents and other relatives, but no special behavior is expected for different kinds of relatives. It is expected however, that siblings will form an especially intense bond and brother-sister

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Father's si. so. da. /uhpuná?ma/
Father's mo. br. son /uhpúyu/ w.s., /ahčíyu/ m.s.
Mother's br. son's wife /súya/
Husband's fa. si. son /apípi/
Mother's br. son's son /apínʸa/ m.s.
Father's father's si. son /apíku/ m.s.
Mother's br. so. daughter /unʸunátacúhki/

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Pregnancy and Birth. The Cayapa understand that there is a connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy but believe that repeated intercourse is necessary for conception. A woman is known to be pregnant when the menstrual period ceases and the areolae and nipples /čukápa/ become enlarged and darker. There do not seem to be any abnormal food cravings nor are there any food taboos. There is some feeling of "shame" concerning pregnancy, and a woman never tells her husband or anyone else that she is pregnant. It will soon be obvious to everyone anyway.

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The woman continues her normal routine until she is well advanced in her pregnancy, at which time she remains in the house where she eventually gives birth. Children have been born at fiestas, and I was a partial witness to such a birth at a fiesta at Sapallo Grande. The party was an ofrenda given by Marianito Añapa in honor of his parents, who had died

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said, insures that the infant will live. Following this procedure, the neonate is transferred to the care of a lactating woman. This mother surrogate is paid for her services by the child's father. Eventually, when the child can speak, he is returned to his father.

Birth Control. Induced abortions are unknown, according to all informants, and this information is very likely reliable because bastards /išui-/ are first delivered, and then are usually killed. Similarly, there does not seem to be any knowledge of birth control devices nor of the practice of coitus interruptus. In marked contrast to the Negroes of the area whose children line up like stepping-stones, there is often a two- to four-year break between living children for the Cayapa. In some cases this difference is accounted for by the high infant mortality rate; in other cases, it is explained by lower fertility; in still other cases the lower sex drive may be the causative factor. We shall discuss the latter premise in the chapter dealing with personality factors. In any event, the Cayapa recognize their weakness in numbers

and say that it is because Jesus said that if the world comes to an end while many Cayapa are living, it would be very sad for them; it is therefore necessary for many infants to die. The population figures do indeed indicate that the Cayapa are not reproducing. For the Río Cameronese there is an average of 2.5 living children for each woman of childbearing age and almost 17 per cent sterility among the women.. 163 842 [775]

Adoption. Children will be adopted within the kindred, if the parents should die, but there is seldom adoption of non-related children or of illegitimate children. There are a few instances of an illegitimate child's being kept by the mother, but more often she will kill it at birth. The mother may offer the child for adoption, but the general feeling is that such a child having been conceived in sin is non-Christian, and few people want such a child. The Christian thing to do, they feel, is to kill it. 597 848 [612] [847] [783]

There is something in the nature of short-term "loans" of children. A child is sometimes sent to live with an "uncle" or other near relative for varying periods of time. In some cases the relatives are 597 591 428

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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seldom brought home to the confined child; the adults eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors at the riverside. During his fifth year when he is permitted to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit, the incidence of skin disease decreases and his rickety appearance disappears.

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Children are wanted and beloved. As an example of permissiveness, they are allowed to indulge in cookies, candies, sugar and soft drinks, but conversely an element of teasing often enters the picture. To illustrate, a small child will be offered a goody, which, when he reaches for it, will be snatched away. Reactions to this affront vary; some children cry; others just sit looking forlorn. The adults seem to enjoy this teasing. An impressive example of contrastive behavior presented itself one day as a group of Indian women and their children came to visit us. Everyone was seated on the floor in a circle, and the conversation was desultory. Finally, a woman took a piece of candy and handed it to my son who was sitting on his mother's lap. As he reached out eagerly for the tidbit, the woman brought her hand back. At this everyone laughed, but the child

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

came close to our house. He cried out, wailing in the Cayapa manner, "Here is the house of Don Milton where we used to go together; it gives me pain to think that we will no longer go there, ay . . ." At this he passed by our house, and we could hear him call out landmarks that were familiar to him and to his wife--landmarks that they would no longer see together. Finally he moved out of sight and out of hearing. We were quite disturbed over this, not only because she was a friend, but also because we had an ample supply of antivenom and had not been notified of the snakebite when we might have helped her. People were saying that Aurelio did not hire effective brujos. They said that the ones he hired were known to be ignorant of snakebite curing. Aurelio had been married for about ten years and had no children. His wife gave birth once prematurely, and the child died; ever since this, unfortunately, she had been sterile. This was a great sadness to them, for they wanted children very much. When I asked others why Aurelio had never adopted children, the answer always was, "He wants his own blood."

Funerals tend to begin late in the afternoon,

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CHAPTER III

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Children are important to the Cayapa and are welcomed because it is essential that a man or a woman have children who can perform a boda or memorial feast for the deceased parent(s) several years after death. The spirit of the dead parent would be unhappy and vexed, if this were not done. In addition, as we have discussed, the family is economically important. There is ample motivation for the Cayapa to begin a family and a variety of methods are available.

> When a young man or a young woman desires to marry a certain person, all work other than that absolutely necessary, and all social relations with other individuals, are at an end. Such a person sits throughout the day without speaking to anyone, and no matter how much he or she may be addressed or made fun of, etiquette does not permit such a person to respond or even to laugh. . . A young swain then bides his time until the other members of his family have retired for the night, when he takes his canoe and paddles to a point near the house of the young woman he wishes to marry. On nearing her home he sings softly certain magic love-songs and then cautiously approaches the house. He then, according to some informants, attracts her attention by one

among the Cayapa. It is forbidden by the Church through the person of the priest, who is seldom seen. Many Cayapa maintain that divorce is not proper. At the present time, divorce is possible for both sexes, but it is much more difficult for a woman to obtain. In one instance, a woman was married to a mental defective and she left him with the full approval of the community. In the case of the crippled Julio Tapullo, his wife was not permitted a divorce even though Julio had been very miserly with her. On the other hand, a man may divorce his wife if she is barren or has too many still-births. In one case, a man beat his wife because she only gave birth to girls; he threatened either to kill her or to throw her out of the home (divorce), if the next child were a girl.

The divorce procedure is quite simple. The woman is simply told to leave! There is usually some grumbling by the woman's parents, but to my knowledge, complaints are never made to any of the officials. Julio Tapullo's case above was complicated by polygyny.

Santiagueño hires a Negro to bring his children back after his wife left him. Santiagueño Anapa's first

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Father's si. so. da. /ʔuhpuná?ma/
Father's mo. br. son /uhpúyu/ w.s., /ahčíyu/ m.s.
Mother's br. son's wife /súya/
Husband's fa. si. son /apípi/
Mother's br. son's son /apínʸa/ m.s.
Father's father's si. son /apíku/ m.s.
Mother's br. so. daughter /unʸunátacúhki/

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayap SD6

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Funerals tend to begin late in the afternoon,

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

[611] There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-3 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

BIRTH

Contrary to the conditions prevailing among many aboriginal peoples, among the Cayapa there are few restrictions associated with birth. Parturition is usually in a more or less erect position, the woman sitting upon a low stool of the type shown in pl. LXXXIII, 3/4 and no medicines are taken, excepting sometimes a small glass of hot, strong rum. The woman is attended by other women of her family, but submits to no ceremonial restrictions; indeed the only prohibitions to which she is subject are those against bathing, and eating meat. She lies still for a period varying from a day to about a week, but during this time and subsequently she may prepare any food she desires, may feed herself, comb her own hair, touch her own face, and perform various other acts which are forbidden under like circumstances among many other aboriginal peoples.

Couvade, which is so rigidly observed among many South American tribes, is not practised here. In fact, during his wife's confinement a man appears to be entirely unrestricted: he follows his usual pursuits, and even hunts and fishes, two occupations which by a great many tribes are especially forbidden to fathers of newborn children.

With respect to the new-born child itself certain customs are observed. Much care is taken in connection with the umbilicus and the placenta. The cord is cut at a distance of three or four inches from the body, and the end is dipped in hot grease and securely tied. The afterbirth is immediately wrapped in leaves and is

846 844 [278] 846 844
3/4 [P. 154(8), Cat. 116.--Analyst]

J. Dorsey E-3 (1900-1907)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

844 either carried far into the hills and there deposited in some lonely, out-of-the-way spot, or it is placed to dry in the upper part of the house for about a month, when it may be thrown away in a place where no one is likely 846 to find it. When the umbilicus finally sluffs from the body, it is kept in the house for a month or so and also thrown away in some secluded spot.

844 This great care that no one shall come upon either the 846 umbilical cord or the afterbirth is apparently not due to fear that the child or a member of its immediate family will be injured if either should be found, but it is claimed that the magic effect upon a person encountering either would be very serious, and might even result in death. [759] No evidence could be obtained that would point to the use of either the umbilicus or the placenta by shamans or others for bringing about magic spells or other malevolent effects.

844 Immediately after its birth, the child is bathed in warm water and its entire face is painted with red achote, but neither the child nor the mother is obliged later to undergo any purification or other ceremony.

NAMES

553 According to their profession of the Roman Catholic faith the Cayapa baptize their children for the first time 553 within a few days after birth. This first rite is per- 608 formed by a man and a woman, special friends of the family, who are selected by the parents. If the child is a boy, he is held by the man who is to become his godfather while the woman who is to become his godmother

J. Barrett E 6 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

spot. He brought home a small amount, but when it was cooked and his wife called him to eat, he never appeared hungry, consuming but a small amount and declaring that the food was not good. Later his form was changed to that which he now has, and he is obliged to walk on all four feet. His finely-colored shirt became his present spotted skin.

CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCES

Of aboriginal ceremonies there are few traces left among the Cayapa, so completely have the fiestas of the church supplanted them. In these festivities there are certain remnants of aboriginal customs, but they are entirely subordinated to the practices of the Catholic church.

Contrary to the customs of many aboriginal peoples, there are not at present, and apparently never have been, any special ceremonial observances associated with birth, puberty, and menstruation, although there are certain restrictions and slight observances of an ordinary character connected with each of these.

The marriage and mortuary ceremonies, already described, are, on the other hand, quite elaborate, and apparently retain much of their aboriginality, although largely assuming the nature of these ceremonies as celebrated by the church.

Two regular church festivals, that of "Noche Buena" or Christmas, and that of "Semana Santa" or Easter, are celebrated, as one might suppose, entirely according to church custom.

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Father's si. so. da. /ʔihpuná?ma/
Father's mo. br. son /uhpúyu/ w.s., /ahčíyu/ m.s.
Mother's br. son's wife /súya/
Husband's fa. si. son /apípi/
Mother's br. son's son /apínʸa/ m.s.
Father's father's si. son /apíku/ m.s.
Mother's br. so. daughter /unʸunátacúhki/

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Pregnancy and Birth. The Cayapa understand that there is a connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy but believe that repeated intercourse is necessary for conception. A woman is known to be pregnant when the menstrual period ceases and the areolae and nipples /čukápa/ become enlarged and darker. There do not seem to be any abnormal food cravings nor are there any food taboos. There is some feeling of "shame" concerning pregnancy, and a woman never tells her husband or anyone else that she is pregnant. It will soon be obvious to everyone anyway.

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The woman continues her normal routine until she is well advanced in her pregnancy, at which time she remains in the house where she eventually gives birth. Children have been born at fiestas, and I was a partial witness to such a birth at a fiesta at Sapallo Grande. The party was an ofrenda given by Marianito Añapa in honor of his parents, who had died

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about twelve years earlier. Off to one side in a small cubicle, a minor commotion was in progress. I walked over and saw a group of women standing around a woman who was seated with her back to me. When I asked what was happening, I was met with a burst of laughter and giggles. Men who were approached grinned and said that it "was an affair of the women." Perhaps an hour later, I returned to the cubicle and watched the seated woman grasp and twist a piece of cloth that had been suspended from one of the rafters. An old crone was serving as the mid-wife. The actual birth took place during one of my periodic absences to watch the festivities which were going on unabated. A few curious children and some women were the only by-standers.

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Elderly women are generally the mid-wives, but there are a few men who ply the trade on occasion. The mid-wife knows enough to manipulate the unborn child to a good birth position, which is done by massaging and kneading on the abdomen. Most births are normal and fairly easy. It is said that if the child is born with its arms akimbo, then the mother will die.

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If the mother should die first, then no attempt is made to remove the child. Births that result in death are said to have been caused by witchcraft. Insofar as I was able to determine, no counter measures are taken for revenge. 845 [754]

When labor pains begin, the woman is given a hot drink of rum, lemon, and sulfur. Some women claim to have had painless births, and others claim it hurt each time. After the delivery the mid-wife cuts the umbilical cord /pesíl^{y}i/ with a metal knife. The mid-wife buries the umbilical cord under the house about two hours following the birth. It is said that if the cord should be thrown away, then a malignant spirit would get it, and turn it into an animal that kills people. Also, if the cord were not properly buried, then the mother might die of hemorrhage. 844 [278] [412] 846 [776]

After the delivery the mother remains at home for two months. She does light tasks about the house, but she does not go to work in the fields. She observes some food taboos during this period such as being forbidden to eat crabs, clams, or meat. If the taboo is broken, it is believed that she will lose her [262] [784]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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In common with much of the Catholic world, the Cayapa believe that a deceased infant has not had a chance to sin and so goes directly to heaven as an angel; however, if the child had been conceived in sin, then they maintain that it is an abomination, and non-Christian. In this case they feel that the Christian thing to do is to kill the neonate, but the status of the soul of the infant is not clear. On the question of the immediate transit to heaven of the infant's soul, the Negroes are the authorities for the Cayapa. As an instance, the wife of Pablo Canalehu of Encanto, died

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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in childbirth, and the infant was born dead. No one discussed the condition of the infant's soul at all, until a group of Negroes came to express their condolences. They remarked among themselves that the infant was probably in purgatory because it had not been baptized. They spoke in this vein for about ten minutes until Doña Carolina, who is half Cayapa and married to the founder of the village of Camerones, noticed that the Indians were becoming disturbed at the trend that the conversation was taking, and she said that of course, since the child was only recently dead, it perhaps was not too late, and she took some water from a gourd and sprinkled it on the tiny body. There was a brief flurry of conversation among the Negroes, and the remark was made that "very likely the infant was in heaven now." At this, the Indians visibly relaxed.

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Funeral customs. Death is not a stranger to the Cayapa, and everyone can reasonably expect to attend at least two or three funerals during a year. The greatest number of deaths are of infants. In other age groups there are violent deaths such as men drowning, breaking their necks in falls, and being poisoned

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by snakes and also by design. Women frequently die in childbirth; tuberculosis runs rampant, and periodically whooping cough and measles decimate the population. People die from spirit possession, soul loss, witchcraft, illness, and accidents; however, very old people "just die." People are afraid of death although it is maintained that no one dies because of his sins. Punishment takes place after death, and everyone must be purified of his sins by punishment after his demise. It is believed that when the Whites die their souls go to the white clouds while those of the Negroes go to the black clouds. Only the Cayapa may enter heaven.

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When death strikes, all relatives within a few hours' travel are notified. The immediate family clean the body, if necessary, and place it on a mat. Water is boiled and then poured over the area where the body lay last. Two or three men of the neighborhood are asked to prepare a coffin; this coffin which is made of bamboo is said to be the "canoe of the soul" and is called /úhkuŋgúle/. Its construction involves four or five hours' work, and when it is completed, the parent or spouse of the deceased offers

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[415] they are by bringing along "Mates" and "Calabazas," i.e. bowls and pitchers made of the rind of pumpkin-like fruit, into which they put the greatest part of the food and drink offered in order to carry them home. Only when everybody has eaten until he is ready to burst and the majority are rather drunk, the wedding draws to a close. The young couple is finally left alone and may go to their hut. But before the couple are allowed to enjoy their love to the full, they must pass through a long cruel (because it is continent) trial period. They live and sleep together under their
[286] common mosquito-net made of cotton with red flowers, but not as husband and wife, but as brother and sister, and they are not allowed to touch each other for an entire year. They must remain pious, chaste and abstemious, no matter how difficult it may be for them. The purpose is to steel the virtue of abstemiousness and the strength of will. Only when this period of fasting and trial is over, may they succumb to the ecstasies of love. Woe to those
684 who cannot withstand and secretely attempt to taste of the forbidden fruit before the end of the trial year—if discovered they pay for their crime with their lives or have to seek refuge immediately in another territory which cannot be reached by the punishing arm of their strict rulers. Only once I had occasion to watch how a fiancé, who was violently in love, gingerly and furtively with trembling hands touched the arm and naked breast of his betrothed.
302 During this year of betrothal they use red and black plant juices
584 to paint their faces, chests, arms and legs with streaks and dots. This custom corresponds to our engagement announcements and wedding rings.

846 Immediately after the birth of a baby, the young mother gets
[515] up from her bed, goes to the river and bathes. Bathing in the river is one of the Cayapas' passions. Each and everyone of them take at least two or even three baths per day. The young mother has barely left her child when the grandmother cleans it up a bit, puts it down again; and then the father lies down with it, staying in bed with the child from three to five weeks, letting his wife nurse him, just as though he were the woman in child-bed, who had gone through the pains of childbirth and was in need of recuperating and nursing care. The young mother, on the other hand, does her usual work already an hour after delivery, attending to her daily chores as though nothing had happened. This strange custom is connected with their religious concepts and their fear of evil spirits

846 and demons; on the other hand it also aims at inducing the father to identify himself intimately with the child. Obviously the women, for whom these customs do not provide the least amount of consideration, quickly lose their earlier beauty and after a few years, they wilt and become horridly ugly.

594 The marriage of the Cayapa is most harmonious. They do not
[595 have polygamy or polyandry, and adultery never occurs or only
837] [287] very rarely. Women or girls who have relationships with
[689] white or black men or those of any other race, are killed without pity. In fact they are even forbidden to enter into innocent conversation with such men under threat of severe penalty. If one of the spouses dies, they do not remarry, remaining faithful to the
[764] dead. The dead are only buried when the corpse is already in a state of decomposition and when the pestilent smell has become unbearable.

574 While the villagers and inhabitants of other races in these parts
648 are very hospitable and will always offer hospitality to travelers, no matter how poor they are, even without expecting any remuneration, the Cayapa are an exception to this rule. They fear strangers on account of their women, who are not always safe from them; but most particularly they hate the Negroes who have repeatedly attacked their women forcibly. For this reason it is not easy to obtain shelter in Cayapa villages. As they have frequently also been robbed and mistreated by Negroes, they leave their huts as soon as a Negro settles in the neighborhood, and keep on withdrawing further inland. Thus they have already completely disappeared from the banks of the Santiago River and the lower course of the Cayapa River.

135 There still is a lot of gold in their region, as indeed there are
316 small layers of alluvial gold in all these rivers. But these Indians, with the exception of a few, more modern minded, and the rene-
[301] gades, do not collect it, nor do they wear gold ornaments. On the other hand none of them would tell a stranger where the yellow metal could be found, even if he were offered a fortune for his secret. From the Cayapa point of view gold is an accursed thing, which brought the white and the black devils into the country and was responsible for their being pushed back into the interior and
[648] robbed of their dominion. The Negroes, however, are their sworn enemies because they have too often had to suffer bitter injustice from them.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

[611] There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

BIRTH

Contrary to the conditions prevailing among many aboriginal peoples, among the Cayapa there are few restrictions associated with birth. Parturition is usually in a more or less erect position, the woman sitting upon a low stool of the type shown in pl. LXXXIII[1/1] and no medicines are taken, excepting sometimes a small glass of hot, strong rum. The woman is attended by other women of her family, but submits to no ceremonial restrictions; indeed the only prohibitions to which she is subject are those against bathing, and eating meat. She lies still for a period varying from a day to about a week, but during this time and subsequently she may prepare any food she desires, may feed herself, comb her own hair, touch her own face, and perform various other acts which are forbidden under like circumstances among many other aboriginal peoples.

Couvade, which is so rigidly observed among many South American tribes, is not practised here. In fact, during his wife's confinement a man appears to be entirely unrestricted: he follows his usual pursuits, and even hunts and fishes, two occupations which by a great many tribes are especially forbidden to fathers of newborn children.

With respect to the new-born child itself certain customs are observed. Much care is taken in connection with the umbilicus and the placenta. The cord is cut at a distance of three or four inches from the body, and the end is dipped in hot grease and securely tied. The afterbirth is immediately wrapped in leaves and is

[1/1] [P. 154(B), Cat. 116.--- Analyst]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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blood and die. The father is under no food restriction. The infant is given the breast very shortly after birth and is permitted to drink the colostrum /ǐspi/: /ǐs-/ 'clear' /pi/ 'water' 'liquid.' For the first month, the child is given only the breast. He is fed "on demand" providing it is convenient to the mother; for example, if the infant is being held at the time he wishes to be nursed, he is indulged. If, however, the child should be crying while his mother is engaged in some task that requires standing or the use of both hands, his cries are ignored. Also, if the mother is busy in another part of the room, the infant is likewise required to wait for the fulfillment of his needs.

By the end of the second month the mother may do some light work in the monte. The infant is never taken along when the mother goes to work outside; instead, he is left in the care of a sibling or older female relative. The child is fed kulada which is prepared from crushed, dried, green plantain, sugar, and water. If a lactating woman is present, she may give the infant her breast. The child may be nursed for three years unless he is usurped from the breast

by a new sibling. Weaning is gradual; however, the child is also told that an animal will come to eat him if he continues to suck which frightens him and hastens his loss of interest in the breast. From about the age of four months he is given supplementary foods and by the age of three years he eats everything. Women who are unable to nurse apply a poultice to their breasts. This poultice is made of lechera, a weed with a milky sap; this is done in the vain hope of stimulating lactation. The neighboring Negro women wean their infants at one year, and when opportunity affords, they chide the Cayapa women about their protracted nursing. This is beginning to have some effect, and a few women now wean their children by one year.

When a woman dies in childbirth, the child may be given to another woman who is lactating. Some feel that "the child dies anyway as the spirit of the dead mother will kill it." On the other hand, the infant can be taken directly to the ceremonial center where earth from the mother's grave is thrown at it at the time of her burial. If this ritual is practiced, two men stand on opposite sides of the grave passing the infant back and forth five or six times. This, it is

said, insures that the infant will live. Following this procedure, the neonate is transferred to the care of a lactating woman. This mother surrogate is paid for her services by the child's father. Eventually, when the child can speak, he is returned to his father.

Birth Control. Induced abortions are unknown, according to all informants, and this information is very likely reliable because bastards /iɨui-/ are first delivered, and then are usually killed. Similarly, there does not seem to be any knowledge of birth control devices nor of the practice of coitus interruptus. In marked contrast to the Negroes of the area whose children line up like stepping-stones, there is often a two- to four-year break between living children for the Cayapa. In some cases this difference is accounted for by the high infant mortality rate; in other cases, it is explained by lower fertility; in still other cases the lower sex drive may be the causative factor. We shall discuss the latter premise in the chapter dealing with personality factors. In any event, the Cayapa recognize their weakness in numbers

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and say that it is because Jesus said that if the world comes to an end while many Cayapa are living, it would be very sad for them; it is therefore necessary for many infants to die. The population figures do indeed indicate that the Cayapa are not reproducing. For the Río Cayapa there is an average of 2.5 living children for each woman of childbearing age and almost 17 per cent sterility among the women.

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Adoption. Children will be adopted within the kindred, if the parents should die, but there is seldom adoption of non-related children or of illegitimate children. There are a few instances of an illegitimate child's being kept by the mother, but more often she will kill it at birth. The mother may offer the child for adoption, but the general feeling is that such a child having been conceived in sin is non-Christian, and few people want such a child. The Christian thing to do, they feel, is to kill it.

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There is something in the nature of short-term "loans" of children. A child is sometimes sent to live with an "uncle" or other near relative for varying periods of time. In some cases the relatives are

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vicinity. It may kill people whom it encounters alone. The third soul, the bald ghost is dressed in white and remains by the grave. "In the old days, it would fight with its enemies, but nowadays this does not happen." The /kúme/ has the form of the body it inhabits, and it has the power of leaving the body during sleep, and of travelling about at will. In their travels, the souls visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends, and distant places. At these times the soul is in danger of being harmed by witchcraft; if the /kúme/ is prevented from returning to its body, that person must die.

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stipulation being that they may not marry a person who has never been married before. There is some feeling that an inexperienced youth should not marry an experienced woman. A widower may marry an unmarried girl if she has been in some way sexually delinquent. In this case, it is felt that she is a sinner and should not be foisted upon an innocent youth. In some instances, as in the following case, the youth is not at all adverse to the advances of a widow.

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A widow marries a single youth. Augustín's mother had been widowed twice. This time she wanted to marry a young man who had never been married. She mentioned this several times to people, including her son. Augustín objected however, on the basis that this was not proper for a widow to do. Rather, he urged that she keep her eye out for a widower. Nevertheless, his mother clandestinely made love to the young man to whom she was attracted and became pregnant by him. She gave birth to a boy whom she immediately killed and then went to the ceremonial center of Punta Venado with her sister and buried the infant. During the next Easter fiesta at Punta Venado, Augustín advised the chief of

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this incident and asked that his mother be punished. Both the young man and the widow however, suspected that they would be punished, and did not go down to the fiesta. The /únʸi/ sent up a commission composed of one Indian and two Negroes who were ordered to apprehend them. Augustín paid the Negroes twenty sucres each and bought a few bottles of rum for the Cayapa.

The couple were brought before Arcilio and punishment was set at ninety lashes each. In addition, the woman was fined fifteen sucres for burying the infant in Punta Venado and was advised by the /únʸi/ to marry a widower. The young man claimed that the woman was to blame for the illicit relationship and that she was always after him and wanting to marry him. After the official punishment had been meted out, Augustín beat his mother. Several months later the youth ran away to the Río Esmeraldas area with this widow. They remained there for two years. After two or three children were born to them, they returned to the Río Cayapas. This couple was permitted to live together, but later the husband and all of the children died within a year.

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The Cayapa maintain that no supernatural sanctions

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incestuous act performed by strangers or members of his family will make the act known. There is one exception reported. A truly determined deviant as was Pablo Candalehu can get away with repeated incest.

The determined incestuous couple. Pablo Candalehu had been committing incest with his sister, who later gave birth to twins. Pablo took these new-born infants and threw them into the river, but the bodies were found by a Negro who went to the Teniente Político. The police came and arrested Pablo and his sister, resulting in their being fined, as well as jailed for a year. After their release from jail, they came to Encanto, where they continued living together. People gossiped and Pablo's "uncle" Gerardo, went to the Río Onzole, to get him a wife. Three months later they found a husband for his sister in San Miguel. When Pablo's sister later died, her husband did not cry at her funeral, claiming that he did not feel any grief because the woman was really her brother's wife and not his own. He then related at the funeral how once when he was out fishing at night, he came back to the house very quietly with the lamp extinguished and heard Pablo making love

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said, insures that the infant will live. Following this procedure, the neonate is transferred to the care of a lactating woman. This mother surrogate is paid for her services by the child's father. Eventually, when the child can speak, he is returned to his father.

Birth Control. Induced abortions are unknown, according to all informants, and this information is very likely reliable because bastards /išui-/ are first delivered, and then are usually killed. Similarly, there does not seem to be any knowledge of birth control devices nor of the practice of coitus interruptus. In marked contrast to the Negroes of the area whose children line up like stepping-stones, there is often a two- to four-year break between living children for the Cayapa. In some cases this difference is accounted for by the high infant mortality rate; in other cases, it is explained by lower fertility; in still other cases the lower sex drive may be the causative factor. We shall discuss the latter premise in the chapter dealing with personality factors. In any event, the Cayapa recognize their weakness in numbers

and say that it is because Jesus said that if the world comes to an end while many Cayapa are living, it would be very sad for them; it is therefore necessary for many infants to die. The population figures do indeed indicate that the Cayapa are not reproducing. For the Río Cameronese there is an average of 2.5 living children for each woman of childbearing age and almost 17 per cent sterility among the women.

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Adoption. Children will be adopted within the kindred, if the parents should die, but there is seldom adoption of non-related children or of illegitimate children. There are a few instances of an illegitimate child's being kept by the mother, but more often she will kill it at birth. The mother may offer the child for adoption, but the general feeling is that such a child having been conceived in sin is non-Christian, and few people want such a child. The Christian thing to do, they feel, is to kill it.

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There is something in the nature of short-term "loans" of children. A child is sometimes sent to live with an "uncle" or other near relative for varying periods of time. In some cases the relatives are

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vicinity. It may kill people whom it encounters alone. The third soul, the bald ghost is dressed in white and remains by the grave. "In the old days, it would fight with its enemies, but nowadays this does not happen." The /kúme/ has the form of the body it inhabits, and it has the power of leaving the body during sleep, and of travelling about at will. In their travels, the souls visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends, and distant places. At these times the soul is in danger of being harmed by witchcraft; if the /kúme/ is prevented from returning to its body, that person must die.

In common with much of the Catholic world, the Cayapa believe that a deceased infant has not had a chance to sin and so goes directly to heaven as an angel; however, if the child had been conceived in sin, then they maintain that it is an abomination, and non-Christian. In this case they feel that the Christian thing to do is to kill the neonate, but the status of the soul of the infant is not clear. On the question of the immediate transit to heaven of the infant's soul, the Negroes are the authorities for the Cayapa. As an instance, the wife of Pablo Canalehu of Encanto, died

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stipulation being that they may not marry a person who has never been married before. There is some feeling that an inexperienced youth should not marry an experienced woman. A widower may marry an unmarried girl if she has been in some way sexually delinquent. In this case, it is felt that she is a sinner and should not be foisted upon an innocent youth. In some instances, as in the following case, the youth is not at all adverse to the advances of a widow.

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A widow marries a single youth. Augustín's mother had been widowed twice. This time she wanted to marry a young man who had never been married. She mentioned this several times to people, including her son. Augustín objected however, on the basis that this was not proper for a widow to do. Rather, he urged that she keep her eye out for a widower. Nevertheless, his mother clandestinely made love to the young man to whom she was attracted and became pregnant by him. She gave birth to a boy whom she immediately killed and then went to the ceremonial center of Punta Venado with her sister and buried the infant. During the next Easter fiesta at Punta Venado, Augustín advised the chief of

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Benjamin Paul, working on compadrazgo in Middle America, abstracted two basic principles of the institution; namely, the intensification of previously existing relationships, and the extension or creation of new ones (Paul 1942:56-57). Mintz and Wolf see the variations of the principles of intensification and extension that mark the areal spread of ritual co-parenthood to be a reflection of socio-cultural change and economic mobility (Mintz and Wolf 1950:358).

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> In cases where the community is a self-contained class, or tribally homogeneous, compadrazgo is prevailing horizontal (intra-class) in character. In cases where the community contains several interacting classes, compadrazgo will structure such relationships vertically (inter-class). Last, in a situation of rapid social change compadre mechanisms may multiply to meet the accelerated rate of change (Mintz and Wolf 1950:364).

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Barrett's report of his 1909 field trip among the Cayapa indicates that only baptism and marriage were marked by compadrazgo (Barrett 1925:318, 324, 326). We are not given any information by Barrett about the identity of the god-parents, except inferentially, that they were Indian and not Negro. Neither are we told about the identities of the god-parents of successive

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distantly by marriage and who, for one or another reason, seek to intensify a weak relationship. The important relationship is between the compadres and not between the sponsor and the child.

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Baptism. Every infant must be baptized as soon as possible by the priest. The god-parents chosen for this occasion are always Indian. Although some say that it is best to choose them from within the family, others claim that it is best to choose non-relatives. There are no strong feelings one way or another; however, most of my material indicates a bias in favor of having relatives as compadres of the baptism. A statistical treatment is not possible as my data center primarily on the Río Camerones region and not on the Punta Venado group as a whole.

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For the baptism the parents, the god-parents, and the infant go to Limones. The ceremony which is done in the Catholic manner by the priest costs ten sucres which is paid by the father of the child. The priest is usually presented with a gift, such as a fan or a basket, made by the Cayapa. At this time no presents are exchanged between the compadres, although

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the father may buy a meal and some drinks for everyone. The compadres now address each other by the same terms used between compadres in the nail-cutting ceremony. When the child grows up, he calls his god-father by the term /padéna?ápa/ and the god-mother by the term, /padéna?áma/, and the reciprocal is /ihádu/ /padena, from Spanish padrino 'god-father,' áma 'mother' ápa 'father'/. Incest taboos, if not present before, are now extended, and the /ihádu/ may not marry any of the children of the god-parents. The relationship is marked by respect from all within it. From time to time as conditions seem to warrant it, the parties to the compadrazgo of the baptism gift each other with meat. Within a family each child will usually have a different set of god-parents from his siblings. This is a reinforcement of previously existing kin ties with a multiplicity of horizontally-extended ritual kin.

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Marriage. The Cayapa say that when one goes to heaven all of the souls there look alike. Everyone is the same height, and they all wear identical clothing. It is impossible to recognize the people

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never able to collect cases or to gather actual names, but some of my informants said that they had heard of people occasionally taking a new set of marriage padrinos. The feeling was that this could perhaps be done if the original padrinos gave their permission. In these cases, then, a person could have multiple marriage padrinos. It is most unfortunate that field work exigencies precluded following up these leads. In any event, compadrazgo among the Cayapa has shown itself to be a tremendously flexible instrument of societal ordering.

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Religion. The Cayapa are a religious people who call themselves Catholic and are considered to be Catholic by the Church, albeit, "Children in the Faith." They know nothing of the practice of confession and this is not expected of them by the Church. The basic tenets of Catholicism with respect to baptism, marriage, and burial in the Church are followed faithfully by the Cayapa. Within a few months of birth children are taken to the coastal town of Limones or Esmeraldas for baptism. Most marriages are sanctified by a priest, and within a few weeks to a few months after death a special mass will be paid for by the nearest Kin of the deceased.

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vicinity. It may kill people whom it encounters alone. The third soul, the bald ghost is dressed in white and remains by the grave. "In the old days, it would fight with its enemies, but nowadays this does not happen." The /kúme/ has the form of the body it inhabits, and it has the power of leaving the body during sleep, and of travelling about at will. In their travels, the souls visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends, and distant places. At these times the soul is in danger of being harmed by witchcraft; if the /kúme/ is prevented from returning to its body, that person must die.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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in childbirth, and the infant was born dead. No one discussed the condition of the infant's soul at all, until a group of Negroes came to express their condolences. They remarked among themselves that the infant was probably in purgatory because it had not been baptized. They spoke in this vein for about ten minutes until Doña Carolina, who is half Cayapa and married to the founder of the village of Camerones, noticed that the Indians were becoming disturbed at the trend that the conversation was taking, and she said that of course, since the child was only recently dead, it perhaps was not too late, and she took some water from a gourd and sprinkled it on the tiny body. There was a brief flurry of conversation among the Negroes, and the remark was made that "very likely the infant was in heaven now." At this, the Indians visibly relaxed.

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Funeral customs. Death is not a stranger to the Cayapa, and everyone can reasonably expect to attend at least two or three funerals during a year. The greatest number of deaths are of infants. In other age groups there are violent deaths such as men drowning, breaking their necks in falls, and being poisoned

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At the present time the Cayapa, in common with most rural Ecuadorians, practice a ceremony of nail cutting that has ritual significance in the sense that god-parents are selected for the child, and the extension of ritual kinship follows as for the rites of baptism and marriage. This ceremonial occasion which is called simply /tyákikánu/, is a very minor ceremony that may be performed at almost any age from a few months to perhaps six years, or it may never be performed. Almost invariably the god-parents for this occasion are Negro. As Negroes are in political and economic control of the region, we can say that this is a vertical extension of ritual kinship. The Indian seldom asks a Negro to assume this obligation. Quite the contrary, Negroes generally ask the father of the child if he would like to enter into compadrazgo.

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The actual ceremony is very simple. Only the participants are present as a rule. The nails are cut by the god-father, and the parings are placed in a glass of rum which is then drunk by the compadres. Small presents, such as a bottle of rum, some food, soft drinks, and tobacco, are exchanged. Thereafter, the

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relationship of greatest importance is that between the compadres and not between the /kumbatípa/ and /kumbatíma/, that is 'god-father' and 'god-mother,' and the god-child or /ihádu/. The compadres refer to each other as /kopáre/ or /komáre/. The relationship thus set up is utterly without sanction from the Church, and in point of fact, the parties, if they are Negro and Indian, do not feel that they are actually tied to each other ritually.

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Quite often the Negro who asks to be permitted to cut the child's nails is a travelling merchant who, from time to time, visits the area. It is to his advantage to have an Indian compadre as this assures him of a place to eat and to sleep in his travels. Similarly, if the Negro lives near a town, the Cayapa compadre will visit him occasionally. Indians going to Esmeraldas, for example, may stay for several days in the home of a Negro compadre. Very often the Negro asks to cut the nails of a Cayapa child for pecuniary reasons so that, for example, the banana merchants seek to extend their compadre ties to as many banana growers as they can. Sometimes the Negro attempts to establish previously

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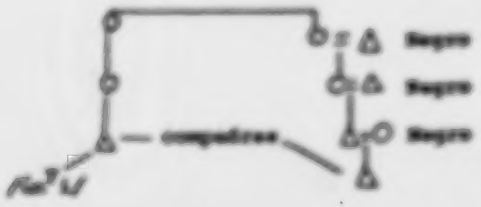
existing kinship ties by means of the nail-cutting ceremony with a Cayapa child. As an example, one Negro who is distantly related to the /ʿiʷʸl/ of the Punta Venado section asked if he could be his compadre. The manner of relationship is as follows:



The /ʿiʷʸl/ says that he does not know the name of this Negro kinsman and compadre who lives by the ocean near Punta Bajo on the other side of Limones at the mouth of the Río Cayapas. He came up one day in his canoe, bringing fish, green coconuts, clams, and other small gifts. He asked if he could cut the nails of one of the children, and the /ʿiʷʸl/ agreed, and the Negro cut the nails of the daughter, Maria Agrecaria. The /ʿiʷʸl/ gave his new compadre gifts of sugar cane, plantain, and chontadura. Since then, the /ʿiʷʸl/ had visited his compadre about ten times in a four- or five-year period, and in return

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he has been visited about four times. There is no work at all involved in these visits, which are said to be purely social.

Sometimes an Indian will ask to be a compadre so that, for example, the /ʿaʸl/'s daughter, Maria Rosa had her nails cut by the father-in-law of the /ʿaʸl/'s eldest brother's daughter. She lived in Río Onzole area. Her daughter was ill on occasion, and her father-in-law came up to the Río Camerones to ask Gabriel who was not yet the /ʿaʸl/ to come and cure the child. He went down with his family and stayed for about one week. While there a brother-in-law of his niece asked if he could cut the nails of his daughter. When asked why the man had asked to do this, Gabriel replied, "Because he likes me very much." In this case we find a reinforcement of a previously existing relationship. Most children have their nails ceremonially cut, and each child in a family has different god-parents. The picture is one of a multiplicity of compadres extended vertically and horizontally. The emphasis in ceremonial nailcutting is primarily vertical and generally involves Negroes. Indians who seek compadrazgo are usually related

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distantly by marriage and who, for one or another reason, seek to intensify a weak relationship. The important relationship is between the compadres and not between the sponsor and the child.

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Baptism. Every infant must be baptized as soon as possible by the priest. The god-parents chosen for this occasion are always Indian. Although some say that it is best to choose them from within the family, others claim that it is best to choose non-relatives. There are no strong feelings one way or another; however, most of my material indicates a bias in favor of having relatives as compadres of the baptism. A statistical treatment is not possible as my data center primarily on the Río Camerones region and not on the Punta Venado group as a whole.

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

special racks are built above the fire-box, where strips of meat, or, if the animals or birds are small, the entire bodies, are placed to dry and smoke. Sometimes there are as many as three of these racks, one above another, each covering the same amount of space as the fire-box itself. Considerable time is necessary for drying meat in this way, and, when once dried, it must be kept either on the racks or near the fire in order to prevent molding. For drying fish there usually is employed the upper half of a large earthenware jar, which is turned down over the fire and the fish laid across the opening upon green sticks. Being thus close to the fire, a shorter time is sufficient to dry and smoke the fish, but when thus cured they also must be kept on the racks above or elsewhere near the fire-box in order to keep them from molding. A few vegetal products, especially medicinal herbs, are dried in a similar manner, as likewise are two vegetal foods. The inner covering of the tagua or ivory nut, which, when dried and then roasted upon the coals, has an excellent flavor, is used as food to a slight extent. Green plantain is cut crosswise into thin sections and dried thoroughly in the sun, when possible, or over the fire when necessary. It is then ground to powder and mixed with water into a thin gruel, which is used as food for babies when the mother is ill or for other reasons is unable to provide a proper supply of milk.

Boiling is employed also in the preparation of certain vegetal foods in cane juice. While practically all the product of the cane-field is used in making rum, some syrup and sweets are occasionally prepared. Yuca and

blood and die. The father is under no food restriction. 846
The infant is given the breast very shortly after birth 853
and is permitted to drink the colostrum /išpi/: /iš-/ 'clear' /pi/ 'water' 'liquid.' For the first month, the child is given only the breast. He is fed "on demand" providing it is convenient to the mother; for example, if the infant is being held at the time he wishes to be nursed, he is indulged. If, however, the child should be crying while his mother is engaged in some task that requires standing or the use of both hands, his cries are ignored. Also, if the mother is busy in another part of the room, the infant is likewise required to wait for the fulfillment of his needs.

By the end of the second month the mother may 846
do some light work in the monte. The infant is never [854]
taken along when the mother goes to work outside; instead, he is left in the care of a sibling or older female relative. The child is fed kulada which is 853
prepared from crushed, dried, green plantain, sugar, [262]
and water. If a lactating woman is present, she may give the infant her breast. The child may be nursed 862
for three years unless he is usurped from the breast

by a new sibling. Weaning is gradual; however, the child is also told that an animal will come to eat him if he continues to suck which frightens him and hastens his loss of interest in the breast. From about the age of four months he is given supplementary foods and by the age of three years he eats everything. Women who are unable to nurse apply a poultice to their breasts. This poultice is made of lechera, a weed with a milky sap; this is done in the vain hope of stimulating lactation. The neighboring Negro women wean their infants at one year, and when opportunity affords, they chide the Cayapa women about their protracted nursing. This is beginning to have some effect, and a few women now wean their children by one year.

When a woman dies in childbirth, the child may be given to another woman who is lactating. Some feel that "the child dies anyway as the spirit of the dead mother will kill it." On the other hand, the infant can be taken directly to the ceremonial center where earth from the mother's grave is thrown at it at the time of her burial. If this ritual is practiced, two men stand on opposite sides of the grave passing the infant back and forth five or six times. This, it is

said, insures that the infant will live. Following this procedure, the neonate is transferred to the care of a lactating woman. This mother surrogate is paid for her services by the child's father. Eventually, when the child can speak, he is returned to his father.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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childless and desire a son or daughter; in other cases the relatives may need extra help on the land. Sometimes the child stays permanently with his kin, returning to his parents for brief periods when requested to do so. In these instances the parent-child relationship is always retained but the child may lose his parental inheritance; however, he presumably has a claim for his patrimony from the estate of the relative with whom he has lived and worked. This will be discussed in greater detail in the legal material that concerns land and its sale or inheritance.

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Childhood. During Cayapa infancy and early childhood the children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training well before the zonal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely as illustrated in the following excerpt from the writer's notes:

> . . . Augustin's wife was sitting on the floor by the marimba, nursing her child (two months) the older boy is sitting next to her and she seems to be taking special pains with the older boy (four years). She kept her right arm around him, stroking his head while the infant nursed . . . suddenly this picture of maternal love and affection changed radically. The infant

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had defecated while nursing and the mother reacted explosively. She shouted at the infant, forcibly removed it from the breast, held it at arms length and shook it back and forth, screaming that the child was bad. Not a sound escaped from the infant, as its head bobbed back and forth. As the mother regained her composure and began to clean the child, it began to howl. In a few minutes it was cleaned . . . she now gave the breast to the infant, which it seized with a frantic intensity . . . (Altschuler 1960: field notes).

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Many Cayapa women are undoubtedly fairly matter-of-fact about their infants' excretions but, without being able to count cases, my impression is that the general attitude toward uncontrolled elimination is in the direction of the cited example; that is, the mother or surrogate, when required to clean the child, displays decidedly negative feelings (if only in postural stance) that are clearly communicated to the infant. Every Cayapa house has a causeway about five feet above the ground, which is about three feet wide and perhaps thirty to forty feet long, that runs from the cooking area in the rear out into the semicleared area behind. Adult males and boys walk out to edge of the causeway to urinate. A small hole, placed not very far from the house, is used by the women and girls. Adults and toilet-trained

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homoerotic play is evident during fiestas and, because of the low male sex drive, may be the substitute.

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During Cayapa infancy and early childhood, children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training long before the zonal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely. The coincidence of the harsh toilet training and the availability of the breast leads to an intensification of oral gratification and a positive psychosexual fixation at this stage. We have already described the toilet training of the Cayapa infant and child, and discussed the extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces on the part of adolescents. The fact that the child is often permitted almost immediately to suck the nipple after having gone through a truly frightening experience involving defecation as described above, structures the peculiarly poignant oral fixation of the Cayapa infant and gives a heightened intensity. The oral fixation derived from anal frustration at such a very early period, is the psychological equivalent of oral frustration and is later intensified by the weaning practices. Weaning is accomplished by

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

291 front. In such cases, sometimes the belt is placed outside the two garments, but more frequently it binds the under-garment only, the ends of the light outer garment being merely tucked under the belt at the front. This outer skirt is very frequently of calico or other light cloth, and is in no way essential to the dress. It may, however, be a second manta, and as large and heavy as the main under-garment. In pls. XIX, XXI, XXII, are shown women wearing the single manta; in pl. XX is presented an instance in which a second outer manta is worn with its corners tucked under the belt at the front, and in pl. XXIII the larger of the two girls wears in a similar manner an outer garment made of calico.

Ordinarily, children up to the age of six, and sometimes even up to ten years, wear no clothing at all. Usually, however, a girl begins to wear her manta, and the boy a short calico shirt, at the age of six or eight years; but the boy does not put on a clout until later, often not until about the age of twelve. On the other hand, frequently very small children, even those two or three years of age, are provided with clothing which they wear in imitation of their elders on gala occasions.

● 854 Practically the only time that babies are clothed at all is while sleeping; they are then tightly wrapped and bound in cloth, but without a cradle-board or a basket. They are placed crosswise in a hammock provided with a mat or a piece of bark cloth to hold it open and thus to form a kind of cradle. At one side of the hammock 854 is attached a long braided string, made from the young 292 leaf of a certain species of fan-leaf or from an ordinary

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

354 [283] twisted string of pita, by means of which one of the older members of the family, while performing some other task, keeps the hammock swinging.

302 Aboriginally both men and women wore long loose hair, without braiding or other special mode of dressing; but now long hair is worn only by the women, the men keeping their hair cut short. Some of the women cut the front hair even with the eyebrows, otherwise their hair is never cut, nor is it dressed in any special fashion, being simply parted in the middle and allowed to fall loosely over the back and breast. The only time that the hair is ever worn otherwise is when a woman is engaged in some very hot work; it is then often coiled up on the head or tied in a large knot at the back. The hair of little girls is never cut, but that of boys is cut when they are very young. As a rule the men have no special mode of dressing the hair; it is simply kept cropped to an even length all round, and is allowed to grow from the crown straight down in all directions, without parting or other training. Now and then a man may part his hair in the middle, but this practice is exceptional. These styles of hair-dressing are shown in pls. XVI–XXXVIII.

A characteristic feature of Cayapa life is the custom of painting the face and other exposed parts of the body with red, yellow, and black pigment, and in many different designs. The red and yellow pigments, called in Cayapa mū' and la''mū' respectively, are derived from the seed-pods of a small shrub known by the colloquial Spanish name achote and by the Cayapa name can-

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

ends of all the elements are cut off in the same manner as was done in making the end with which the mat was begun.

Mats of this kind are most frequently used by the Cayapa in the hammocks which serve as cradles. A small mat is placed crosswise in the hammock and holds its edges apart; the baby is then laid upon this mat and swung in the hammock as a cradle. Large mats are occasionally used as beds, but for this purpose bark cloth is preferred. An important use for mats also is as a drying surface upon which to spread cacao. In canoeing, a large mat serves as a canopy or sun covering for small children or for an invalid. If its ends are placed just inside the gunwales of the canoe, bow upward, a mat forms a convenient and very serviceable canopy by virtue of its natural stiffness. An instance of such a use is shown in pl. LXXX.

SPINNING

As was mentioned in speaking of agricultural products, the Cayapa raise considerable quantities of cotton, that is to say, all the cotton needed for weaving the cloth used for their mantas and clouts and for the belts used to hold the mantas in place. No one family raises any considerable number of plants, since a single plant produces almost continuously the year round and aggregates in the course of a year a considerable quantity of bolls. These plants are grown in any convenient place near the house or on the edge of a field of cane or of a grove of chocolate trees.

blood and die. The father is under no food restriction. The infant is given the breast very shortly after birth and is permitted to drink the colostrum /ĭspi/: /ĭs-/ 'clear' /pi/ 'water' 'liquid.' For the first month, the child is given only the breast. He is fed "on demand" providing it is convenient to the mother; for example, if the infant is being held at the time he wishes to be nursed, he is indulged. If, however, the child should be crying while his mother is engaged in some task that requires standing or the use of both hands, his cries are ignored. Also, if the mother is busy in another part of the room, the infant is likewise required to wait for the fulfillment of his needs.

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Miquel section and, after reaching an agreement on the location of a house, I made a down payment for the purchase of roofing material. Two weeks later I returned with my family, but was told that we could not settle in the San Miquel section: the inhabitants were afraid of us, as they had heard we were cannibals. The rumor had been started by people of the Punta Venado section who wanted us to live with them. Earlier, a resident missionary had started a small dispensary among the San Miquel group, and another missionary was conducting a very large medical practice in the Sapallo Grande section. Since the people of Punta Venado wanted a medical gringo, too, they started the rumors of our cannibalistic propensities to frighten the people of San Miquel into rejecting us so that we would move in with them. They told the stories with such gusto that for a brief period, even after we settled among them, they believed the fantasies were indeed true.

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It is not only the complex of sphincter training, nursing and weaning that convinces the young boy that the world and its objects are threatening and cannibalistic, but play behavior also. A common game that parents and older siblings play with young males is to

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hold the child high overhead, open the mouth and then close it over the child's genitals. The game is never played with female children. As far as gross observation can tell, the experience is not at all frightening to the child; it is, however, oral incorporation of so mean order and fits quite comfortably within the pattern that is beginning to unfold. Alternately rejected and over-indulged, the child is unable to develop a sense of security, personal worth, or control over his behavior.

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> What enduring qualities are rooted in this muscular and anal stage? From the sense of inner goodness emanates autonomy and pride; from the sense of badness, doubt and shame. To develop autonomy a firmly developed and convincingly continued state of early trust is necessary. The infant must come to feel that his basic faith in himself and in the world (which is the lasting treasure saved from the conflicts of the oral stage) will not be jeopardised by this sudden violent wish to have a choice, to appropriate demandingly and to eliminate stubbornly. . . His environment must back him up in his wish to "stand on his own feet" lest he be overcome by that sense . . . which we call shame, or that secondary mistrust . . . which we call doubt (Erickson 1950: 80-81).

"Autonomous motivation," for Dorothy Lee, is the sine qua non of the human condition (Lee 1961:103-121). But autonomy and pride or doubt and shame are derived from the resolution of the problems that beset the child

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

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WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

few restrictions are placed

upon the children, and punishment is very rarely necessary. The children usually play together amicably, and the considerate care given by elder children to their young brothers and sisters is especially noticeable. The agriculture practised by the Cayapa requires a great deal of labor in connection with the various crops, especially plantains, sugar-cane, and cacao. In this cultivation the whole family joins, the children, even when very small, cheerfully doing their share in clearing away the weeds and brush that grow so rapidly in the tropics, and in harvesting the crops.

The children have various amusements, though no games in the ordinary sense of the term. They have several kinds of toys. Musical tops, such as those shown in pl. LXXXV, 2–5, made of gourds and certain large nuts, are much used. Wooden dolls of various mammal, bird, and human forms, such as those shown in pl. LXXXIV, are also much used. They have toy canoes varying from a few inches to several feet in length, and toy paddles for use with them. These canoes and paddles they use a great deal, especially when swimming, which is a very common and healthful amusement among both sexes.

The children are trained to this canoe life from infancy, and one of the first toys of a child is a paddle. At a very early age children are instructed in its use, so that even at the age of five or six years a child can take a small canoe and paddle along the river for short distances.

The children also play with small baskets, fans, mats,

The Negroes, however, wean their children after one year, and some Cayapa women are beginning to imitate them. Weaning is accomplished by shaming or ridiculing the child, or frightening him with stories of cannibalistic ogres, or applying bitter tasting substances to the nipple.

The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that arise from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. This stems in major part from the fact that the child is generally kept within the confines of the home at these ages. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls; it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. Consequently his movements within the house are restricted and he is effectively blocked off from direct sunlight and on canoe trips he is usually placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

seldom brought home to the confined child; the adults eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors at the riverside. During his fifth year when he is permitted to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit, the incidence of skin disease decreases and his rickety appearance disappears.

Children are wanted and beloved. As an example of permissiveness, they are allowed to indulge in cookies, candies, sugar and soft drinks, but conversely an element of teasing often enters the picture. To illustrate, a small child will be offered a goody, which, when he reaches for it, will be snatched away. Reactions to this affront vary: some children cry; others just sit looking forlorn. The adults seem to enjoy this teasing. An impressive example of contrastive behavior presented itself one day as a group of Indian women and their children came to visit us. Everyone was seated on the floor in a circle, and the conversation was desultory. Finally, a woman took a piece of candy and handed it to my son who was sitting on his mother's lap. As he reached out eagerly for the tidbit, the woman brought her hand back. At this everyone laughed, but the child

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

had never been teased in this manner before, and his eyes flashed pure hatred for the woman as he leaned forward, glaring at her. All laughter ceased; everyone gazed fascinatedly at the child. Shortly, the woman offered the candy again, and as it was taken, she jerked her arm back violently as if it had been burned. Clearly, a Cayapa child would never react in this manner; he would have remained passive. The group broke up shortly after this; the event doubtlessly became the subject of much conversation. Frank remained extremely popular with both Indians and Negroes, and passersby on the river before our house would call out his name. When the writer visited, I was asked to bring him along, and, he was never teased again.

By the age of three years, children are clothed in miniature replicas of their parents' clothing. Genital shame is marked by the age of five or six years. Bathing men and boys convulsively grasp their genitals as they enter the water; on the other hand, women and girls merely wade into the water and remove their skirts when they are waist deep in the river. Bathing is frequent, and swimming is considered to be a great sport by the children.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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Boys are now beginning to be sent to school when they reach seven or eight years of age. The school is located up the Río Camerones at Encanto which, in 1960, comprised six houses with a shifting population of about forty. Children from up the river stay with relatives during the school year and go home on weekends and school holidays. This is a most unusual situation, since prior to the introduction of the school, Cayapa children had very little interaction with non-household children, and now new interaction patterns are developing. Education is prized and attendance is regular. Girls remain at home and attend to their household chores. Parents prefer not to send girls to school, despite the urging of the teacher, because "they will write love letters" and, more importantly, they are needed to take care of younger siblings while the parents are out working. Girls begin very early to learn to take care of children, to sweep, to carry water, and to cook. They tend to be quite responsible while taking care of younger siblings, but sometimes they are inclined to be rough. If for example, the

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child being cared for can walk, it may be dragged along by one hand at a much too rapid pace, and it drags rather than runs behind. If the parents should see this the older girl is reprimanded and occasionally slapped.

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Adolescence. There are no special rites marking a boy's entrance into puberty. At adolescence the boy is not considered to be ready to assume the responsibility of adulthood. His training is much more protracted than that of the girls. For example, he must attain skill in canoe workmanship, and this may not be fully achieved until late teen age. He may be given a piece of land of his own to work, but even so, he must help his parents in their work, on demand. The criteria used to determine a boy's readiness for marriage are the following: he must be skillful in cutting his own canoe; he must acquire sufficient land to support a family; he should own a shotgun. The young man himself is often reluctant to assume new responsibilities despite the expectations of his adult associates. This will be discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with Sex, Courtship, and Marriage.

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ties are often very tender. On one occasion while the writer was treating a man for a fever his married sister came in and knelt beside him. She put her mouth close to his ear and whispered to him while she gently stroked his back. It is said that brothers should work together on all things, that they should inherit and work land together.

Parent-child relationships are affectionate and close. Both parents play with their children and indulge them. Often children were brought in to the writer for an injection of penicillin. In these cases if the child cried and stated emphatically that he did not want it, the parents would not insist. Generally boy and girl children are treated much the same in play behavior with the parents and other siblings with one exception. Boy children, up to about the third or fourth year, are often held up at arms-length above the head of the older person who then lowers the child slowly. When the child is within reach, the older person then places his mouth over the child's genitals for a few seconds. This game is never played with girl children.

While husband and wife relationships tend to be affectionate, the woman is often in a near dominant

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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Given his peculiarly harsh, intense and very early training in sphincter control, the Cayapa's autonomous motivation, or competence, is derived in no small degree from the little drama that is enacted daily on the causeway behind the cooking area. This interpretation of the rigorous training, however, does not refute the importance of the motility urge, but enhances it. As a rule, the child undergoes the severe training in sphincter control and perhaps weaning, at the same time that he is frustrated in his exploratory forays outside the house, precisely when he is in the stage of heightened motility. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls; it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. As a result, he is not permitted to master, integrate and test the world outside his home. He is confined within the house except for family movements for work-visits with relations or to *fiestas* (where he is still confined within the limits of the house). This confinement lasts

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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until the child is about four years of age. The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that stem from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. [Prior to this time the child may have been extremely healthy.] During the period of confinement to the house he is effectively blocked off from sunlight within the house and on canoe tripe he is placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is seldom brought home to the confined child; the adults eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors at the river side. The child is permitted, indeed encouraged to eat refined sugar by the fist full and to drink soda pop. During his fifth year when he is permitted to leave the confines of the house he is able to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit; then the incidence of skin diseases decreases and his rickety appearance disappears.

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The low sexual drive of the adult male Cayapa is best reflected in his replies to questions on the frequency of coitus. Recalling that sexual prowess is admired, married men in their late twenties and early

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

524 pots, and wooden and stone implements, made by themselves or by their elders especially for them. They construct play-houses after the fashion of dwellings, and often make small fish corrals like those used by their elders. The boys also make toy fish-nets and gigs, and still use the blow-gun as a plaything, although this old type of hunting weapon is now rarely used by the men.

The nearest approach to a game among the Cayapa, either among the children or among the older people, is that which the boys play with their musical tops, although this is not at all a game of chance. The floors of the Cayapa houses, being made of undressed palm-wood, are always too rough for the spinning of tops, and the ground is always too wet. Therefore, to provide a spinning surface, a large mat is spread upon the floor, or a manta or other piece of cloth is stretched tightly over the legs of a boy seated flat upon the floor. Then he, with usually another boy, spins the tops in opposition one to another, the point of the play being to see what top can knock the other from the spinning surface. There is no scoring in this amusement, and the whole pleasure of it is derived from the spinning of the tops and especially from watching them collide with one another. Often two boys are able to keep four or five tops spinning at the same time, so that their collisions create a lively scene and furnish much pleasure to the onlookers as well as to those engaged in the spinning. The spinning is usually done with the hands alone, although sometimes, if a very rapid

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

motion is desired, a string with a grip is used. Occasionally a girl may be seen spinning a top, but it is primarily an amusement of the boys. 524 857

MATERIAL CULTURE

BUILDINGS

The buildings of the Cayapa may be divided into four classes: the dwelling or regular abode, the rancho or temporary structure, the cane-mill and distillery, and the church, this last, of course, being of modern introduction. All these buildings, except the church, which is at ground level, are pile structures and are constructed according to a single general plan. 342 [348] [177 346]

In pls. I-IV are shown typical dwellings. They are always rectangular in ground-plan (pl. XI), and vary in size according to the number of occupants, some reaching large dimensions. The dwelling of which the above-mentioned ground-plan is presented is 87 feet in extreme length and 41 feet in width. Dwellings are almost invariably situated along the river bank, and each is flanked by fields of sugar-cane, plantains, bananas, cacao, pineapples, and other crops. The dwellings are raised four to twelve feet from the ground, and access is gained by means of ladders such as those illustrated in fig. 1, especially those of the types shown in *a* and *d*. [417]

The houses are fairly simple in construction. The framework consists of a number of heavy squared posts of a hard black wood called by the local Spanish name 342 824

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

fig. 8, used for catching small mammals, such as wood-rats, which abound in almost all parts of the jungle, and especially in places which have been recently cleared or about the edges of an old clearing. In large measure the boys build and tend these deadfalls, one or two boys sometimes having as many as half a dozen of them. They are constructed as follows: Two rows of upright sticks of almost any material are set just far enough

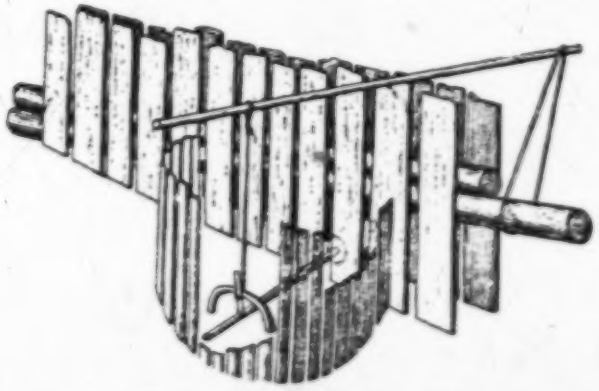

FIG. 8.—Deadfall trap for small mammals

apart to permit the free rise and fall of a log or a heavy section of the stem of a plantain or banana palm. These two rows of sticks form what may be termed the fences of the trap. To one end of this log, which is usually from four to six feet in length, is attached a cord or a piece of pitigua, which in turn is fastened to one end of the stick used as a lever. One of the upright sticks in one of the fences above mentioned is so notched as to receive this lever, which passes diagonally across it and out so that its other end is opposite a point about one-

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When the in-laws and/or other relatives are resident in the house the same atmosphere tends to prevail. Each nuclear family occupies a section of the house. Sometimes a cubicle is built for sleeping and storing purposes. Meals are prepared separately and consumed individually. No one eats together as a group. The men are served first. One may be in a hammock, another seated on a bench, yet another may be standing off by himself at the front of the house watching the river. They eat where they are. The women and children eat after the men have eaten. They tend to form more of a group because of the proximity of the cooking area and they converse more together while they are eating than the men do.

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Newcomers to the household group such as a new son or daughter-in-law, tend to be shy and quiet. In

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blood and die. The father is under no food restriction. The infant is given the breast very shortly after birth and is permitted to drink the colostrum /ĭspi/: /ĭs-/ 'clear' /pi/ 'water' 'liquid.' For the first month, the child is given only the breast. He is fed "on demand" providing it is convenient to the mother; for example, if the infant is being held at the time he wishes to be nursed, he is indulged. If, however, the child should be crying while his mother is engaged in some task that requires standing or the use of both hands, his cries are ignored. Also, if the mother is busy in another part of the room, the infant is likewise required to wait for the fulfillment of his needs.

By the end of the second month the mother may do some light work in the monte. The infant is never taken along when the mother goes to work outside; instead, he is left in the care of a sibling or older female relative. The child is fed kulada which is prepared from crushed, dried, green plantain, sugar, and water. If a lactating woman is present, she may give the infant her breast. The child may be nursed for three years unless he is usurped from the breast

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

by a new sibling. Weaning is gradual; however, the child is also told that an animal will come to eat him if he continues to suck which frightens him and hastens his loss of interest in the breast. From about the age of four months he is given supplementary foods and by the age of three years he eats everything. Women who are unable to nurse apply a poultice to their breasts. This poultice is made of lechera, a weed with a milky sap; this is done in the vain hope of stimulating lactation. The neighboring Negro women wean their infants at one year, and when opportunity affords, they chide the Cayapa women about their protracted nursing. This is beginning to have some effect, and a few women now wean their children by one year.

When a woman dies in childbirth, the child may be given to another woman who is lactating. Some feel that "the child dies anyway as the spirit of the dead mother will kill it." On the other hand, the infant can be taken directly to the ceremonial center where earth from the mother's grave is thrown at it at the time of her burial. If this ritual is practiced, two men stand on opposite sides of the grave passing the infant back and forth five or six times. This, it is

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children, after about the age of six, defecate in the river or in the monte behind the house. As soon as an infant is able to sit, he is placed over the women's and girl's urination hole to defecate. He is not permitted to return to the comfort of the house until he has done so. The weather may be somewhat inclement, it may be dark, the child may howl and scream, he may decide to withhold his feces in defiance of parental command, but no leniency is shown. He must sit out on the causeway, alone, miserable, afraid or defiant, and only after he defecates, is he removed and brought into the house where he may be rewarded with the breast. By the time the child is two years old, he is trained, or perhaps, a better word, broken. Understandably, most Cayapa show an extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces. One day four young boys, ranging in age from about ten to fourteen, came to visit just as my infant son defecated. The boys stopped in their tracks and one, pointing to the mess on the floor, shouted, "/pe/" 'feces,' whereupon they fled.

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If no new sibling has arrived, the Cayapa infant is permitted to nurse at the breast for about three years.

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[The Negroes, however, wean their children after one year, and some Cayapa women are beginning to imitate them.] Weaning is accomplished by shaming or ridiculing the child, or frightening him with stories of cannibalistic ogres, or applying bitter tasting substances to the nipple.

The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that arise from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. This stems in major part from the fact that the child is generally kept within the confines of the home at these ages. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls; it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. Consequently his movements within the house are restricted and he is effectively blocked off from direct sunlight and on canoe trips he is usually placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is

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homosexotic play is evident during fleeing and, because of the low male sex drive, may be the substitute.

During Cayapa infancy and early childhood, children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training long before the anal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely. The coincidence of the harsh toilet training and the availability of the breast leads to an intensification of oral gratification and a positive psychosexual fixation at this stage. We have already described the toilet training of the Cayapa infant and child, and discussed the extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces on the part of adolescents. The fact that the child is often permitted almost immediately to suck the nipple after having gone through a truly frightening experience involving defecation as described above, structures the peculiarly poignant oral fixation of the Cayapa infant and gives a heightened intensity. The oral fixation derived from anal frustration at such a very early period, is the psychological equivalent of oral frustration and is later intensified by the weaning practices. Weaning is accomplished by

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shaming, ridicule, the application of bitter tasting substances, or frightening the child with stories of cannibalistic ogres.7 Thus, within the psychoanalytic framework, the seeds of dependency drinking are sown and begin to develop.

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> . . . bral frustrations in the infant result in cannibalistic fantasies toward the mother's breast and her total person. Because the child projects its feelings and fantasies, it also views the external world as cannibalistic and develops fears of objects in it. This results in an unconscious fear of being devoured by the love object. The vagina, which is unconsciously equated with the mouth, comes to represent the castrating, devouring organ. Such anticipations result in avoidance of the heterosexual object . . . (Bieber 1962:6-7).

For the Cayapa, the equation of vagina:mouth is not at all unconscious. The vagina dentata motif is clearly present, and sexual intercourse is spoken of as the vagina eating the penis. As for cannibalistic fantasies, they still exist in the stories that the Cayapa tell of the wild Indians who lived in the area before them; these Indians were cannibals and preyed on the Cayapa. The fantasies are also used to manipulate events. When I first explored the Cayapa area up to the Río Tigre, I decided to do my work among the Cayapa of the San

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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childless and desire a son or daughter; in other cases the relatives may need extra help on the land. Sometimes the child stays permanently with his kin, returning to his parents for brief periods when requested to do so. In these instances the parent-child relationship is always retained but the child may lose his parental inheritance; however, he presumably has a claim for his patrimony from the estate of the relative with whom he has lived and worked. This will be discussed in greater detail in the legal material that concerns land and its sale or inheritance.

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Childhood. During Cayapa infancy and early childhood the children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training well before the zonal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely as illustrated in the following excerpt from the writer's notes:

> . . . Augustin's wife was sitting on the floor by the marimba, nursing her child (two months) the older boy is sitting next to her and she seems to be taking special pains with the older boy (four years). She kept her right arm around him, stroking his head while the infant nursed . . . suddenly this picture of maternal love and affection changed radically. The infant

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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> had defecated while nursing and the mother reacted explosively. She shouted at the infant, forcibly removed it from the breast, held it at arms length and shook it back and forth, screaming that the child was bad. But a sound escaped from the infant, as its head bobbed back and forth. As the mother regained her composure and began to clean the child, it began to howl. In a few minutes it was cleaned . . . she now gave the breast to the infant, which it seized with a frantic intensity . . . (Altschuler 1960: field notes).

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Many Cayapa women are undoubtedly fairly matter-of-fact about their infants' excretions but, without being able to count cases, my impression is that the general attitude toward uncontrolled elimination is in the direction of the cited example; that is, the mother or surrogate, when required to clean the child, displays decidedly negative feelings (if only in postural stance) that are clearly communicated to the infant. Every Cayapa house has a causeway about five feet above the ground, which is about three feet wide and perhaps thirty to forty feet long, that runs from the cooking area in the rear out into the semicleared area behind. Adult males and boys walk out to edge of the causeway to urinate. A small hole, placed not very far from the house, is used by the women and girls. Adults and toilet-trained

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4 Altschuler E-6 (1959-1960) 1965
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Given his peculiarly harsh, intense and very early training in sphincter control, the Cayapa's autonomous motivation, or competence, is derived in no small degree from the little drama that is enacted daily on the causeway behind the cooking area. This interpretation of the rigorous training, however, does not refute the importance of the motility urge, but enhances it. As a rule, the child undergoes the severe training in sphincter control and perhaps weaning, at the same time that he is frustrated in his exploratory forays outside the house, precisely when he is in the stage of heightened motility. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls; it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. As a result, he is not permitted to master, integrate and test the world outside his home. He is confined within the house except for family movements for work-visits with relations or to fiestas (where he is still confined within the limits of the house). This confinement lasts

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had never been teased in this manner before, and his eyes flashed pure hatred for the woman as he leaned forward, glaring at her. All laughter ceased; everyone gazed fascinatedly at the child. Shortly, the woman offered the candy again, and as it was taken, she jerked her arm back violently as if it had been burned. Clearly, a Cayapa child would never react in this manner; he would have remained passive. The group broke up shortly after this; the event doubtlessly became the subject of much conversation. Frank remained extremely popular with both Indians and Negroes, and passersby on the river before our house would call out his name. When the writer visited, I was asked to bring him along, and, he was never teased again.

By the age of three years, children are clothed in miniature replicas of their parents' clothing. Genital shame is marked by the age of five or six years. Bathing men and boys convulsively grasp their genitals as they enter the water; on the other hand, women and girls merely wade into the water and remove their shirts when they are waist deep in the river. Bathing is frequent, and swimming is considered to be a great sport by the children.

Sex, Courtship, and Marriage. 000

Just as there are no special rites marking a boy's entrance into puberty, there are similarly none for a girl. When the menstrual periods begin, the girl is not alarmed since she has heard the women speak of this phenomenon and therefore knows what to expect. Girls are "ashamed" to tell anyone when the menstrual discharge /suúsa/ /su/ 'vagina', 'sa/ "blood,' first appears. In fact, no one likes to talk about it at all, but there are no taboos concerning it. The menstrual discharge is not considered dangerous in any way, and the women may eat anything, bathe in the river, work in the gardens, and engage in sexual intercourse. The women claim that they experience no cramping, nor other discomfort during catomenia. 881 841

Household. Relations within the family tend to be amiable and affectionate. Husband and wife may joke with each other and with the children. The children are taught to respect their parents and other relatives, but no special behavior is expected for different kinds of relatives. It is expected however, that siblings will form an especially intense bond and brother-sister 593 [867]

harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several canoes in Esmeraldas. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is now undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

2: Marra E-4 (no date) 1943 SDA Coyapa SDA

There is some evidence of patrilineality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the Coyapa tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Verde, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, tenientes políticos, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black thorn wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The Coyapa pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indian Brawn were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal animal ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The bridal couple sleep together at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession to political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1903-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

At an early age the girls are instructed in household duties of all kinds, and often begin to spin and weave, as well as to make pottery, basketry, and other articles, at the age of five or six years. They also take a hand in agriculture when very small. As they grow older and become more proficient in these various arts, they enter more and more into the regular daily work of the home, until they finally marry, which they usually do at an early age, often at about seventeen or eighteen years.

The daily life of the men is also a busy one. They do their share of the work in the fields, besides being industrious hunters and fishermen. They are expert woodworkers, making very excellent canoes, paddles, benches, images used as toys by children, musical instruments, certain cooking utensils, and various other objects of wood. They make and tend the fish corrals, as well as set the seines when the water is in a favorable condition to divert fish to certain places. In addition to trapping and netting fish, they also do much fishing with hook and line. They hunt a great deal and procure a very important part of the food supply in that way, for the jungle abounds in many kinds of game. When about the house, they are, like the women, almost always busy at something, as adzing a canoe, weaving a net, or doing some one of the many kinds of work which fall to the man's lot in the Cayapa division of labor. Since the introduction of needles and thread among the Cayapa, the men have taken up sewing and have become very efficient tailors for their simple needs.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

462 The women do all the spinning and weaving of cloth,
512 but the men sew all garments, not only for themselves
294 but also for the small boys who have not yet learned to
[291] sew. This is due largely no doubt to the fact that the single garment worn by the women requires no sewing whatever, while the two garments worn by the men must be sewn.

●868 At a very early age boys begin to learn the arts practised by their elders, hence they are instructed in hunting, fishing, woodworking, and similar useful accomplishments of the men.

512 It is customary among the Cayapa to arise at dawn, usually between five and five-thirty o'clock, and to retire as soon as darkness comes, or between six-thirty and seven o'clock. These hours vary little throughout the year, owing to the proximity of the equator.

[527] The daily routine is usually about the same throughout the year, varying in event of a fiesta, or boda, which brings the people together at a particular village, from which, after some days of festivities, they return home.

[484] Another diversion is going down the river to the settlements. Sometimes this trip is made almost purely for
[439] pleasure and to obtain oysters and other sea foods, but more often these pleasure trips are combined with the selling of tagua, cacao, rubber, or plantains, and occasionally logs for lumber.

593 One of the most characteristic features of the daily life of the Cayapa is the devotion of the members of a family toward one another, especially that of parents toward their children. Few restrictions are placed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

few restrictions are placed upon the children, and punishment is very rarely necessary. The children usually play together amicably, and the considerate care given by elder children to their young brothers and sisters is especially noticeable. The agriculture practised by the Cayapa requires a great deal of labor in connection with the various crops, especially plantains, sugar-cane, and cacao. In this cultivation the whole family joins, the children, even when very small, cheerfully doing their share in clearing away the weeds and brush that grow so rapidly in the tropics, and in harvesting the crops.

The children have various amusements, though no games in the ordinary sense of the term. They have several kinds of toys. Musical tops, such as those shown in pl. LXXXV, 2–5, made of gourds and certain large nuts, are much used. Wooden dolls of various mammal, bird, and human forms, such as those shown in pl. LXXXIV, are also much used. They have toy canoes varying from a few inches to several feet in length, and toy paddles for use with them. These canoes and paddles they use a great deal, especially when swimming, which is a very common and healthful amusement among both sexes.

The children are trained to this canoe life from infancy, and one of the first toys of a child is a paddle. At a very early age children are instructed in its use, so that even at the age of five or six years a child can take a small canoe and paddle along the river for short distances.

The children also play with small baskets, fans, mats,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

calabash. Now and then a small ca'lya is cut into halves and used in the manner of the hemispherical calabash dish called in Spanish mate. The globose calabash yields seven types of utensils. Of these the water-calabash (used as a receptacle for storing water), the small trinket calabash, and the cotton-wad calabash (used with the blowgun), are made from the whole fruit and are therefore globose in form. The mate, the sieve, the dipper, and the skimmer, are each made from half of one of these fruits, and consequently are hemispherical.

The spherical calabashes, such as those shown in pl. LXIII and pl. LXV, are called wa'iyû and are used for carrying and storing water. They consist almost invariably of the large, entire, globular fruit, with a small opening made at or near the stem for filling and pouring. Such a calabash sometimes measures a foot or more in diameter, and each of the women and girls of the household has usually two at least in number, which she keeps filled and on the water rack near the fire-box. Even little girls have one or two small calabashes, which they regularly fill and use in connection with the cooking, in which art they learn to assist while very young. This smaller spherical calabash is used as a receptacle for various other articles: those measuring from two to four inches in diameter are used to hold such trinkets as fish-hooks and the like, while the smallest ones, called le'meta, are for containing the red and yellow achote used as face-paint.

When gathered green, calabashes are filled with a mass of fairly hard white seeds and pulp, which are removed

silk or rayon shawl which can cover her head, face and breast when she is dancing. Her skirt, worn over a black cotton underskirt /tʸúnʸa/, falls just below the knee and is a wrap-around in a solid color. It is embroidered at the hem in the manner of the men's shirt fashions. A belt secures the underskirt, and the overskirt is tucked in at the waist. The women spend a good deal of time adjusting the overskirt. 292 [535]

For dancing or for receiving the blows of the cat-o'-nine-tails /ástečúwa/ as punishment, the woman puts on over her usual skirts a woven wrap-around skirt made of heavy cotton and decorated with both geometric and realistic designs. Many colors are used, but blue, white, and red predominate. Since the present generation of women is almost completely ignorant of the weaver's art, the skirts are seldom their own handiwork. [535] [681] [286]

<u>Manufactures</u>. Woodworking: It is immediately apparent that canoes and their handling are extremely important to all the inhabitants of the area. Young boys often begin their lessons in canoemanship by playing on the drifting logs that come down stream when the river is in flood. They tumble and splash and learn 868

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to maintain a precarious balance. Children from about the ages of nine to thirteen may have small canoes /kahila/ made for them, which may be seven to eight feet in length, and scarcely a foot in width. At these ages boys begin to accompany their fathers into the monte where the canoes are roughed out by axe and adze. They learn to select the proper trees as only those that are tightly cross-grained will not split easily. Occasionally canoes are roughed out at some height above the creek or rivulet that feeds into the main channel and in the process of carefully snubbing them down the boys learn to rig lines. A large canoe, about thirty-five feet long, may require almost a dozen men to bring it into the water from the monte, whereas a small canoe can be brought in by two or three men. Despite the fact that by the time the boys have reached their late teens they have acquired a large measure of skill in handling canoes, their canoes are nevertheless not considered finely finished until they have had several more years of experience.

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Paddles: /yámpa/. The oar is roughed out with a machete, and the finer lines are cut with a knife.

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by the children.

Boys are now beginning to be sent to school when they reach seven or eight years of age. The school is located up the Río Camerones at Encanto which, in 1960, comprised six houses with a shifting population of about forty. Children from up the river stay with relatives during the school year and go home on weekends and school holidays. This is a most unusual situation, since prior to the introduction of the school, Cayapa children had very little interaction with non-household children, and now new interaction patterns are developing. Education is prized and attendance is regular. Girls remain at home and attend to their household chores. Parents prefer not to send girls to school, despite the urging of the teacher, because "they will write love letters" and, more importantly, they are needed to take care of younger siblings while the parents are out working. Girls begin very early to learn to take care of children, to sweep, to carry water, and to cook. They tend to be quite responsible while taking care of younger siblings, but sometimes they are inclined to be rough. If for example, the

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child being cared for can walk, it may be dragged along by one hand at a much too rapid pace, and it drags rather than runs behind. If the parents should see this the older girl is reprimanded and occasionally slapped.

Adolescence. There are no special rites marking a boy's entrance into puberty. At adolescence the boy is not considered to be ready to assume the responsibility of adulthood. His training is much more protracted than that of the girls. For example, he must attain skill in canoe workmanship, and this may not be fully achieved until late teen age. He may be given a piece of land of his own to work, but even so, he must help his parents in their work, on demand. The criteria used to determine a boy's readiness for marriage are the following: he must be skillful in cutting his own canoe; he must acquire sufficient land to support a family; he should own a shotgun. The young man himself is often reluctant to assume new responsibilities despite the expectations of his adult associates. This will be discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with Sex, Courtship, and Marriage.

At the Negro village of Concepcion, Indians wander about and visit casually the homes of many of the Negroes whom they know. Among themselves there are no casual visits to friends--there are really no friends, with the possible exception of some of the pupils at the Borgeno Indian school. The language has no word for "friend" beyond the Spanish loan-word. There is family and non-family and, one does not visit family casually either. There must be a purpose beyond a desire just to visit. Dyadic relations are easily set up with the Negroes and are quasi-friendships that are quite clearly instrumental on both sides. I have no count but my decided impression is that prestation increases markedly between Indian and Negro. Negroes very often ask to become a god-parent for a minor ceremonial occasion when the child's nails are cut for the first time. The nail parings are placed in a cup of rum and drunk by the father and the Negro god-father. Small gifts are exchanged of little monetary value, and food is consumed along with the alcohol. Thenceforth at very irregular intervals, small presents will be exchanged. Gifting, while not especially generous on any level, showed an apparent increase with

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the parish. This honor belonged to the town of San José, but as national elections were near, it was felt that the proper time had come to make a bold attempt to have Cameroñes declared the leading village. The Inspectór of Cameroñes visited with several Cayapa officials who lived up the Río Cameroñes, and he demanded fifty sucres from each adult male Indian. He said that this was needed to bribe the higher officials if Cameroñes were to take the place of San José. There were four or five days of rumor-mongering, mostly concerning the avarice of the people of Cameroñes, and then consensus was reached. Gabriel Añapa, the /ãnVi/, told the writer that he would have paid five sucres but that fifty was too much. Neither the Indians nor the citizens of Cameroñes contributed to the Inspectór. As a result, San José continued to be the parish head, although a new teniente político was to replace the old one who had backed the losing party in the elections.

Attempts to encroach on Cayapa governmental affairs may be seen in embryonic form in some of the school activities. For example, the school has been in operation for six or seven years. There has been a

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succession of teachers with varying degrees of competence. In 1960 the school teacher, who was a native of Camerones, began giving the Indian pupils drama lessons. The plays offered always involved Cayapa going to Negroes for advice. Generally, the plots involved marital bickering within the Cayapa families which were then solved by the Negro official. These scenes are always greeted with laughter by the assembled Cayapa who come to watch their children perform. No one would even dream of taking a family quarrel to a Negro official. It is interesting to note however, that one Negro is making some progress toward involving himself in Cayapa affairs. This Negro's name is Pindaleñas, and he presents a rather grotesque appearance. His nose has been entirely destroyed by the ravages of yaws, and his hands are twisted into the shape of talons. This man has the distinction of being the only Negro who speaks Cayapa. Since he lives very near the ceremonial center of Punta Venado, he has been hired by the /ún^{y}i/ to keep the church clean. Pindaleñas attends every fiesta and becomes actively interested in most of the legal cases. On several occasions he publically

of the main requirements for homosexuality is a profound feeling of fear and inadequacy, hardly the sort of person who would persistently and doggedly pursue this rather striking innovation. It should be noted that the Cayuga flatly deny the existence of homosexual practices. Just once did an informant admit that "maybe some boys" practiced mutual masturbation.

In the recently built Indian school at Forestville, boys and young men now maintain, for several months of the school year, a high frequency of interaction with non-related boys, and for some, very intense feelings of chumship are beginning to form that never existed before. Given the increase in duration and frequency of interaction, homoeroticism could very easily pass over into homosexualism.

Friendship is a most novel situation for the Cayuga and he cannot easily function within it. In his dealings with Negroes, rules of ritual kinship may obtain or a hail-fellow-well-met stance may be adopted. The anthropologist-Cayuga situation was completely new, especially in the informant relationship. This was the closest approach to friendship, in the western sense, that they had ever experienced.

the parish. This honor belonged to the town of San José, but as national elections were near, it was felt that the proper time had come to make a bold attempt to have Camarones declared the leading village. The Inspectór of Camarones visited with several Cayapa officials who lived up the Río Camarones, and he demanded fifty sucres from each adult male Indian. He said that this was needed to bribe the higher officials if Camarones were to take the place of San José. There were four or five days of rumor-mongering, mostly concerning the avarice of the people of Camarones, and then consensus was reached. Gabriel Añapa, the /únʸi/, told the writer that he would have paid five sucres but that fifty was too much. Neither the Indians nor the citizens of Camarones contributed to the Inspectór. As a result, San José continued to be the parish head, although a new teniente político was to replace the old one who had backed the losing party in the elections.

Attempts to encroach on Cayapa governmental affairs may be seen in embryonic form in some of the school activities. For example, the school has been in operation for six or seven years. There has been a

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2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

[611] There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

551 553 her original name, but as the father or mother of this first-born child. Thus, the chief of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa is known by the Christian name Antonio Napa, but is almost invariably called pī′tcū-apa, signifying "father of pī′tcū." Correspondingly his wife is known as pī′tcū-ama, "mother of pī′tcū." Such a name usually persists regardless of the names of any of the younger children and regardless of whether or not the eldest child still lives. In the case cited, the eldest son, pī′tcū, died several years ago and there are several younger children in the family, but the names pī′tcū-apa and pī′tcū-ama still persist. Now and then a person is found whose original nickname is used even after the birth of his children, but this is very exceptional.

PUBERTY

●881 As in the case of birth, there appear to be almost no restrictions upon or ceremonies for either sex on reaching puberty, which is again contrary to the customs of most aboriginal peoples. Some even maintain that there are absolutely no restrictions, but others claim that girls at the age of puberty are prohibited for a short period [841] from going about and from bathing. This latter statement seems the more probable, in view of the fact that during their menstrual periods the older women are subject to the same restrictions, though they are not otherwise restricted in their actions at such times.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

spot. He brought home a small amount, but when it was cooked and his wife called him to eat, he never appeared hungry, consuming but a small amount and declaring that the food was not good. Later his form was changed to that which he now has, and he is obliged to walk on all four feet. His finely-colored shirt became his present spotted skin.

CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCES

Of aboriginal ceremonies there are few traces left among the Cayapa, so completely have the fiestas of the church supplanted them. In these festivities there are certain remnants of aboriginal customs, but they are entirely subordinated to the practices of the Catholic church.

Contrary to the customs of many aboriginal peoples, there are not at present, and apparently never have been, any special ceremonial observances associated with birth, puberty, and menstruation, although there are certain restrictions and slight observances of an ordinary character connected with each of these.

The marriage and mortuary ceremonies, already described, are, on the other hand, quite elaborate, and apparently retain much of their aboriginality, although largely assuming the nature of these ceremonies as celebrated by the church.

Two regular church festivals, that of "Noche Buena" or Christmas, and that of "Semana Santa" or Easter, are celebrated, as one might suppose, entirely according to church custom.

child being cared for can walk, it may be dragged along by one hand at a much too rapid pace, and it drags rather than runs behind. If the parents should see this the older girl is reprimanded and occasionally slapped.

Adolescence. There are no special rites marking a boy's entrance into puberty. At adolescence the boy is not considered to be ready to assume the responsibility of adulthood. His training is much more protracted than that of the girls. For example, he must attain skill in canoe workmanship and this may not be fully achieved until late teen age. He may be given a piece of land of his own to work, but even so, he must help his parents in their work, on demand. The criteria used to determine a boy's readiness for marriage are the following: he must be skillful in cutting his own canoe; he must acquire sufficient land to support a family; he should own a shotgun. The young man himself is often reluctant to assume new responsibilities despite the expectations of his adult associates. This will be discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with Sex, Courtship, and Marriage.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Sex, Courtship, and Marriage.

Just as there are no special rites marking a boy's entrance into puberty, there are similarly none for a girl. When the menstrual periods begin, the girl is not alarmed since she has heard the women speak of this phenomenon and therefore knows what to expect. Girls are "ashamed" to tell anyone when the menstrual discharge /suásа/ /su/ 'vagina', 'asa/ 'blood,' first appears. In fact, no one likes to talk about it at all, but there are no taboos concerning it. The menstrual discharge is not considered dangerous in any way, and the women may eat anything, bathe in the river, work in the gardens, and engage in sexual intercourse. The women claim that they experience no cramping, nor other discomfort during catomenia.

Household. Relations within the family tend to be amiable and affectionate. Husband and wife may joke with each other and with the children. The children are taught to respect their parents and other relatives, but no special behavior is expected for different kinds of relatives. It is expected however, that siblings will form an especially intense bond and brother-sister

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small temporary shelters called by the Spanish term ranchos. In general construction these ranchos are similar to the permanent houses, but they may be only a foot or two off the ground. As the property holdings of most Cayapa are scattered, many build second permanent houses at other convenient sites and alternate residences as the farming situation dictates. If relatives have a house in the area already, then a new house need not be built, and shelter is taken with the kin. It is possible for a family to have no permanent abode of its own but rather to shift back and forth between relatives who happen to live near their property. This, however, is a very rare occurrence, and in the few cases recorded, I suspect that it is transitory. A "complete"person "un hombre completo" to be fully adult should be master of his own house. Pedrito Añapa, for example, was living with relatives, but he was bewitched and suffered from many illnesses, and in addition his land was "spoiled" by witchcraft. Despite this, he still felt that the best thing for him to do was to get some land elsewhere, and set up an independent household.

Subsistence Activities. Farming is the main occupation

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about twelve years earlier. Off to one side in a small cubicle, a minor commotion was in progress. I walked over and saw a group of women standing around a woman who was seated with her back to me. When I asked what was happening, I was met with a burst of laughter and giggles. Men who were approached grinned and said that it "was an affair of the women." Perhaps an hour later, I returned to the cubicle and watched the seated woman grasp and twist a piece of cloth that had been suspended from one of the rafters. An old crone was serving as the mid-wife. The actual birth took place during one of my periodic absences to watch the festivities which were going on unabated. A few curious children and some women were the only by-standers.

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Elderly women are generally the mid-wives, but there are a few men who ply the trade on occasion. The mid-wife knows enough to manipulate the unborn child to a good birth position, which is done by massaging and kneading on the abdomen. Most births are normal and fairly easy. It is said that if the child is born with its arms akimbo, then the mother will die.

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